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THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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THE

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Ancient Navigation in the Indian Ocean.* By the Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D., Peking, Honorary Member of Royal Asiatic Society.

SIR HENRY RAWLINSON has drawn attention to the mention of the ships of Ur in early inscriptions, and the connection of these very ancient vessels with those of Ethiopia. The Babylonian traders at a very remote period voyaged to India and Africa for gold and other articles to use in the arts and to supply the demand of markets.[1] The Euphrates' banks were the ancient quays at which the primitive navigators loaded and unloaded their vessels. They proceeded by the Persian Gulf into the ocean, and there they were guided by landmarks and by the heavenly bodies. These voyages may have continued from the time when Ur was a great city, B.C. 2300, down to the period of the Persian empire, when Babylon began to decline. During all this period, as afterwards, the navigators of the Indian Ocean, whether Babylonian, Arabian, Phœnician, or Egyptian, were trading, aided by the monsoons, along the African and Asiatic coasts, and conveying knowledge from one country to another.

The Phœnicians and Greeks planted mercantile settlements in spots where they traded in the Mediterranean, and the Arabs have done the same in a thousand ports of India, Africa, and the islands and countries east of Ceylon. What we know to have taken place from the

[1] Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, vol. i. pp. 101, 102. He cites Sir Henry Rawlinson in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXVII. p. 185.

time of the Caliphs downwards on the south coast of Asia in connection with Arabian trade would, for the same reasons, take place in the times of the more ancient traders before the Christian era. The mercantile colonists would take wives in the cities where they settled. The new generation that grew up would speak the language of the new country as well as that which was the mother-tongue of the trading colonists, and the way would in consequence be open for free communication of ideas. New facts and notions could, for example, be conveyed from Phœnicia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, to India, Ceylon, and the islands and regions east of India. To give an example of this, it is found recorded in an old Chinese book on botany, written by a prefect of Canton in the fourth century, that several plants, such as Jessamine and Henna, were then growing at Canton, having been brought there by traders coming from Arabia and the Roman empire. The well-known "Moli hwa," a species of jessamine, now used for scenting tea and snuff, is among these exotic plants. In the same book sugar is spoken of as a product of Cochin China known at Canton. It has now become a staple product of the provinces of Canton and Fukien. The Henna flower is now commonly used in North China for dyeing the finger-nails red. This custom is a favourite one among women. The plant was conveyed on merchant vessels fourteen hundred years ago by foreigners called Hu, here meaning Arabs, as is most probable. It is said to have been taken to Canton from the Roman empire Ta Tsin. Egypt, where it is indigenous, then belonged to that empire. The Chinese were able to obtain not only an African plant at that time, but to learn also the empire to which the country where the plant grew belonged, and this knowledge they could acquire because there was resident then in Canton a trading colony of Arabs. This was in the pagan times, before the age of Mahommed. The members of this colony, always spoken of by the Chinese simply as Hu or foreigners, would maintain Sabean worship, and they would be able to teach something of what the Arabs then

knew of astronomy, but with it would be included the old Arab image worship.

Before proceeding farther, let me mention here that the Arab merchants of Canton included among them at the end of the sixth century the uncle of Mahommed. Hearing of his nephew's greatness as a prophet, he returned to Arabia. The prophet was dead. He asked what message his nephew had left for him. The reply was "None." "Then," said he, "I shall return to China. If the prophet had wished me not to do so, he would have intimated his desire." He went back to China and died in Canton. He was buried in a mausoleum constructed during his lifetime, and still in existence. Later on in the Tang dynasty the Arabs in Canton became very numerous and dangerous. They are referred to in the narratives in Arabic compiled by two Mahommedan travellers and translated by Renaudot, in which they describe China and other countries visited by them in the ninth century.

It was by such mercantile settlements in seaport towns spread along the winding coast-line of Southern Asia, from Suez to Canton, that knowledge of various kinds could be very easily communicated from one country to another. This might happen at any time, from the beginning of ocean navigation in the third millennium before Christ, at the mouth of the Euphrates, down to modern days. This is the simplest way to account for the diffusion of the common arts and institutions and the common beliefs of the oriental nations. We speak of oriental magnificence, oriental imagery, oriental hospitality, oriental imagination, oriental costume. The reason why the word Oriental serves for China, India, Persia, and Arabia alike, is partly because the intercourse always maintained between these countries by sea has occasioned a considerable identity in customs, in thinking, and in religion.

The introduction of the art of writing into India needs for its explanation the agency of just such mercantile settlements along the coast of India as would necessarily exist there from the time of Solomon. The discussion of the

origin of the Indian alphabet occupied two sittings of the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden in 1883, and was conducted throughout with great vigour and unflagging interest. The hypothesis which met with most acceptance was the Phœnician hypothesis. The Phœnician alphabet, as developed in South Arabia and preserved in the Himyaritic incriptions, gave origin in the east to the Indian alphabet and in the west to the Ethiopic. The two most distant dependencies of the Persian empire came to have each an alphabet thus derived. This view seems to be more or less supported by Professor Weber, Dr. Bühler, the Rev. Isaac Taylor, and the late Professor Lenormant, as well as by Mr. Cust, who so ably introduced the subject to the Congress. On the mode of introduction of the Semitic alphabet Mr. Cust said, "Unquestionably the continuous existence of a commerce between Yemen and South India can be asserted from a very remote period, quite sufficient to meet all requirements." The Vattelutu alphabet, which has influenced the Tamil, was certainly, the same writer adds, like the Semitic alphabet in several points. The Phœnician hypothesis, as now maintained, singles out the sixth century before Christ as the period when the Indian writing was first used extensively.

But if the alphabetic writing then commonly used in Western Asia was introduced through the agency of mercantile colonies at places on the Indian coast as early as 600 years before Christ, may we not expect that other arts then existing and acquisitions in knowledge of various kinds would enter India in the same manner? The changes which took place in Hindu philosophy and those ideas of an extended kind on the outer world, on cosmogony, and on the future life, which began to appear in India after the Vedic period, may have been caused by the same maritime intercourse with Western Asia and Egypt. In China, from about the sixth century before Christ, somewhat similar changes occurred in cosmogony, in philosophy, and in cosmography, and the hypothesis of mercantile settlements in Cochin China would be very convenient as an aid to show

what accessions of foreign knowledge were likely to have been made by China as the result of the ocean traffic which then existed in the Indian seas. Surely, while Chinese history was passing slowly through its successive revolutions in politics and national life, it was not unaffected by outer influences.

In Professor Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, the fact of an abrupt change in Hindu literature between the time of the Vedas and that of the Brahmanas is very distinctly pointed out. He says, "There is throughout the Brâhmaṇas such a complete misunderstanding of the original intention of the Vedic hymns, that we can hardly understand how such an estrangement could have taken place unless there had been at some time or other a sudden and violent break in the chain of tradition." In the days of intellectual weakness which then overtook the Hindu mind the same author shows how, for example, the pronoun *kah* in the Vedas became at a later period a god, and was worshipped. New gods were invented in profusion, aud some of these new mythological personages overshadowed and supplanted the deities of the Vedic age. Monstrous cosmogonies were invented, and in the Buddhist books, as in the Puranas, an entirely new mode of describing the world is adopted, in which the ocean plays a very conspicuous part. In the Vishnu Purana it is said that "the Supreme Being placed the earth on the summit of the ocean, where it floats like a mighty vessel, and from its expansive surface does not sink beneath the waters."[1] "The Puranas represent Mount Meru as in the centre of the earth, around which lies Jambudwipa, and the earth is itself supported by some animal."[2] This animal is Makara, a marine monster. Otherwise a tortoise is represented as supporting the earth. A circular wall of rock or iron bounds the world. Within it are seven other concentric circles of rocks. Between each circle is a sea. Immense monsters swim in these seas. Into this new

[1] Quoted from Wilson's Vishnu Purana in Hardy's Manual of Buddhism.
[2] See in Hardy, p. 22.

system of the world the sun, moon, and stars, together with the zodiac and the twenty-seven lunar mansions, made an entrance, and later the Ptolemaic system. All these ideas are very much of a foreign character, and while they may have reached India by land, it would seem that they were more likely to arrive by sea, because the mercantile colonies in the seaport towns of the Indian coast would furnish facilities for the ready transference of thought from foreign languages into the current speech of India.

The time when Babylonian astronomy, and cosmogony with the idea of vast seas, a central mountain, and a rocky limit to the earth, could be introduced to India by sea was possibly not earlier than B.C. 800, for that is the time when Professor Max Müller supposes the Rig Veda to have been completed. But the date when this new accession of knowledge of cosmogony from Babylon and of the metempsychosis from Egypt would not be later than the time of Buddha, for this great teacher found all India believing in the metempsychosis, which is not a Vedic doctrine: the focus of this foreign influence upon India was therefore in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. Late in the seventh century Babylon was powerful under Nabopolassar—and Necho, whose ships circumnavigated Africa, was reigning in Egypt. The maritime prosperity of Babylon would be at its height at that time, and the Persian conquest by Cyrus of that city B.C. 538 would not diminish mercantile activity. In the sixth and seventh centuries Indian trade could not be other than highly flourishing. Babylonians, Arabs, and Phœnicians would be found residing on the Indian coast, when some political revolution brought the Sanskrit or Pali-speaking population of the north into that part of India. The same sort of agency which introduced the art of writing would also introduce the metempsychosis of Egypt, with the astronomy, the zodiac, and the cosmogony of Babylon. Probably it was not from one country only that India received these accessions of knowledge, for the Arabs believe in a vast rocky circle bounding the world, and forming

the outer rim of the ocean, as the Buddhists do, and they were always fond of the sea. The Hindus may have received this notion from them.

The result of these foreign influences was a complete remodelling of Hindu thought. The new leaven worked powerfully through the mass of Hindu society. The natural religion of the Vedas was exchanged for an extravagant mythology and a vastly extended universe. Native thinkers worked from new bases in constructing their systems. Philosophy became more refined, and the universe better understood, while the Babylonian division of time into weeks, and their mode of observing the heavenly bodies, came into general use in India. The reason why just about this time the various Hindu systems of philosophy sprang into life was that a new stimulus to the native intellect was imparted by the foreign ideas introduced just then along the coast from the sea, and in a less degree by the passes of the north-west. The reason why India became specially receptive of new ideas at the time when they were introduced would naturally be that then the Aryan population conquered the whole sea-coast. I now proceed to speak of China.

It is perfectly possible that the art of writing may have been communicated to China from Mesopotamia about B.C. 2500 by the same ocean route which afterwards gave to India the Devanagari alphabet. But when ocean navigation first reached China, alphabets were unknown, and therefore Chinese writing is ideographic and phonetic only.

The changes that took place in China long afterwards, in the Chow dynasty, in literature and philosophy are also better explained by this hypothesis than by any other. Trading went on in the Indian Ocean, we must suppose, through the whole period of the early dynasties, from the time of the Emperor Hwang ti and of Yan and Shun, who were contemporary, or nearly so, with the King Uruk of the Cuneiform inscriptions. In their time the dominion of the Chinese extended towards the south far enough to admit of intercourse with Cochin China and Burma, and by this southern route the astronomical knowledge then acquired by the

Chinese would most easily arrive. In the twelfth century B.C. there was, as tradition shows, a large accession of new knowledge by this route. This was when Chow Kung was Prime Minister, and its effects are found in his writings and the institutions with which his name is associated. In the sixth century a distinct and remarkable change took place in Chinese literature.

To show the nature of this change in Chinese literature, I shall take some examples from Tso, the historian, and Lie tsze, the Tauist philosopher, the one illustrating the subject of astrology, and the other that of cosmography. Tso c'hieu ming, in his history, when he comes to the year B.C. 549, mentions that Jupiter, the "year star," as he is called, ought to have been in Sagittarius, and Capricornus R.A. 280° to 300°, or, as it is called, Sing ki, but had irregularly advanced to Aquarius or Hiuen Hiau. This is the first sign of the zodiac of twelve, and belongs to the month December. It is a bad omen that Jupiter should during this year enter the sign in which he should be next year. At the time there was no ice, the dark principle *yin* not being able to overcome the bright principle *yang* (warmth). It is the snake mounting the dragon. The dragon is the star group of the kingdoms Sung and Cheng. These two States, therefore, will suffer from famine. In explanation, it is said that the snake rules winter, and that Jupiter represents wood, which is symbolized by the blue dragon. When Jupiter wanders from his place into the winter region, the spring dragon is subject to the control of the winter snake. Further, the central star of winter is called Hü, "empty." Hiau also means "waste." The countries affected, therefore, must suffer from emptiness and waste. There will certainly be famine.

There is a passage occurring under the year 564 which speaks of the people of the Sung country learning by the stars to foresee what heavenly retribution for crimes would happen (Legge's C'hun T'sien, p. 439). The official director of fire, as folklore tells us, being meritorious, was sacrificed to, along with a star. Antares was the star chosen.

It is in the eastern quarter of the zodiac. But he was also worshipped with the willow, δ Hydrae. In the third month of spring Antares culminates at evening, and is then seen in the south. The people were ordered to begin to kindle fires when they saw it. In the third month of autumn (Sü) Antares, or the "star of great fire," disappears in the sun's rays. The people are then ordered to cease to kindle fires. The beak of the red bird is the group called the "willow," and the heart is Antares. The name of the officer worshipped was Ot pak in the reign of Yau. He lived in Shang c'hieu (Shom k'u), and was the son of the Emperor Kau sin. He was sent to the place mentioned in order that he might there rule the constellation of which Antares is the largest star. By his ruling this star and sacrificing to it, the people were induced to keep strictly to the appointed times for lighting fires. It was in this way that Antares became the star of the Sung region in the east part of the province of Honan. The same care was taken to perform these sacrifices in the time of Ot pak's successors, and this worship of Antares came to be the regular duty of the city called Shang c'hieu, and was one of the large group of facts and observances which preserved the memory of the Shang dynasty. What the result was is seen in the historian's further remark that the Shang people learned to look upon fire as the probable cause of any misfortune into which they fell. From this circumstance it came to be said that they knew that the calamity of fire came from heaven, or must be regarded as divinely retributive. When we come to the year 540, we learn from Tso c'hieu ming further particulars respecting Ot pak. (They are found in Legge, p. 580.) The marquis who ruled Tsin (the modern Shansi) was ill, and consulted the diviners, who, probably by the use of the tortoise in divination, learned that the illness was caused by two spirits named Shï c'hen and T'ai t'ai, who were supposed to have entered the sick nobleman's body or remained near him. But the diviners did not know who they were. Tsze c'han said that the Emperor Kau sin had two sons, Ot pak and Shï chen. The brothers not agreeing together, the Emperor Yau sent Ot pak to live

in Shang c'hieu, there to preside over the worship of the star Ch'en (Ta hwo) or Antares. Thus this star became the patron star of the Shang people. At the same time Shï chen was removed to Ta hia to preside over the star Shen, the "belt of Orion." This place was Tsin yang, now embraced in Tai yuen fu, capital of the province of Shansi: eventually in the Cheu dynasty this star Shen became the recognized patron of Tsin.

Dr. Gustave Schlegel, in his Uranographie Chinoise, rightly regarded these stories as fables. They are introduced into the history through the love of the author for folklore. This folklore is for research very valuable, as helping us to trace out the history of astrology. The worship of stars by particular cities was in full use at least five centuries and a half before Christ. At that time the legends were so well established in popular faith that they may well have been some centuries old. These instances show what stories of an astrological nature prevailed at that time in regard to some cities in Honan and Shansi. Similar legends would exist in other cities. The following particulars refer to T'ai t'ai, the other spirit supposed to have caused an illness to the nobleman above mentioned.

T'ai t'ai and Yun ke were the sons of Hiuen ming shï, director of water, who was descended from Shau hau, an ancient emperor. T'ai t'ai cleared the channel of the Fen river, which flows through Shansi into the Yellow River and also deepened the Tau river. In consequence he was made by the Emperor Chwen hü superintending baron to the Fen chwen region. Sacrifices were offered to him by the four states, Chen, Sz, Ju, Hwang, all ruled by his descendants till they were absorbed by Tsin. T'ai t'ai continued to be god of the Fen river in the Tsin state.

The origin of the legends must be sought in the notion of local star-worship. This would come in possibly in the eleventh century, or earlier. It might also with more probability have been later. The worship was to be performed by some member of the baronial family, usually the baron. There was a selection made of some ancestor to be worshipped

with the star: any one would serve the purpose who had had a career which suggested suitability for this honour. But this appointment was legendary, and not historical; there is no allusion in the Book of Odes, the Book of History, or the Yi king to such legends. This circumstance favours their being the production of the sixth and seventh centuries before Christ, and they would then be a century or two centuries old in the time of Tso c'hieu ming.

In reference to the origin of the zodiacal sign Shï'chen, corresponding to our Cancer and Leo, it is perhaps derived with the other signs from a foreign source, either by transference of sound or by translation. The words mean "real sinking." The legend has been invented to provide the words and the worship with a fitting personality.

The constellation assigned to the imperial state Cheu was that belonging to the middle of summer. It was called Chun hwo, "heat of the red bird," and it embraces the space from 9° of Lieu, the willow, to 16° of Chang, both of these being in the zodiac of twenty-eight. The reason that this space was decided on to represent the Cheu state is said in the Kwo yü to have been that when Wu Wang set out on his expedition to conquer the Shang dynasty, Jupiter was in Chun hwo. The time was in the calendar of Shang the 28th of the eleventh month, that day being the 25th, Wu tsï, of the 60 day cycle. In the calendar of Hia this was in the tenth month. At that time Jupiter was in the 13th degree of Chang. At the same time the moon was in Tien sï, or Fang. More exactly, the moon was on the day Wu tsie in 5° of Fang. The sun was in the sign Si Mu (Sagittarius), the ninth from Kiang leu (Aries), and just fording the milky way. Si mu extends from 10° of Wei to 11° of Nan teu. On the day Wu tsze the sun should be in 7° of Ki. The conjunction of the sun and moon took place at a point one degree in advance of the handle of the Bushel, that is, the tail of the Great Bear. Mercury was in Aquarius (Hiuen hiau). The book Kwo yü, from which these data are taken, was written by Tso kien ming. The comment upon it by Wei chau was compiled in the time

of the Three Kingdoms, about A.D. 270. Text and comment have both been used in the statement now given of the place of the sun, moon, Mercury, and Jupiter on the day when Wu Wang (B.C. 1120) started on his expedition to conquer the Shang dynasty. Professor Russell, of Peking, kindly undertook to calculate with these data, and found that no such relative position of these four bodies was possible at the time stated.

This account of the astrological position of the Cheu kingdom in the constellation Hydra below Cancer and Leo is evidently post-dated, and must be referred to the eighth, seventh, or sixth century before Christ. The reasons for this opinion are various. The division of the empire among the 28 constellations is duodecimal and remarkably regular. It is as follows, as arranged by late writers and inserted in the work Tien Yuen li li:—

1	Kio Kang	Cheng	Central Honan.
2	Ti, Fang, Sin	Sung	Eastern Honan.
3	Wei, Ki	Yeu, Yen	(Fu kien, kiang si) Chili.
4	Teu, Nieu	Wu	Kiang su, Che kiang.
5	Nü, Hü, Wei	Tsi	North Shantung.
6	Shi Pi	Wei	South Chili.
7	Kwei Low	Lu	South Shantung.
8	Wei, Mau, Pi	Chau	Western Chili.
9	Tsui, Shen	Tsin	Shansi.
10	Tsing, Kwei	Ts'in	Shensi, Kansu.
11	Lieu, Sing, Chang	Cheu	Western Honan, Hupei, South Shensi.
12	Yi Chen	Ch'u	Hunan, Sï chwen, Kwangsi.

The states Cheng (1) and Ts'in (10) are included. The first barons of these two states only received full investiture in the years B.C. 806 and B.C. 769 respectively. They are not separable from the others, for without them four of the twenty-eight constellations would be left without a special kingdom to shine upon and to be worshipped by. In the work Sï ku tsiuen shu of last century, when the genuineness

of the Cheu li as a work of B.C. 1100 is discussed, the occurrence of the names of these two states is mentioned as proof that part of that work at least was written long after that date. The same argument goes to show in regard to the doctrine of the local astrology of the feudal states that it probably commenced after the dates B.C. 805 and B.C. 769.

As the older classics were all anonymous, so also was, it may be said, the Cheu li, for it does not state who was its author, or at what time it was written. The words which mention the allocation of the twenty-eight constellations to the various feudal states are few. "The officer known as Pau chang shi rules the stars in heaven, and takes note of their changes with those of the sun, moon, and planets, in order that it may be seen what changes will take place on earth, and whether they will be fortunate or unlucky. Viewing the lands as corresponding with certain stars, the empire of nine provinces is so subdivided that each feudal territory has one or more constellations which control it, and in them can be seen its good and ill fortune. By means of the year star Jupiter moving through the twelve years of its period, the good and ill fortune of the empire may be seen." This is all. The remaining duties of the astrologer are found to be connected with observing the winds and other meteorological phenomena in order to foreknow good and ill luck. Such being the form assumed by Chinese astrology in the Cheu li, a fair judgment of the period when it was introduced may be easily reached. The first feudal baron of the Cheng state was Yeu, brother of Cheu siuen wang. He received, B.C. 806, a part of the Cheu patrimony included in the modern Honan. Since the first two constellations in the zodiac of twenty-eight were assigned to his state, it may be supposed that it was in his time that the geographical distribution of the twenty-eight constellations was made.[1] This is not essential, it may be said, for Cheng and Sung are on the east of Cheu, and it may be on this account that these constellations were assigned to

[1] Quoted in English Cyclopædia under the word Clepsydra.

those states. But if this principle of regarding Cheu as the starting-point for orientation suits in some instances, it fails in most cases, and it is probably better to seek another cause, such as the actual place of Jupiter when the allocation was made in each case. There is no reason to doubt, then, that the Cheu li being a manual of official duty, if the duties were at any time increased, there would be an addition made to the book. In Cheu Kung's time there may have been an elementary astrology. I plead only for the developed astrology of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries, that there was an addition made to the text of the portion which defines the duty of the official astrologer in regard to the local distribution of stars.

The native critics of modern times have shown great want of confidence in the genuineness of the Cheu li. In the Sung dynasty this book was ascribed to Lieu hin of the first century B.C. and A.D. Mau si ho attacked this view, and ascribed the book to the Contending States period, or the fourth century B.C. Supposing this date to be correct, there is still more reason for not placing the astrology of the feudal states before the time which, as above shown, the facts seem to require. The clepsydra is not mentioned in any of the classics except this. But we know from Greek sources that the clepsydra was a Babylonian instrument, and was originated by the Babylonians. At least Sextus Empiricus ascribes it to them,[1] and states that they used an instrument of this kind in astrological calculations, and by means of it during the diurnal revolution of a star divided the zodiac into twelve equal parts. The officer who had this instrument in charge is called the carrier of the clepsydra. From this it would seem that the instrument was not like those at present in use at the Peking Observatory, which are bronze vessels of great weight, arranged in successive steps as on a staircase. It was of a size and weight suitable for being lifted by an officer. It is mentioned in the Shwo wen as being made of bronze. Curiously enough it is alluded to

[1] Since this was written Professor Russell has found that in B.C. 806, Jupiter was in the required constellations Kio and K'ang.

in the oldest preface to the Odes supposed to have been written by Tsze Hia in the fifth century before Christ. But many critics think this preface reads like a Han dynasty production. Whatever be the age of the Cheu li, or of the Preface to the Odes, the astrological passages in the Tso Chwen and in the Kwo yü help us to place the wide extension of judicial astrology in China not later than the sixth century before Christ. With this should also be placed the introduction of the clepsydra, because such an instrument would be extremely useful when every feudal capital throughout China had its astrological department, and the motions and appearance of stars and planets had to be carefully observed.

The early appearance of the clepsydra in China seems to show that the Babylonians had communicated this instrument to China before the Greeks had it. It is mentioned in Aristophanes and Aristotle among Greek writers, but scarcely before their time. We may do well to remember the words of Sze ma c'hien in connection with the official astrologers. He says, "When the empire ceased to be well-governed, the correct succession of new moons was not transmitted to the feudal barons. After the emperors Yeu and Li (who died B.C. 770 and 827 respectively), the influence of the Cheu dynasty fell away, the officers ceased to take account of the times, nor did the emperor announce the new moon. The sons and pupils of the official astronomers and mathematicians became scattered, either in different parts of China or among barbarian races. The ceremonies performed for the sake of good and ill luck were in consequence much neglected, and not offered in complete form." This is said in the historian's chapter on the calendar. Some of the scattered students of astronomy would settle in each feudal state of importance, and be active in introducing new ideas or facts, or new instruments brought to China from foreign countries by sea or by land, and this would be in the eighth century before Christ, and subsequently. The historian does not say that there was an entire cessation of astronomical duty at the court of Cheu. He simply mourns

over the decline of activity and efficiency as shown by mistakes in the calendar, and by the dispersion of official schools of instruction. South China would attract some of these wanderers, and some would reach places on the sea. We can judge of what the condition of South China then was by the poetry of Ch'ü yuen.[1] The country was inhabited by a people inclined to mystic Tauism and polytheistic legend, into which the personages of Chinese primitive history were boldly introduced, mixed with many foreign-looking novelties of marine myth and semi-divine hero. This vast region was known as the Ch'u country. It throve by trade in its own produce and the commercial transmission of foreign articles. Astrology, the dial and the clepsydra, would come by the trade routes which lay through South China from Cochin Chinese ports, where, at that time, by the regular development of ocean trade, there would be merchants of western origin residing, who would speak local languages as well as some one of the languages of Western Asia. In this way the system of judicial astrology with the Babylonian cosmography might quite readily be introduced to the knowledge of the Chinese about B.C. 806 and later.

My argument requires me now to proceed to the question of the extended knowledge of the Chinese of the earth generally in the Chow dynasty, and to point out how it becomes a necessity to account for it by supposing an early enlarged commerce in the Indian Ocean reaching all the way to Cochin China before as well as after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. First there are some very interesting relics of a trigonometrical kind in an old Chinese book of the Chow dynasty. This book speaks of the earth's surface being round, and makes use of the sun-dial to measure the earth by taking as values the height of a gnomon, the length of its shadow, and the sun's altitude. They understood the properties of the right-angled triangle, and attempted by the use of the gnomon to measure the earth in a rough way. Mr. Wylie

[1] A part of it has been translated by the Marquis d'Hervey de St.-Denys.

says on this point (Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 86), "The Chow pi swan king is the only ancient work we have on the Kai tien system of astronomy." By this name is meant that system of the universe which represents the heavens as an umbrella and the earth as a bowl turned over and lying at rest beneath it. There were two forms of the umbrella theory. The one viewed the earth as a flat and square plain, the other regarded the earth as having an immense convex but still square surface. This last is the view of the Chow pi swan king, the old book in question, and it is also described in the Tsin dynasty astronomy [1] as given in the Tsin history. The reasoning of the umbrella astronomy is invalidated by unsupported assumptions. "A gnomon [2] of eight feet at the solstice gives a shadow of one foot six inches. Go south 1000 *li*, the shadow is one foot five inches. Go north 1000 *li*, the shadow is one foot seven inches. The shadow lengthens as the sun goes south. Wait till the shadow is six feet and take then a hollow bamboo with the bore an inch in diameter and eight feet long. Seize the image and carefully look at it. The hollow just covering the sun, there is seen the sun's reflection through the opening. Hence, with eight feet gnomon and one inch aperture you have from the gnomon to a point below the sun a distance of 60,000 *li*, and there will be no shadow. From this point upward to the sun there are 80,000 *li*." In this reasoning the points of interest are that it was known that the length of the shadow varies with the latitude, and that by going far enough south the shadow diminishes to nothing. Also, the foundation of trigonometry is found in the use of the gnomon. This circumstance has led the Chinese to believe that European trigonometry originated in China, and was taken to the west by the dispersed pupils of the ancient mathematical schools, of whom history speaks as having been scattered to various localities in the eighth century. The names used are *ku* (kok) standard, upright staff, gnomon, thigh bone, *pi* (pik),

[1] This history was written, or rather compiled, about A.D. 630.
[2] Capital city of Chow, Lo yang, lat. 34° 43', long. 112° 28'.

thigh bone, and *keu* (kuk), that part of a mason's rule which projects at a right-angle from the stem. But here *keu* means the shadow of the gnomon. These names have continued in use from the Chow dynasty downwards, and we may rely on them as ancient. The Chinese critics say of the book Chow pi swan king that while the first catalogue which mentions it is that of the Sui History, A.D. 600, yet it must on various grounds be regarded as a genuine relic of the Chow dynasty. Judging by the materials, style of thought, and statements of the book, they are probably right. But if so, we have a distinct relic of old Babylonian science worked up by Chinese mathematicians of the Chow dynasty. The Babylonian elements are the following :—

1. The dial was used for distinguishing latitudes by the length of the shadow.

2. The clepsydra was used for marking time.

3. The length of the shadow, the gnomon and a point taken on the earth known with more or less certainty, were supposed to give as a fourth proportional the height of the sun or of heaven.

4. The squares of the shadow and gnomon were known to be equal to the square on the hypothenuse, or the line joining their extremities.

These being fairly deserving of the epithet Babylonian, it is a point of interest that we are able to assign them with much probability to a date a little before B.C. 806 as the period of their introduction into China. We know from the Old Testament that the sun dial of Ahaz was taken to Jerusalem about B.C. 740. The Jews learned it with foreign religious observances forbidden to them by their law. The Chinese learned it with astrology and star-worship. Much depended on the place of Jupiter when stars were to be selected for a feudal barony. Whatever constellation happened to be the place of Jupiter in any year when the investiture of a baron took place might become the patron constellation of his barony. Now it appears that Kio and Kang, the first of the zodiac of twenty-eight, were assigned to Cheng, in Honan, and the investiture of the first baron

took place in the year B.C. 806. I asked Professor Russell of the Peking College to inform me where Jupiter was B.C. 806. He calculated, and found that he was in Kio and Kang in that year. Since, therefore, the first two constellations could not have been assigned to Cheng before that date, it becomes likely that it was at the same time that the whole scheme of the territorial distribution of the constellations was conceived and carried out to something like completeness. But some years must have passed away before the year 806, during which astrology, a foreign belief, could take root in the country. Hence it may be concluded that astrology gradually grew into prevalence in the ninth century before Christ.

Edouard Biot, in his translation of the Chow li, published in 1851, has limited himself in his criticism on its genuineness to the views of Han and Sung dynasty authors. He accepts Ma twan lin's view, who decides for the Chow li being the production of Chow Kung, its immense multiplication of officers and duties being caused by the inheritance in full of the old traditional system of the Hia and Shang dynasties. Ma twan lin was in tone and principle a Sung man, and was the last great example of that school. Biot, himself a brilliant critic and by tendency and inclination an archæologist, has in this case stopped short with Ma twan lin, and omitted to consider the views of later Chinese critics. Biot, in his picture of the Chinese ancient world, has been eminently successful in placing it in full detail before his readers. But he has not done all that was necessary for the Chow li. Mau si ho's[1] views respecting it are worth mentioning. He condemns those Sung writers who ascribe it to Lieu hin at the end of the first Han period, and rightly so, for however that author might wish to flatter Wang mang in the compilation of the Chow li, he would not have made such a book as this to carry out that end. It is too wide of the mark. Mau si ho thinks it was a book of the Chan kwo period, that is, of the third or fourth century

[1] Chow li wen, i. pp. 3, 10.

before Christ, or perhaps somewhat earlier. There is much to be said for this view, seeing that Confucius, Mencius, and other authors do not quote this book, as they would have done if it were a classic in their times. But for my own part I feel more confidence in the criticism of the eighteenth century,[1] which makes the Chow li neither a Han book nor a book of the Chan kwo times, but a book of the early Chow period, partly written by Chow kung, but added to subsequently. The reason why neither Confucius, Mencius, nor, immediately after them, Tso kieu ming, quote passages from it, may be that it was an official book not published. It belonged to a government office in Lo yang, while these three authors lived in the Loo kingdom, three hundred miles to the east. All the Chinese classics are the work of officers, excepting such of the poems as were collected by a commission, and such portions as came from the hand of Confucius. This book belongs to the Western Chow, but was preserved in the eastern capital of that time, viz. Lo yang. We know it was this city, because Chinese old writers,[2] in commenting on the use of the gnomon mentioned in chapter 42nd of the Chow li, say that in Lo yang, at the summer solstice, the shadow was one foot five inches in length, which is the length of the gnomon given in the text. To this Chen kang cheng adds that in winter the shadow was thirteen feet in length. The foot of the Chow dynasty was about eight English inches in length.[3] We translate Chih by foot, but, in fact, it is a span, and it was probably so in Babylonia also. On the hypothesis that the dial went from Babylon to China about the ninth century before Christ, we have in the Chinese ancient foot measure a possible value for the Babylonian foot and for the height of the gnomon they commonly used. Beside this we have also a possible origin of trigonometry. This science is said to have begun with the building of altars, but it may have begun in the use of

[1] Sï ku tsiuen shu, xix. pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 31, 36.

[2] Found in Kia kung yen's comment, and in that of Cheng.

[3] In the Kin shï so, "Chain of metal and stone inscriptions," the Chow foot is eight English inches, the Han foot is 9·8 inches, the Tsin 9·125, the Sung 10·625. Foot of A.D. 76 is 9·125 inches.

the dial, which was thus early employed as a measurer in connection with the shadow. The phrase used of the dial in the Chow li, "to measure the earth," is very suggestive. It seems to teach by implication that the Greek sciences of geometry and trigonometry both began with the dial and shadow. The genius of the Babylonians was practical. A higher gift of genius aided the Greeks when they put aside the practical elements and framed out of Babylonian and Egyptian data pure sciences. What the Chinese received in the early Chow period was the Babylonian nucleus from which the Greeks evolved much, one point after another, of their mathematical science. The Chinese do not know that the umbrella astronomy is Babylonian, nor that the dial and clepsydra, with astrology and metrology, are also Babylonian, and, in consequence, they ascribe the origin of these things to their own ancient sages. But for us the knowledge of these things, together with the systematic interpretation of dreams, etc., by the Chinese before the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, is a part of the proof that distant navigation in the Indian Ocean was prosecuted extensively in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and, before that, during the long subjection of Babylon to Assyria, for it is only by this supposition that we can easily account for the facts.

The distorted geographical ideas of the Chinese and their wild primitive cosmography begin, properly speaking, with Lie tsze, B.C. 400. There was before his time a system of the world, and the Chinese had ideas, of course, about the universe and the earth of a general kind, as shown in the phrase, "within the Four Seas." But it is for the first time in Lie tsze that cosmography finds a voice. We cannot place the ideas respecting the outer world which occur in the Er ya before Lie tsze, for the modern critical school find that most of this book is not older than the Han dynasty. It took its present form in the age of Cheng kang cheng, i.e. A.D. 150, and not earlier.

Lie tsze's view of the universe blooms into its full extravagance in his fifth chapter. It takes the form of a legend, evidently of foreign origin. The world is supported by the

four feet of an immense monster, called Ngok.[1] A legendary emperor or empress, named Nuko, cut off the feet of the monster to put them to this use. This was after he or she had already prepared stones of five colours to fill up defects in heaven and earth. In a subsequent struggle between two emperors the pillars of heaven were broken and the four cardinal points of the earth sundered. This caused the heavens to fall on the north-west, and consequently the sun, moon, and stars move to that point. The earth also became defective on the south-east, and that is the reason why the rivers all flow to that part of the world.[2] East of the Gulf of Pechili is an immense abyss (Pacific Ocean). This bottomless sea is the home to which all waters flow. In this ocean are five islands, known by names such as Bom lai, all inhabited by immortal beings. These islands moved with the tide. This was a matter of grief to the immortals. They petitioned God (Ti) to relieve them, and he in anger caused the islands to float in the first place to the extreme west. Then under the guidance of Gugom, god of the north, a great Ngok lifted them by fifteen movements of the head upon his back. The five islands were afterwards borne by monsters of the same kind to the Lompak country. Two of them were liberated from these animals, floated to the north pole, and sank in the great sea there. Lie tsze speaks of giants many hundred feet high. East of China, at a distance of 400,000 miles, there is a nation of dwarfs called Tsok nok. They are a foot high. In the north are people about seven feet high. On the south of China is a country called Mim lim, and here five hundred years makes a spring and five hundred years an autumn. In the north is a sea called Mim hai. It is heaven's lake. The bird Bom found there has wings which look as wide as the clouds, and a fish called Kon is also found there which is several thousand miles long.

In the idea of an ocean round the world, and monstrous creatures inhabiting it belonging to either the fish or the

[1] Some Chinese words are here mentioned, with the pronunciation given to them by the ancient Chinese.

[2] An allusion to the prevailing direction of all Chinese rivers.

bird creation, the Chinese writers of the third and fourth centuries before Christ enter on a region entirely new to the literature of their country. This is also true of the way in which they represent ancient personages of Chinese antiquity as half fish and half man. A favourite mode of describing the ancient emperors Fu hi and Shen nung was a snake body joined to a human face, a cow's head, and a tiger's nose. The new ideas which entered the country at that time were joined to old tradition, so as to make new combinations. The Chinese did not get their new information in a definite and accurate shape. It reached them in the form of pictures, legends, and half-explained doctrines. Hence they attached them to persons with whose names they were familiar, and every fragment of primitive Chinese tradition became embellished with new circumstances. Before this time Chinese literature was realistic, and legend was rare. But Tso kieu ming and Lie tsze set the example of writing romance with pleasure. Chinese style became modified by the infusion of creative imagination. What was old was dressed up in new habiliments, and the world was pictured with the help of fancy. Scraps of knowledge and crude narratives brought from other lands far away became the basis on which was built up a fairy structure, which pleased the new spirit of the age, and has produced on the literature of the country ever since a permanent impression.

The outer world as thus looked on became a cosmos, made up of monstrosities at a distance and sober facts nearer home. The work known as Shan hai king, Book of the Hills and Seas, is an embodied sketch of this universe, half real and half fabulous. It was intended as a classic of geography. It has become so, if by that name be meant a manual of local legend and mythology, as well as of topography, both for China and the great outer world, as known in the third century before Christ. In the description of the Kwun lun mountain, which corresponds to the Chaldean mountain of the East, it is said that this celebrated mountain is God's (Ti) lower residence. The local deity

who rules it is Lokgno (also called in Chwang tsï Kingo), who has a tiger body with nine tails, a human face, and tiger claws. He presides over the nine districts of the nine cities of heaven, and over the times of the gardens of God. There is a beast who is like a ram having four horns. His name is Dulu, and he eats human flesh. The Yellow river flows from this mountain, first north-east and then south. The Red river flows from it to the south-east, and enters the Bamten river.[1] The Yang river flows from it to the south-west, and enters the Tudu river. The Black river flows from it to the west, and enters Tayü. Beyond it on the west, at a distance of about a thousand li, is the Jade-stone mountain, where the Queen of the West resides. She is called Si wang mu. She has a human appearance, but a panther's tail, and a tiger's teeth. Her hair is spread to the wind, and she wears jade ornaments.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th chapters of this book describe countries beyond the sea. In speaking, at the commencement, of southern regions, the book says they are ruled by the Tai sui, "great year god." By this is meant the god of each year in the cycle of sixty. The god that rules each year varies in turn till each of the sixty has presided in his place. I place in a note the ten names of these gods for the decimal cycle, kia, yi, ping, ting, wu, ki, keng, sin, jen, kwei.[2] At the end of the account of ocean kingdoms in the south, it is said that the god of fire ruling the south is named Tokyom. He has the body of a quadruped, with the face of a man, and he rides two dragons. In the same way, at the end of the account of western countries, it is added, the god of the west, Nok shu, has in his left ear a snake.

[1] Bamten looks like "Brahma heaven." Ten is *tien* 'heaven.' Perhaps this is the Brahmaputra. The commentator Kwo pu, of the fourth century after Christ, says, however, that Bamten is the name of a mountain.

[2] In the Er ya we find the ten names (as anciently pronounced) are the following, Otbom. Tanmom, Nudo, Gomgu, Tuyom, Duvi, Domtom, Dumkom, Genik, Toyom. The twelve names of the duodecimal cycle, Tsi, c'heu yin. etc., in the Er ya, are Shap de kak (which is stated in the Shï ki to be Jupiter), Tanot, Tipzu, Dai kam lak, Duntsom, Kapgap, Tuntan, Tsakgak, Ommu, Daionkin, Kuntun, Tak punnak. The place of Jupiter is in the third hour of the horizon, or 60 degrees from the north towards the east. Tanot is 90 degrees, and the rest in order.

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He rides two dragons. The commentator of A.D. 300 adds that this was the god of metal, and that he had a human face, a tiger's claws, white hair, and a javelin in his hand.

In describing the North Sea divinities, this book speaks of an animal like a horse, and named Dodu. Another is like a white horse, with teeth like a saw. This beast feeds on tigers and panthers. The god of the north properly so called is named Gugom, and has a man's face, a bird's head, a black snake in each ear, and a black snake also under each foot. This divinity is also the god of water.

In the east is Kumom, a divinity who rules the element of wood, having a bird's body, and a human face. He is represented as riding on two dragons.

To show how ancient Chinese personages are introduced in this book, I will mention what is said near the end of the Emperor Fu hi. In the south-west is the Pa country (in Western China). Fu hi had a son Hien niau, a grandson named Cheng li. Cheng li's son was Heu chau. Heu chau was the forefather of the Pa people. Here we see plainly how a local legend was invented to gratify the people of the Pa region, and to provide them with an object of worship. It must not be supposed that the stories of a local kind with which the Shan hai king is crowded are invented by the author. They have been collected by him from various sources. At the beginning of the 16th chapter, for instance, is a passage which Hwai nan tsze in the second century before Christ quotes from Lie tsze in the fourth. In the fifteenth chapter a kingdom of dwarfs is mentioned in the south. It is named Tsiau nau. The dwarfs are, says Kwo pu, three feet high, the height given in the Shi ki B.C. 100. Lie tsze says the same people are one foot and a half high, and he states that their country is 400,000 Chinese miles distant from China.

The mode in which Chinese of the Chow dynasty manipulated the materials in their hands, to make new connected legends, may be understood by estimating passages such as the following in the Shen hai king. There is a nation called the Hu people having, explains Kwo p'u, fish bodies and

human faces. The grandson of the fiery emperor (Shen nung), named Ling k'i, was the father of the Hu people, who are able to ascend to heaven and descend from heaven to earth.

The idea of the soul ascending to heaven after death is old Chinese, applicable to the case of wise kings. The wise king, Wen wang, is said to have ascended to heaven after death. But this notion of the body ascending is a Tauist one, which appears to me to have been imported from abroad. Then when the idea was received and thought about, the Chinese of those times connected it with primitive Chinese traditions and emperors. Such stories obtain currency by passing from one person and locality to another. Reflecting persons have nothing to do with the process. It is the work of the unreflecting, and of those who gladly aid in the circulation of legends.

The commentary of Kwo p'u on the Shan hai king proves that this author had before him pictures illustrating the book. The expressions he uses when describing divinities and monsters of various kinds shows that this was the case. He speaks of what was on the right and left of the personage he is describing, in just such a way as he would do if he were looking at a picture. From this circumstance the modern critical school of China has decided that this author, writing about A.D. 300, used an illustrated edition of the Shan hai king when writing his comment. Fortunately it has ever since been the fashion, both in the days of manuscript and in printed editions, from the tenth century onward, to publish illustrations with the books, so that in modern editions we probably have pictures not very unlike those on which Kwo p'u looked while writing.

The process of legend making in the Chow dynasty thus appears to have included four elements. Foreign pictures and images; foreign names, incidents, beliefs, and statements; Chinese primitive traditions and personages; Chow dynasty inventions and combinations. These four elements seem to be woven together inseparably in the legends of the Chow dynasty. Thus when the Yellow Emperor is said to have

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gone up to heaven, we have a Chow dynasty combination of a primitive Chinese emperor with a newly-introduced idea brought from foreign countries. So in the Bamboo Annals, a book of the Contending States, it is said that in the 59th year of the reign of the Yellow Emperor, ambassadors came to China from the "perforated chest" nation, and from the "long-legged nation." This is a Chow addition to the old account of the Yellow Emperor, which had no such details. We learn from the Kin shï so that in certain sepulchral chapels in Shantung, dating from the Han dynasty, ambassadors of these nations were sculptured on the walls as ornaments. Two bearers are seen carrying an ambassador of the Perforated Chest nation, and the carrying pole is inserted through the hole in his chest. They are also mentioned in the Shan hai king (Legge, Prolegomena, vol. iii. p. 109). It is necessary in our criticism of the ancient books of the Chinese to distinguish carefully between a book like the Shu king, which has a historical appearance, and a work such as the Bamboo books, which is crowded with myths in the early part, and which does not come down to us with the marks and proofs of historical authenticity.

The argument for Babylonian influence on China in the Chow dynasty must rest mainly on the evidence from the history of astrology, astronomical instruments, metrology, and astronomy. The legends of monsters and impossible nations might come from India quite as well. But astrology and the foundations of scientific astronomy could come from Babylon alone.

ART. II.—*La Calle and the Country of the Khomair, with a Note on North African Marbles; being the Report of a recent Tour, addressed to H.M. Secretary of State.* By Consul-General R. L. PLAYFAIR.

Communicated by R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary, with consent of the Author.

Algiers, April 28th, 1884.

MY tour really commenced at La Calle. I proceeded thither by the ordinary land route, and arrived at Bône just in time to catch the Tunis steamer, which left on the 6th April. It was perfectly calm when the vessel left, but after we had been an hour at sea the sirocco, which had been blowing, was suddenly succeeded by a strong north-west gale, and when we arrived off the port, two hours later, we had the greatest difficulty in landing.

This district is of great historical interest, as it was here that the French first established themselves in North Africa. In 1520 certain merchants of Havre settled at Cape Negro for the purpose of trading with the Arabs and fishing for coral. These were followed, a few years later, by others from Marseilles, who, in 1524, founded the establishment known as the Bastion de France. Owing, however, to its exposed situation, and to the extreme insalubrity of the climate, caused by the emanations from the lake in its immediate vicinity, the Compagnie d'Afrique transferred its establishment to La Calle in 1677.

On the occasion of my visit an English steamer, "The Black Sea," arrived there to load with mineral, and the master very obligingly offered to take me in her to visit the site of the old French factory. It is about thirteen kilom. to the west, on a small rocky promontory, forming a creek, entirely exposed to the north-west winds. This is not the

place to enter into a detailed account of its history and of the grievous sufferings the French had to undergo, from persecution on the part of the Arabs and of the Turks at Algiers, from intestine feuds and the ravages of pestilence. The ruins are still in a good state of preservation, and I was much struck with the accuracy of the description of the place given by Père Dan in 1634. All the buildings mentioned by him can be identified. It then contained 400 men, who were daily fed at the cost of the Company, and he adds:—"On y fait ordinairement un trafic avantageux et riche, qui est quantité de corail, de blé, de cire, de cuirs, et de chevaux Barbes, que les Maures et les Arabes voisins y viennent vendre à très bon prix, et que l'on transporte peu après en Provence."

La Calle was frequently attacked and destroyed by the Arabs: in 1807 it was granted by the Dey to England, but we never turned it to any good account, and on the termination of the war with France it again reverted to the latter. In 1827 it was finally destroyed by the Algerines, and remained a ruin till 1836, when it was re-occupied by General Yousouf and Captain Berthier de Savigny, who found it exactly in the condition in which it had been last abandoned. There were still about forty houses capable of restoration, especially that of the Governor, now occupied by the Commandant-Supérieur.

The harbour is a little oblong basin, open to the west-north-west, not more than 120 yards wide at the entrance, and about 300 yards long. On the north side is the rocky peninsula on which the old town of La Calle stands; on the south is a sandy beach on which the modern city has sprung up. The harbour is only accessible for vessels of the smallest size, and when the sea is high it is impossible even for these to enter.

Many projects have been suggested for the creation of a port at La Calle; that of Admiral Mouchez was decided on a few years ago; it contemplated the creation of a great harbour of refuge at Bou-Lif, to the west of the town, having an area of 80 hectares; but after nearly 500,000 fr.

had been expended without any appreciable results, it was abandoned. It is now intended to close up the present entrance to the small port, and excavate another to the east, which will not be exposed to the prevailing bad weather. This will be convenient for the coral boats, but it will not permit a steamer to enter.

On the occasion of my visit six years ago I found the place in a high state of prosperity. Very extensive establishments had been created for salting sardines, and the coral fishery was in full activity. It still has a most prosperous appearance, and, what is rare in Algeria, an over-teeming population; but the sardines seem to have deserted the coast, the salting-houses are closed, the coral banks near the shore have been exhausted, and boats have to go much further off and to much deeper water. Their number also has greatly decreased; there used to be as many as 230 boats engaged in the coral fishery, and nearly as many catching sardines; now the total number does not exceed sixty.

This falling-off is no doubt due in a great measure to natural causes which no one can control, such as the discovery of rich coral banks on the coast of Sicily; but partly also to the inexplicable policy now in favour in Algeria, which discourages anything like foreign enterprise, and would almost seem framed with the object of getting rid of foreigners altogether from the Colony. Italian boats pay, in virtue of a special Convention, only 400 fr. a year as licence duty; all other nationalities pay 800 fr.; French boats are entirely exempted. The consequence is that all foreign boats are driven out of the trade. This one can understand, but it is hardly conceivable why almost every foreigner by nationality, though born in the Colony, on conviction of the most trivial offence, in addition to the punishment due for it, is sentenced to expulsion. Such cases are constantly brought to the notice of every foreign Consul.

There are three lakes of considerable size in the neighbourhood of La Calle. That furthest to the west is the Guerah-el-Melah, or, as it used to be called, l'Etang du Bastion. It has an area of 867 hectares and a depth of from

four to five metres. There is still a narrow communication between it and the sea, but in former times this was sufficiently wide to enable coral boats to enter and use it as a harbour of refuge during bad weather. The neighbourhood is extremely unhealthy.

The second lake is the Guerah Obeira, containing a superficies of 2500 hectares; the water is sweet, but dirty, and as the southern side is marshy, with a good deal of aquatic vegetation, miasma is produced, which renders even the neighbourhood of La Calle feverish.

The third is the Guerah-el-Hout, or Lake Tonga, which will be noticed hereafter.

I started from La Calle for Tabarca on the 8th April, by the newly-constructed carriage-road, parallel to the coast-line; it is admirably engineered, but the surface has not yet been completed; in some places it has been covered with newly-laid metal; in others the earth has been worn into deep ruts, or has been washed away by torrents; still I managed to pass without much difficulty in about nine hours.

After leaving La Calle the coast runs east-north-east through fine cork forests, and then skirts the lake of Tonga or Guerah-el-Hout (Lake of Fish). This is an immense freshwater marsh in summer, though a lake in winter; it is always pestilential, and its influence is felt as far as La Calle. The drainage of this marsh would cost too much money, and no serious project has ever been formed to carry it out. The communication between it and the sea is called the Oued Messida; it forms a small creek much frequented by coral boats, and where the English steamers take in their cargoes of ore. Beyond it is a hill called Kef Chetob by the Arabs, and Monte Rotondo by the Europeans; from its isolation and conical form it is a very remarkable feature in the landscape.

A little further on are the mines of Kef Om-et-Teboul, which produce argentiferous and auriferous lead and zinc ore, all of which is shipped to Swansea. The number of vessels that have been laden with it during the past three

years is as follows:—In 1881, twelve vessels of 12,096 tons; in 1882, sixteen vessels of 15,436 tons; in 1883, twenty vessels of 26,367 tons.

The quantity of mineral actually extracted at the present time is not more than 12,000 tons per annum, but there are large reserves, and an immense mass of ore which was formerly thrown aside as useless, but which, owing to the advancement in metallurgy, can now be utilized. The firm which has contracted for this mineral is Messrs. Charles H. Thompson and Co., of London and Swansea. Their steamers are sent to the mouth of the Messida to take in cargo there.

The road up to the mines is good, and beyond it, passing by El Aioun, and crossing the frontier at the Col de Babouch, is an excellent carriage-road leading to Ain Draham. I kept along the lower route, through a wild and mountainous region intersected by deep ravines, and covered with dense brushwood of lentisk, tree heath, cistus, etc., with here and there patches of forest containing oak of various species and maritime pine.

The road crosses the frontier at some distance from the sea, passing over the high range of hills which terminates in Cape Roux. The cape itself is composed of steeply scarped rocks of a red colour; in former times it was crowned by another establishment belonging to the Compagnie d'Afrique, and we can still see a cutting from the summit to the sea, a sort of slide, down which the corn purchased from the Arabs used to be sent to the ships which were ready to load with it beneath.

Shortly after this the road approaches the sea; the coast-line is beautifully indented, and there are charming views of land and water at every turn, till at last the Island of Tabarca and the military position on the mainland, high above the town, come in view.

I have given the history of this interesting place elsewhere; I may, however, be allowed to give a very brief recapitulation of it. It was at one time a Roman Colony. After the expedition of Charles V. to Tunis in 1535, the right of fishing for coral here was conceded to the Spaniards,

and it was subsequently made over to the Lomellini family of Genoa, in exchange for the celebrated corsair Dragut, who had been captured by Andrea Doria. In 1741 it was captured by the Tunisians; part of the inhabitants effected their escape to the Island of San Pietro in Sardinia, others peopled what is still called the Island of Tabarca, near Alicante, on the coast of Spain, and the remainder were carried off and enslaved in Tunis.

When I visited this place six years ago it was almost uninhabited, and a traveller could not venture far from the fort without taking considerable precautions. Now it is as secure as any part of Algeria; a village has sprung up, containing an hôtel and some stone houses; most of the buildings, however, are wooden sheds.

They are nearly all shops, taverns, and restaurants, built for the supply of the garrison, which till within the last few weeks consisted of 400 men. It has now been reduced to twenty-five Zouaves, commanded by a sub-lieutenant, and these will soon be withdrawn. It is ludicrous to see a village with as many shops as customers; there would have been a general exodus but for the strong hope of Tabarca soon becoming a place of considerable importance, when the new harbour works are commenced.

The whole place is covered with Roman and mediæval ruins. The fort which crowns the western side of the island, built by Charles V., is most picturesque, resembling one of the finest castles on the Rhine. It is built on precipitous rocks rising directly from the sea, and from a little distance looks as if it might almost be habitable. On the upper terrace lie about twenty old rusty guns, part of its ancient armament; it contained numerous brass and bronze cannon, but these have long since passed into the melting-pot.

On the mainland are many Roman buildings; one appears to have been a palace or public bath; it is called "Keskes" by the Arabs, and still contains several large vaulted halls, in good preservation. There is a ruined chapel and fortified position behind the hôtel, with a necropolis attached, prob-

ably Genoese, as the graves are piled in tiers, one above the other, separated only by flat stones or terra-cotta slabs, somewhat in the manner adopted in Italy and Spain at the present day.

On the hill above is the Bordj Djidid, or "New Fort," built by the Tunisians a great many years ago. Around it have been erected temporary barracks and other subsidiary buildings, sufficient for a large garrison. This fort it is which was bombarded when the place was taken by the French, but it never was in a position to offer even a show of resistance.

Close to the island may still be seen the hull of the "Auvergne," a large four-masted steamer belonging to the Talabot Company, which was driven ashore in 1878. The wreck was pillaged by the Khomair, and though none of the crew were actually killed, some of them were grossly ill-treated; and this, it may be recollected, was one of the indictments against them, which ended in the occupation of their country and of the whole Regency by the French.

About 10 kilom. to the east, at a place called Ras-er-Rajel (Man's Head), in the territory of the Oulad Yehia, and again nearly east of Cape Negro, 35 kilom. distant, there exist large and valuable deposits of iron and copper ore, which were pointed out to me during my former visit. These have been granted by the Government of Tunis to the powerful Company which already owns the mines of Mokta-el-Hadid, near Bône, and those of Beni Saf, near Oran. They are about to commence work very shortly; they will lay down a line of railway to the mines, and will make a harbour by blocking up the shallow channel between the southern end of the island and the shore, thus forming a port which will be open only to the north-east, and which will be sheltered from the prevailing north-west winds by the island itself. It will be necessary to dig a new channel for the river which flows into the site of the new harbour, at least during the winter months, for in summer it does not reach the sea at all, thus creating a marsh which is a perfect hot-bed of malarious fever.

The whole of the property in the neighbourhood, now belonging to the Beylick, has been granted to the Company, including the island itself, a great part of which will be blasted down to supply materials for the harbour works. The terms of the Concession are very advantageous to the Company, and include a payment to the State of 5 per cent. on their net profit. In addition to the land conceded, they have purchased a considerable amount from the Arabs at a very cheap rate, including half the present village; so there is a chance of their becoming nearly as complete autocrats here as they are at Beni Saf. Even the fort on the mainland will be given up to them, and the garrison will be entirely withdrawn. They talk of restoring the old castle and using it as a residence. I fear there is little chance of this precious historical monument being properly preserved when it gets into the hands of a private and irresponsible Company.

In the old maps of Tunis the country of the Khomair was simply a blank space, and little or nothing was known of its inhabitants. Their manners were reported to be almost brutal. As their territory was inaccessible to any force the Bey could send against them, no one dared to approach their mountains, or, if an expedition did enter, the soldiers were either massacred or the Khomair themselves dispersed into the interior, where pursuit was impossible. Their numbers were considerable, though much exaggerated; and, having but little to lose, they preferred independence and poverty to a more quiet and settled life under Turkish government. When they were too much pressed by want, they had only to replenish their resources by incursions on either side, and they plundered indiscriminately both the subjects of the Bey and the Arabs under French rule in Algeria.

Thus for years, shut in between the two countries, they managed to preserve their independence, a thorn, no doubt, in the side of both, but one which was willingly endured by the Algerian authorities till the moment should come when their depredations should give the necessary excuse for an invasion of the Tunisian territories. How the "invention"

of the Khomair actually did lead to the French Protectorate of Tunis is a matter of public notoriety.

Having procured horses at Tabarca, I started for Ain Draham, the military post in the heart of their country, on the 9th April. There is a good road in process of construction, but it is not yet nearly finished, and it must be a long time ere it will be practicable for wheeled conveyances; but it is an excellent bridle-path, even in the worst places, and for picturesque beauty, the country which it traverses can hardly be surpassed. It ascends the broad valley of the Oued-el-Kebir, opposite the Island of Tabarca, running nearly due south. The ground, wherever possible, is richly cultivated, and will no doubt one day be opened out to European colonization. At present, like all plains in North Africa, when undrained and insufficiently cultivated, that is, cultivated only in the rudimentary manner known to the Arabs, it is very unhealthy, but in due time that will be remedied; no places could have been worse, or are now better, than many parts of the Metidja, near Algiers.

All over the country there are the ruins of Roman farms or fortified posts; for the most part they are mere heaps of stone, but of large blocks finely cut. One of these, about 5 kilom. from Tabarca, is, however, of a more important character; part of the walls and one arched gateway are still standing; it is close to the river, and is called by the Arabs Kasr Zeitoun ("Palace of the Olive Tree"), from a group of gigantic olive trees which grow around it and in its deserted chambers.

At 17 kilom. from Tabarca is the Oued Kerma, a beautiful clear stream, so called from a large fig tree growing near it; a road bifurcating to the north-east leads to the "Camp du Génie," now unoccupied. Beyond, the scenery becomes wilder and more beautiful, consisting of great stretches of oak forest, interspersed with glades of cleared and cultivated land. Not an armed Khomiri was to be seen; the men were all engaged in ploughing the land for next autumn's crop, while the women were clearing the weeds from among the growing corn. All seemed to have a kindly word or a

salutation for us as we passed, and I saw none of the black looks and scowls that I had noticed on my former journey. The appearance of the people, however, was lean and miserable: they were covered with disgusting rags, and their huts were of the most squalid description, hardly comparable to any save those in use among such barbarians as the Andaman Islanders.

At 26 kilom. is the Col de Babouch, the junction of this road with that leading up from Kef Om-et-Teboul. Here is a custom-house, and an agent of the Tunisian Financial Commission, and there was a camp of soldiers engaged in repairing the latter road. Beyond this we passed for a few kilometres through a forest of the most splendid cork trees I have ever seen; I noticed the same beautiful effect of vegetation which had so much struck me before; the upper surfaces of the branches were covered with a thick layer of moss, in which grew polypodium and other varieties of fern; this passed, Ain Draham came suddenly in sight, perched high above on a bleak hill-side, its regular houses and huts of wood with red tiled roofs forming by no means a pleasing contrast with the beauty of the landscape through which we had passed. The view from it, however, is very fine down the whole length of the valley through which we had passed, and seaward the Galita Islands, not visible from Tabarca, appear as if they were only a few miles distant.

Ain Draham is situated at a distance of 31 kilom. due south of Tabarca, and at 41 kilom. from La Calle, by the carriage-road passing Om-et-Teboul, El Aioun, and the Col de Babouch. It is 800 metres above the sea, and is well supplied with water from the "Spring of Money," whence it takes its name, and other fountains. Until very lately it had a garrison of 3000 men, commanded by a General of Brigade, now it is only a Colonel's command; there are still about 1200 men, but a further reduction is contemplated, to the despair of the numerous auberge and store keepers who have settled here, and who can have no possible occupation but that of supplying the troops and feeding the officers.

There is a fairly good hôtel, with an ornamental iron balcony, the rails of which form the words "Hôtel des Pacificateurs"; the landlady evidently thinks that the French army is maintained expressly for her advantage, and is indignant at the place being left with an insufficient garrison.

There is no attempt at defence here; no redoubt, entrenchment, or even the simplest walled inclosure. The barracks of the troops and the huts of the settlers cover a considerable area of ground, and although the Khomair have been disarmed, no one really supposes them to be destitute of weapons. Insurrections have occurred in Algeria under more unlikely circumstances, and it is not impossible that some day a rising of this warlike tribe may temporarily endanger the French supremacy, or at least lead to the massacre of many women and children, who would find a safe refuge within a fortified position, if even one of the most rudimentary description.

It is impossible not to be struck by the extraordinary results which have followed the French Protectorate in this once inaccessible region. Admirable roads have been made, or are in process of construction, northwards to the sea at Tabarca, north-west to Algeria at La Calle, southward to the railway which traverses the valley of the Medjerda, and another has been traced to run eastward to Beja. With all these "pacificateurs" no serious fears need ever be entertained for the permanent security of the country.

On the 10th April I left Ain Draham in a carriage which I had sent up from La Calle: the first part of the road lies through splendid oak forests, but as it descends, these gradually become replaced by brushwood, and finally by open, undulating ground, more or less cultivated.

At Fedj-el-Meridj, 5 kilom. from Ain Draham, is a little grassy meadow, nestled amongst wooded hills. This evidently was a Roman post, as in the centre of it is a mound of stones, the best of which have been taken away for the construction of the road. One miliary column has, however, been spared; it bears the names of Constantine and Licinius, thus fixing the date prior to the defeat of the latter in A.D. 323.

It also bears the number XVIII, probably eighteen miles from Bulla Regia.

The half-way station to Souk-el-Arba is at Fernana (20 kilom.). This place derives its name from an immense cork oak, the only tree within several miles. It is on the boundary of the Khomair country, and used to be the extreme limit to which the Bey's camp was permitted to come in its annual circuit for the collection of taxes. Here the chiefs used to meet it, and hand over such sums as they felt disposed to pay. If the Tunisian soldiery advanced a step further, the taxes were paid with powder and lead, and these brave warriors never dared to follow their assailants within the limits of their mountains and forests.

After the occupation of Ain Draham, a strong column encamped here for many months, and it has left a memorial of its stay, and a testimony to the unhealthy nature of the place, in a large and crowded cemetery.

About 7 kilom. before reaching Souk-el-Arba, a cross-country path, but one quite practicable for carriages, branches off to the left and leads to the important Roman ruins of Bulla Regia. It was raining heavily during the time of my visit, and I was unable to make as careful an inspection of them as I could have desired. I regretted this the more as they are rarely visited, and no description of them has ever yet been published.

Bulla Regia, no doubt, derived its name from having been the residence of some of the Numidian kings, and it subsequently became a *liberum oppidum* under the Romans. It is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus as one of the stations on the route from Hippo to Carthage, and again in the Tables of Peutinger. Its position was no doubt determined by the presence of a copious spring of sweet water, which, in this region of brackish rivers, was a priceless treasure. This issues from the foot of Djebel-el-Arabia, one of the hills which bound the north side of the valley of the Medjerda.

The ruins cover an area of many acres; they consist of several large buildings and numberless smaller vaulted

edifices now buried in the soil, generally above the spring of the arches. In the centre, to the north, is the spring, which rose in a large semicircular nymphæum of cut stone, from which leaden pipes issued for the distribution of the water in various directions. Immediately in front of it was an archway built of large blocks of very compact and finely-cut limestone. This was destroyed in the most barbarous manner to supply building material for the railway; the *débris* even now remaining on the spot gives it the appearance of a disused quarry.

The spring has now been inclosed within a *château d'eau*, and is conducted in iron pipes for the supply of Souk-el-Arba, which, until the last few days, has been supplied with water from Tunis by train. The surplus suffices to fill the nymphæum, and to form a marsh further down, full of eels and barbel of great size. Only a small spot on the border of this reservoir has been cleared to its original level; here a fine mosaic pavement has been discovered, and, to judge by the remains lying round about, this must have been a beautiful spot, decorated probably by temples and colonnades, somewhat like the well-known example at Zaghouan.

Lower down the valley, almost due south of the spring, are the ruins of the thermæ. Like all the other buildings here, this has been overthrown by an earthquake. Huge masses of masonry lie around, disjointed and overthrown, in a manner that could not have been effected by any other agency. One high arch still remains entire, which helped to sustain the roof of the central hall. The subsidiary buildings are buried in *débris* nearly to the crown of their vaults. I have no doubt that these chambers will be found almost entire, and probably containing valuable works of art. It would be a great boon to archæology if this building could be cleared out; in the meantime the earth and ruins which encumber it insure its preservation from the fate which has befallen the triumphal arch before mentioned. It is satisfactory to add that since a military camp has been formed at Souk-el-Arba, stringent orders have been given to respect all the ruins.

Between the spring and the baths, but a little to the east, is the theatre, also much buried in earth. One can descend in some places into the corridors, and form a good idea of the nature of the building. The masonry is all of the finest cut stone; the auditorium is entirely filled up, but one square pillar, showing the spring of an arch, exists on the left side of the scena.

At a considerable distance further east is the amphitheatre, even more destroyed, and apparently of an earlier epoch. The masonry is of less regular rubble, with only cut stone facings and angles. It commanded, like all similar buildings, a splendid view of the country round.

There are many other edifices, more or less entire, some of great size; one has all its chambers and vaulted roofs in perfect preservation, and was used as a residence by the workmen engaged on the waterworks. There is also a series of eight contiguous cisterns of great size, too high to have been filled by the spring; probably they were intended for the collection of rain-water, which the Romans in North Africa were more accustomed to use for drinking purposes.

From this place to the Medjerda is a distance of 7 kilom. The railway station is Souk-el-Arba (Market of Wednesday), 155 kilom. from Tunis and 34 kilom. from Ghardimaou, where the line at present terminates. An entrenched camp has been made here, in subordination to the Commandant Supérieur at Ain Draham. It is the nearest point of departure for Kef (58 kilom.), to which place a mail-carriage runs every day. There is a tolerably good inn close to the railway station.

I commenced my journey homewards on the 11th, but went no further that day than Chemtou, as I was anxious to visit the marble quarries and Roman remains at that place. They are near the railway station of Oued Meliz (Mehliz), 23 kilom. west from Souk-el-Arba.

The ancient Semitu Colonia is mentioned in the itineraries, like Bulla Regia, as one of the stations on the road from Hippo Regia (Bône) to Carthage, but beyond this little is

known of its history, and no modern description of the ruins has been published; until the railway opened out the basin of the Medjerda, this part of the country was difficult of access and remote from the usual routes of travellers.

Close to a spot where one of the numerous streams called Oued-el-Melah, or Salt River, flows into the Medjerda, are situated a line of small hills, covering an area of about 90 hectares, the highest point of which is 260 metres above the sea-level. They are composed almost entirely of marble of various kinds, but principally of giallo antico, rose-coloured marble, and a fine brownish breccia. There can be no doubt that these quarries were extensively worked by the Romans; large excavations made by them exist in various places, and numerous inscriptions have been found on blocks of marble which had been extracted but not carried away. I subjoin one out of many, without even attempting to make a guess at its meaning:

IMP . ANTONINI . AVG . PII : D
N . . . . . OHAGRIPR
CAILICANOFIVEIPPECOS

I was extremely glad to have had the opportunity of visiting this quarry, as it was the only one in North Africa that I had not yet seen. In the hope that a few remarks on the subject of Numidian marbles may prove of use to those interested in the marble trade, I attach a separate Memorandum on the subject.

The plain on both sides of the hills is covered with extensive Roman remains. The city must have been a very considerable one, larger and more important than its neighbour, Bulla Regia; the latter was probably a Royal residence, and inhabited by people unconnected with commerce; this one was a centre of trade, owing its existence probably to its rich marble quarries. There can be no doubt as to its name. Semitu and Semitus are found in several inscriptions both on tombstones and miliary columns; one of the former bears the truncated effigy of a man standing between two columns, and underneath is the following inscription:

L . SILICVS OPIA
TVS . VIX . AN . L .
INITERCE PIVS
INITINERE
HVIC . VETERANI
MORANTES
SEMITV . DE
SVO . FECERVI.

Two of the latter, much defaced, but having the name of the place quite legible, are placed in the Director's garden. Two other mile-stones which I observed are interesting; one gives the orthography of Tabarca almost as used at the present day, instead of Tabraca, as in the Itinerary of Antonine:

TABERCA
II

The other gives the name of a road which must have passed here, but which I cannot trace in any of the itineraries:

VIA
VSOTHA
III

The most prominent ruin in the landscape is that of a long aqueduct, which commenced about 7 kilom. distant among the hills to the west, crossed the Oued-el-Achar by a bridge still entire, and entered a series of seven vaulted cisterns about 2½ kilom. from the works. Thence it passed, partly underground and partly on a long line of arches, crossing the Oued Melah by a bridge, now fallen, till it terminated at the thermæ in the middle of the city.

The masonry of this aqueduct is not of a particularly good quality; the plinths of the pillars are of large blocks of cut stone, but the masonry above them is of a common rubble, and the voussoirs of the arches are of small hammer-dressed stones. Here and there a section of the aqueduct may be seen entirely of cut stone; these mark a reconstruction at a period subsequent to the original work. In one pillar I

observed four tombstones, some of them turned upside down; another pier had one such tombstone, and probably there were many more used, the inscriptions on which were turned inward. The necropolis was in the hills about 1½ kilom. from the marble works, and, as there are very few stones now existing there, it is probable that the greater part of them were used for public works. It is worthy of remark that, while in the necropolis there are stones both of Pagan and Christian times, those which I have seen utilized as before described are entirely of the former period.

I subjoin two inscriptions taken at random; the first has on the upper part the figures of two persons holding each other by the hand, and apparently making offerings on altars with the other hands; below it is the following:

M. VETVRIVS .	AVRELIA
M. FIL . QVIR .	SEX . FIL
PRIMVS	ZABVLIA
PIVS . VIXIT .	PIA . VIXIT .
ANNIS	ANNIS . . . .
H. S. E.	H. S. E.

VETVRII . PRIMVS . ET . HONO
RATVS . PARENTIBVS .
OPTIMUS . FECERVNT.

The other is:

AMEN
CVRIA
IAP SX
CAVIT
MERN . O . P . P .
CVRIA . CAELEST
MESVIFVMPSVA
EIEXVVIAS SEC
AFRICA F PVCANTUR

Close to the end of the aqueduct are the remains of the thermæ, a large building, but of poor construction; the

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mosaic floor, where visible, is exceedingly rude, the tesseræ being of brick and nearly 2 inches long by 1 broad. Further south is the theatre; the scena has entirely disappeared, but the cavea is nearly perfect. The diameter is 36 metres; it is divided into five cunei by four vaulted passages, beneath which are chambers opening outwards; under each cuneus is another vaulted apartment opening inwards. The whole appears to have been surrounded by a colonnade. The building is situated close to the Medjerda, with a fine view in every direction. There is also an amphitheatre at some distance to the east, but it is in a very dilapidated condition, and could never have been a fine building. There are many other structures, more or less ruined, one of which appears to have been a basilica.

But the great feature of the place is undoubtedly the colossal bridge over the Medjerda; it is a work of great magnitude, the southern side is nearly complete, but the rest lies in huge masses, encumbering the bed of the river, as if broken up and tossed about by some great convulsion of nature to such an extent that it is almost impossible to make out its original plan.

It seems, however, to have crossed the river at an obtuse angle, and down stream on the northern side, there are a number of parallel sluices, with grooves for gates, as if it had also served as a barrage for the irrigation of the plains. The bed of the river has been worn away far below its original level, so that the foundations of the piers are high in the air and entirely exposed. The bridge bears evident proof of having been rebuilt, which, indeed, we know, from an inscription, to have been the case in the reign of Trajan. The great mass of the masonry is of rubble, almost entirely of waste marble from the quarries, faced with immense blocks of cut stone, some of which are tombstones. Indeed, throughout the whole of the city there is no appearance of the marble so near at hand having been used in blocks for any purpose; probably it was too valuable, and was all exported to Rome. One of the tombstones used in the reconstruction of the bridge is 1 m. 60 c. long, 50 c. high,

and 35 c. thick; it has two figures in round-headed niches in the middle, and the following inscription:

	D. M. S.
Q. VOLCHAN	GARGILIA . BVR
PATRIS . VXOR	TINA . Q. VOLCHAN
PIA . VIXIT . ANN. CII	VARI . FIL . VXOR .
H. S. E.	PIA . VIX . ANN. XXXIII

Another stone is turned upwards, and has one side of the inscription broken off:

M·AELIO . AV . . .
RELIO . VERO .
CAESARICOS II
IMP. CAESARIS
T . . . . N . HADRIA
NI . ANTONI . . . . .
AVC . . . . . FIL
D.D. P.P.

The record of the reconstruction of the bridge is contained on another stone, now lying in a field on the right bank of the river; an attempt was made to carry it off, but owing to its great size and weight this happily failed. It seems to have been broken down the middle; the height is 1 m. 57 c., the length of the lower side 1 m. 65 c., and of the upper one 1 m. 4 c. The letters are of unequal size, varying from 6 to 30 centim. in height. The whole inscription was contained within a raised moulding:

. . [IMP. . C.]AESAR . DIVI
. . [NERV]AE . F. . NERVA
. . . [TR]AINVS . OPTIMVS
. . . GERM. DACIC. PONT
. . . TRIB. POT. XVI. IMP. VI
. . . COS. VI. P.P.
. . . NOVA . A. FVNDAMENTIS
. . . . . ORVM . ET
PF . . . . . A . . . . . SVA
. . . . . Æ . FECIT.

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At Chemtou I met an officer of the Bureau Arabe, who informed me that, in consequence of the late rains, the road from Ghardimaou to Souk Ahras would probably be impracticable; the diligence on the previous day had broken down, and the passengers had to remain twenty-four hours on the road. As the weather had cleared up, he anticipated that in two days the river would be fordable; but he advised me not to attempt to pass till twenty-four hours had elapsed. I determined to act on his advice, and I returned on the line of railway as far as Beja (more correctly El Badja).

I had visited this place on a former occasion, and I was glad to have an opportunity of seeing the effect of the French Protectorate on it. The town is one of the oldest in the Regency, and I think it was one of the dirtiest. The streets were streams of liquid manure, and the condition of the prison was such that I could not stay long enough in it to copy two interesting Latin inscriptions which it contained. I met here the only European whom I had seen during my travels in the country, an employé in the Telegraph, who looked upon my arrival as quite an event in his life. Now a service of carriages brings visitors from the station to the town, a distance of 12 kilom. Italian and Maltese shops and taverns are common; a Captain of the Bureau Arabe inhabits the Dar-el-Bey, where I was entertained by Si Yoonus, the Tunisian Governor. The old Byzantine citadel has been almost entirely pulled down and replaced by comfortable, if not picturesque, French barracks. Only the central keep remains, formerly the prison, now a depôt for military stores. The troops are still in the camp outside the city, but they will soon be removed to the Casbah, in every way a more pleasant and a healthier situation. Things have a general appearance of cleanliness, and the spring in the Casbah, which formerly struck me as so foul, now flows in its original purity.

Captain Vincent, the Chief of the Bureau Arabe, is an enthusiastic archæologist, and has collected many interesting inscriptions, Roman, Greek, and Numidian; and he has made a curious discovery, which shows how much the level

of the town has been raised by the ruins of successive ages.

At the Bab-es-Souk, or market gate, something like the spring of an arch was observed quite on the ground level. He excavated round the gate outside, and he has discovered the old Roman entrance. It was a double gate; one half is still perfectly entire. The present entrance is built on the ruins of the other half, the ground level being now as high as the spring of the old arch.

I slept at Ghardimaou, the extremity of the railway at present, the same night, and on the following day I proceeded to Souk Ahras; the road, if I may be allowed the expression, follows the line of railway, crossing the Medjerda twenty-three times. It is hardly practicable in fine weather, and quite impossible to travel over after rains; but the line of rail will be entirely finished and open by October next.

Thence I returned to Algiers by land.

Note on the Marbles of Algeria and Tunis.

Four years ago I made a Report[1] on the quarries of Numidian marbles recently discovered near Kleber, in the Province of Oran, in which I stated that nowhere had I seen marbles of greater beauty or variety, and that the quantity was practically inexhaustible.

Immediately after my visit I conceived the idea, which I have since successfully carried out, of decorating the English church here with this precious material. Every one who has seen the work will admit that I have not exaggerated its beauty, and regrets have constantly been expressed that the quarries should remain unworked. The proprietor, Signor Delmonte, did not care to undertake the work himself; he preferred to sell the whole mountain to a Company; but as he has failed in this, he and his sons have determined to open out the quarries on their own account, and to offer the marble for sale, ready for shipment at Oran, for 400 fr. per cubic metre. The commonest white marble is worth

[1] Consular Report, 1881, part i. p. 55.

300 fr., and this would be considered cheap in London or Paris at three times the sum he demands for it. Steamers frequently leave Oran for the United Kingdom laden with Alfa fibre, and masters would gladly take this marble, as ballast, for about 10*s*. a ton.

I feel sure that all connected with the marble trade will be glad to obtain this information. Specimens may be seen in the Mineralogical Department of the British Museum at South Kensington. The visitor will at once be struck by the superior beauty of these marbles, when he sees them side by side with others from various parts of the world.

Marbles of Chemtou.

Next in value to the quarries of Kleber are those of Chemtou, belonging to a Belgian Company from Liège. They are situated about 3 kilom. from the station of Oued Meliz, on the line of railway from Tunis to Algeria.

Preliminary works of considerable importance have been lately completed, and the operation of extracting and exporting the marble is now being actively carried on. These also were worked by the Romans, and an important city, Semitu Colonia, sprung up in the vicinity, the ruins of which are most interesting.

The principal varieties of marble found here are:

1. Giallo antico, of a very fine quality.

2. Rose-coloured marble, of a duller colour than that of Kleber.

3. A breccia, composed of small pebbles of white, yellow, and pale-brown colour, in a chocolate-coloured cement, quite different to any seen in the Kleber quarries.

A branch railway, 7 kilom. in length, has been laid down, joining the works with the main line, and by this means the stone can be exported from Tunis, and delivered in France and Belgium for about 1000 fr. per cubic metre. When the junction between the Tunisian and Algerian Railways is effected, in October next, it is probable that this marble will be more conveniently shipped at Bône or some other port in Algeria.

Marbles of Filfila.

About 25 kilom. from the harbour of Philippeville is Djebel Filfila, where are the marble quarries belonging to M. Lesueur. They contain marble of various qualities, the most common being pure white, some of it adapted for statuary purposes. There is also a good deep black, a fine description of pale blue or dove colour, a small quantity of coralline rose, and a bluish crystalline stone, more nearly resembling granite than marble. True granite actually does exist, but it would not repay the cost of working it.

The coping of the quays in the new harbour of Philippeville is of large blocks of white marble from these quarries. Specimens of all the other kinds may be seen in M. Lesueur's works, behind the railway terminus at Philippeville.

Quarries of Chennouah.

In addition to these, there exist in the Province of Algiers, between Tipasa and Cherchell, the quarries of Chennouah, yielding a breccia, but so inferior to that of M. Delmonte or of the Belgian Company, as to be practically worthless. Specimens may be seen in the pillars which decorate the façade of the Banque de l'Algérie at Algiers.

Algerian Onyx.

And, lastly, there is the so-called Algerian onyx, an alabaster found near Tlemçen. It is very beautiful, and is found over a considerable extent of country, in thin layers, deposited by the action of water, and not in masses large enough to make it suitable for architectural purposes.

The proprietors only allow a small quantity to be extracted annually, so as to maintain a fictitious value for it.

[The *Dj* for *j*, and other continental modes of transcribing Arabic letters, have been retained as in the manuscript, and in accordance with the local nomenclature.]

Art. III.—*The Bushmen and their Language.* By G. Bertin, Esq., M.R.A.S.

Difficulty of subject, isolation of the Bushmen tribes.
What is the Bushman? Physical characteristics, moral characteristics, artistic taste.
The language, numerous dialects.
Alphabet, letters, clicks. Pronouns, demonstratives. Verbs, tenses, negative and interrogative forms. Numerals. Nouns and adjectives, formation of plural, possessive, agreement. Substantive verb, auxiliary, article. Order of sentence. Formation of words.
Importance of the Bushman's language. Interchange of clicks and letters. Bushman's literature.
Possible relationship of the Bushmen.

If this paper were the first on African questions read before the Royal Asiatic Society, I should have to apologize for trespassing, but as our learned Honorary Secretary, Mr. Robert Cust, noticed,[1] there is no African Society, and the Royal Asiatic Society has liberally opened its door to those who may bring information about the mysterious continent. For some time Africa has attracted so much attention that the Society in thus acting has been true to its scientific mission, and its Transactions contain already several most important papers on this interesting quarter of the globe.

Before entering on the subject I wish to treat, I feel that I must say a few words explaining how I came to study the remotest population on the African continent. The close connection of the Semitic tongues with many of the languages of Africa renders the study of the latter a necessity to the Semitist who wishes not to limit himself to the narrow circle out of which there is no issue. However, the study of the African languages and populations is unfortunately one

[1] Journal of the R.A.S. Vol. XV. p. 175.

of those in which it is hardly possible to confine one's self to a small group; if the student wish to grasp more than one language, he soon finds that he must examine the languages of the whole continent. Two years ago, when I first turned my attention to these languages, I found myself little by little obliged to enlarge the field of my study, till I arrived at the fascinating subject of the Bushmen and their language. In this paper, however, I propose to examine the Bushmen only, and no other of all the populations of Africa.

The difficulties met with in such a study are numerous indeed, and the greatest is certainly the scanty material extant on the subject, and also the difficulty to assign such and such data to the real Bushmen. For a long time the Bushmen have been assimilated to or confounded with the Hottentots; it is only lately that more scientific travellers have carefully noticed every particularity and separated the Bushmen from the Hottentots. The difference, however, is so great between these two populations, as will be seen further on, that to place them in the same group is the same as stating that all men are of the same genus, and therefore destroying all classifications. What has also much contributed to obscure all about the Bushmen is their strange language, the acquirement of which is so difficult that it was for a long time thought impossible. The travellers coming in contact with the real Bushman could only obtain particulars at second hand, and often from those Bushmen who had, by intercourse with the Dutch, acquired a small knowledge of this European language, and had partly lost their peculiarities.

The Bushmen now hardly form a race, much less a nation; they are divided into a multitude of small tribes, scattered and isolated all over Southern Africa, having, to avoid persecution, slavery or extermination, taken refuge in the deserts, or in the rugged mountains. In every locality, though they keep remarkably to themselves, they are inevitably brought more or less in contact with other populations, and owing to occasional, not frequent intermarriages—perhaps also to the admission into their community of some few runaway slaves—

but mainly through general intercourse, have partly modified their own peculiarities and partly acquired those of their neighbours. In perusing the relations of the travellers about the Bushmen, one cannot help noticing how different are their accounts, because they saw different tribes, and each of these having acquired in their isolation and through intercourse with strange races new characteristics, two facts, which illustrate to a remarkable degree this isolation, are that tribes, often hardly numbering fifty, have acquired such dialectical peculiarities that they cannot understand each other, though distant only a few miles, and that they have no common or national name; they are known to us by the nick-names given to them by their neighbours, or by names of localities. The Boers gave them the name of *Bosjesman*, Englishized into Bushman : the Hottentots call them *Saan*;[1] the Bechuana, *Ba-roa*;[2] the Kafirs, *Abatwa*, etc. The only name which might be doubtfully considered as national is *Khuai*,[3] which is applied to one special tribe.

Is there a Khuai (if we adopt the name) or Bushman race? it might be asked.

In spite of all the variations above mentioned, the answer is decidedly in the affirmative. Leaving aside for the present the language, the Bushman represents anthropologically a distinct branch among the African races. He is distinct from the Negro, and from the Bantu, and also from the Hottentot, though having with the latter several characteristics in common. The distinction is so evident that it is felt by all the travellers; even those travellers who have confounded them, or rather given to them the same name, make a certain distinction between the Hottentot and the Bushman. Though he varies according to the localities, he retains everywhere certain permanent characteristics; these characteristics, which struck the traveller, are those of the race.

[1] The sing. is *sa*, the plur. common *saan* or *sān*.

[2] *Ba-roa* means the people of *roa*. There is a Bantu population of the same name.

[3] It seems to mean 'small man'; other etymologies have however been given, and it has been stated that this word designates the '*tablier egyptien*,' adopted as the racial name because it exhibits the most marked characteristic.

The Bushman[1] is of short stature, his size increases only where his appearance shows a mixture of Bantu blood.

His skin is light brown, coppery or even light yellow, and unless through strong and evident mixture with Bantu, never black. Besides, a new-born Bushman baby is not black as a new-born Bantu baby, but red, which, however, is also the case for the new-born Negro baby.

The hair is one of the most persistent racial characteristics, and in the case of the Bushman it is well marked; it is developed in tufts, as that of the Tasmanian, and has an oval transversal cut. The hair is nearly absent on the face and body.

The skull is well defined, it is round and small, the temples are wide, the eyes far from one another and slightly oblique, the cheek-bones prominent, the nose varies much, but is generally large and flat.

The body in general is well proportioned, the shoulders are broad, the arms and legs well developed, with remarkably small feet and hands.

There is a peculiarity which requires special notice. It is the enormous development of the buttocks, which gives the Hottentot his ridiculous appearance. This peculiarity, which is also given to the Bushman, does not, however, appear to be racial, as it is noticed with certainty only on those inhabiting in the vicinity of the Hottentots. The silence of travellers on the point when describing the Bushmen of other localities appears to be most significant; if all the Bushmen had everywhere this remarkable peculiarity, it would have certainly struck the observers. It is therefore probable that it appears only where the Bushmen are crossed with Hottentots.

[1] For the anthropological questions I follow principally Dr. Fritsch, who has published a valuable paper on the Bushman in the Transactions of the German Ethnographical Society, 1879, p. 320. See also H. H. Johnston in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xiii. p. 452; Sir Bartle Frere, same publication, vol. xi. p. 327; E. Holub, in the same publication, vol. x. p. 5, and in his work, 'Seven Years in South Africa.' Waitz, in his *Introduction to Anthropology*, has gathered an enormous quantity of facts reported by travellers, but unfortunately the Hottentot and the Bushman are often confounded, so that it is difficult to draw conclusions from them.

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Another peculiarity found among the Bushwomen and, also, sometimes, among the female Hottentots, appears to be racial. It is what is called in French *le tablier égyptien*. This peculiar formation seems to be essentially Bushman, and is in the Hottentot specimens only due to intermixture.

The teeth of the Bushman, as noticed by Fritsch, place them in a special class; they are not like badly-cut ivory, as in the Bantu, but regular, and of a mother-of-pearl appearance.

All considered, the Bushman appears to be, when unmixed with Bantu or Hottentot, of small stature and brachycephalic, but well proportioned.

To demonstrate more clearly the ethnographic difference of the Bushman with the neighbouring races, we must bear in mind the characteristics of the latter. The Bantu is tall, elegantly slender, of a sooty-black colour, and dolicocephalic. The Hottentot, on the other side, is also tall, but of a colour fairer than the Bushman, and the skull is never so round, being, besides, pointed behind and narrow in front. His limbs are thin and slender,[1] his face is stunted, with very high cheek-bones.[2] As for the prognathism, it is never very marked, neither in the Bushman, the Hottentot, nor the Bantu. The prognathism is essentially the characteristic of the true Negro.

There are still the moral characteristics, which are now taken into account by anthropologists. The Bushman is much better than he was made out by the earliest travellers, and by the neighbouring tribes which despise and oppress him. His greatest love is for freedom, he acknowledges no master, and possesses no slaves. It is this love of independence which made him prefer the wandering life of a hunter to that of a peaceful agriculturist or shepherd, as the Hottentot. As Diogenes, he has reduced his wants to their minimum; he rarely builds a hut, but prefers for abode the natural caves he finds in the rocks; in other localities he

[1] In French *grêle*.

[2] Another distinguishing characteristic, according to some, is that the Hottentot emits an intolerable odour, while the Bushman is free from it. (Waitz, *Introduction to Anthropology*, English edition, 1863, p. 103.)

forms a kind of nest in the bush—hence his name of Bushman—or digs with his nails subterranean caves, from which he has received the name of Earthman. His garment consists only of a small skin. His weapons are still the spear, arrow, and bow, in their most rudimentary form. The spear is a mere branch of tree, to which is tied a piece of bone or flint; the arrow is only a reed treated in the same way. Sometimes, as often happens among savages on the border of civilized lands, an old piece of glass or iron, or a nail, is utilized as point of arrow. The arrow and spear-heads are always poisoned, to render mortal the slight wounds they inflict. He gathers no flocks, which would impede his movements, and only accepts the help of dogs as wild as himself. The Bushmen have, however, one implement—a rounded stone, perforated in the middle, in which is inserted a piece of wood; with this instrument, which carries us back to the first age of man, they dig up a few edible roots growing wild in the desert. To produce fire, he still retains the primitive system of rubbing two pieces of wood—another prehistoric revival.

Though the Bushman has many superstitions, he has no religion, and really no idea of a divinity, unless he has acquired it from missionaries or from neighbouring tribes, and even in those cases it is evident that the Bushman repeats what he has been told without understanding it himself. But in spite of this lack of religion, he is, morally, far superior to the Bantu and the Hottentot, never being uselessly cruel, and being kind and helpful to his fellow-tribesmen. Cattle-stealing is in their eyes only a form of hunting. The Bushman is grateful and devoted to those who treat him kindly. The travellers narrate several cases of Bushmen who have shown the utmost devotion to their masters when these knew how to treat them. The Bushman has a great talent of imitation. It is related of a Bushman employed by a Boer as servant, that he used to imitate in a striking manner every one in the farm and those who visited it, though he always refused to caricature his master, who was kind to him. This talent of imitation is well illustrated by the

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painting and carving left by the Bushmen on the walls of their caves and on the rocks; these drawings are done with different-coloured clays, and the carving only with a flint chisel. Though these representations show many degrees of attainment in art, a striking and realistic likeness is observable in all, nor can there be any doubt of the intention of the artists. Many pictures come closely to caricatures. The Boer, the Hottentot with his large feet and grotesque body, and the dark Bantu, are unmistakeably delineated. It is indeed a strange spectacle to see these naked savages painting with a reed or carving with a piece of flint on the rocks.[1] The Hottentot, and even the Bantu, could certainly never produce the worst of these drawings, though they have attained a higher degree of civilization. The Bushman possesses also a musical instrument, no doubt rudimentary, but which still illustrates again this strange mixture of savage-life with artistic taste.

Language.—I have not till now said anything about the language of the Bushmen, having purposely reserved this difficult and important part of my subject, to which these few remarks serve as introduction.

A survey of this language offers the greatest difficulties, the principal one being the scarcity of documents to be found regarding it in Europe. When reading in Bleek's report that he has collected eighty-four volumes of 7200 manuscript half-pages—and his unfinished manuscript Dictionary contains 11,000 entries—the reader must be pained to know that such treasure is out of reach, buried in Sir G. Grey's library in Cape Town. No doubt the great philologist was waiting to publish all the materials that he had gathered, but before he had attained his object death took him away. If he had known that his end was so close, he would have probably published part of these materials, for one page of a Bushman text with English translation would have done

[1] I have seen myself the facsimiles of the paintings, and was struck by their execution. See Mark Hutchinson, "Notes on a collection of fac-simile of Bushman drawings," Journ. of the Anthr. Inst., vol. xii. p. 464; and E. Holub, 'Seven Years in South Africa,' vol. ii. p. 438.

more for science than his learned report. But as all these texts are beyond our reach, we must make the best of the scanty materials at our disposal, hoping that one day a scholar will find his way to the treasure accumulated by Bleek, and expose it to the learned world.

Our data are therefore now only the vocabulary and a few sentences given by Arbousset and Daumas in their travels,[1] the vocabulary and a few sentences given by Lichtenstein in his travels,[2] the few observations published by Bleek,[3] a very small vocabulary published by Dr. Hahn,[4] and republished by Dr. F. Müller,[5] with another vocabulary obtained from Bleek.[6] The only connected text besides the above-mentioned sentences is a so-called prayer given by Arbousset and Daumas.

What has prevented more information from being obtained about the language of the Bushmen is no doubt the difficulty for Europeans to acquire it; the abundance of gutturals, the nasalized and uncertain vowels, and above all the strange sounds called clicks, are so foreign to our ears that the first travellers and missionaries did not even attempt to master it, and summarily dismissed all inquiries, saying that the Bushmen must be taught another language to be civilized and Christianized.[7] One, indeed, is struck when reading their relations, how they abstained from giving a single word of Bushman, though when speaking of other populations they mix in their narrative as many African words as they can. This difficulty of non-Bushmen to acquire the language of the

[1] T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap*, Paris, 1842.

[2] Lichtenstein, *Travel in Southern Africa*, English translation, London, 1812, vol. ii. app. ii. The same author says that he has published his "Abhandlung über Sprachen der Südafricanischen wilden Völkerstamme in Bertuchs und Vaters ethnographisch-linguistischen Archiv." But I was not able to obtain this publication anywhere.

[3] In the collective work *The Cape and its People.*

[4] *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erkunde zu Dresden*, Dresden, 1870.

[5] *Grundriss der Sprache, Wissenschaft*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 25-27.

[6] In his *Catalogue of Sir G. Grey's Library* Bleek gives only bibliographic notes, but he distinguishes the Bushman's language from the Hottentot, and notes the existence of two dialects at least.

[7] The same was said of the Hottentots and of the inhabitants of Terra-del-Fuego, but since then the Bible has been translated and these people converted without losing their language.

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Bushmen has had the most disastrous effect on the tongue itself, for in their intercourse the Bushmen had to use the foreign languages, and little by little adopted foreign words and expressions, more or less disfigured, and some tribes have entirely lost their native idiom; on the Boer frontier they speak a kind of pigeon-Dutch, on the Kafir frontier a kind of pigeon-Kafir, etc. Even in the most isolated tribes it is doubtful if the language is pure. The Hottentots being the people in whose contact the Bushmen were mostly and for the longest time, the words introduced from this quarter are numerous, and induced several philologists to consider the languages of the two populations as from the same primitive stock. Bleek, before he had collected the Bushman literature above mentioned, stated that the relation between the Bushman, or San as he calls it, and Hottentot is the same as between Latin and English, and Dr. T. Hahn, the successor of Bleek, assured us in 1881 "that there is not the slightest diffiulty in proving that the language of the Sán (Bushman) occupies to that of the Khoikhoi (Hottentot) the same position that English does to the Sanskrit."[1] We doubt, however, of the possibility of such a demonstration, as it would be impossible to prove the position of English towards Sanskrit if we had no knowledge of the connecting links Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, Latin, Lithuanian, etc. We rather prefer to take these statements of Bleek and Dr. Hahn as a popular expression to carry to the mind of the reader their opinions on the subject, opinions the scientific demonstration of which appears impossible. The small sketch which follows will, it is hoped, dissipate what is threatening to become a scientific prejudice, propagated by the misinterpretation of a great philologist's utterance.

It must be borne in mind that in consequence of their wandering life and their tendency to isolate themselves, the Bushmen have been broken into innumerable small tribes, some hardly numbering fifty souls developing innumerable dialects ever changing. The words of the same meaning

[1] R. N. Cust, *The Modern Languages of Africa*, p. 443.

in the different dialects have often no more connection with one another. For instance, for the word 'mother' we have *ngo* (*ṅo*) in Se-roa, *χoa* in the Khuai or Bushman of Lichtenstein, and *tau* in the Khuai of Bleek given by Dr. F. Müller. The *Se-roa* language of the Ba-roa is the one given by Arbousset and Daumas, and called by Bleek *cis-gariepian* dialect or *Bumantsu;* the *Khuai* is the language of the Bushmen living in the neighbourhood of the Koranna-Hottentots, and given by Lichtenstein. The vocabulary collected by Bleek, and published by Dr. F. Müller, belongs also to the Khuai dialect, as also the few words given by Dr. Hahn.

I will now proceed to give a grammatical sketch so far as the materials at my disposal permit, and will in the transcription follow the Lepsius system as closely as possible.

Vowels.

a		nasalised *ã*, *ẽ*, etc.
e	*o*	
i	*ü* *u*	diphthongs *au*, *ai*, *ao*, etc.

Consonants.

	Explosives.			Fricatives.			Anticipated.
	Strong.	*Weak.*	*Nasal.*	*Strong.*	*Weak.*	*Half-Vowels.*	
Faucals					h		
Gutturals	*k*	*g*	ṅ	χ			(*ṙ*)
Dentals	*t*	*d*	*n*			*y*	*r* (*l*)
Labials	(p)	*b*	m			*w*	

Clicks.

Cerebral	!	Palatal	¡
Dental	|	Lateral or faucal	‖
Guttural	ʇ	Labial	ʘ
Spiro-dental	⊅	Linguo-palatal	ʗ

Undefined ×

The vowels have all a more or less obscure sound, and there seems to be a general tendency to nasalization. Though nothing is said of the other vowels, it is probable that some of those given in the text as pure are really *ö*, *ü*, *ë*, etc., as seems to result from the transcription of certain words in Arbousset and Daumas, and in Lichtenstein; in Bleek's report we actually also found *ë*, *ȩ*, etc.

As for the consonants, the striking feature is the scarcity of fricatives and the nearly exclusive use of explosives, and specially of the gutturals, the strong one, *k*, being the only consonantal element in nine-tenths of the words.

The labial *b* and *m* occurs only in a few words; the use of *p* is doubtful, being found only in one word of the Se-roa dialect, *pko* 'wood for fire,' and may have been intended for the click as we have in the Khuai dialect [] *hoki* 'wood;' Bleek gives also as the word for 'son' *pχün*, where *p* also perhaps stands for a click. Dr. F. Müller gives beside the ordinary *r* a second one represented by *r* surmounted with a smaller *r*, as it is not found in Lepsius's Alphabet, it may be intended for *ṙ*, or for what Bleek, in his report, represents by *r* surmounted by a small *l*, which no doubt indicates the middle sound between *r* and *l*, as the *r* of the Akka language. The letter *l* is found only in Arbousset's vocabulary, and may be this uncertain *r*.[1]

Bleek gives the aspirated labial *ph* (=*p*' of Lepsius) in |*phkoĩnye* 'to sleep,' and Arbousset the aspirated lingual *tl* (= 'l of Lepsius) standing really for *χl* or *lχ* in *tlauke* 'blood,' but the aspirated consonants seem to be the natural product of the meeting of the unaspirated with the weak aspirated fricative *h*, no doubt through the dropping of a vowel: so we have the aspirate *k*' of Lepsius in *khũ* 'face,' in ||*khāiti* 'to shoot,' where primitively the guttural and the aspirate were probably separated by a vowel, as in |*kha* for |*kiha* 'kill him.'

The nasalization so frequent with the vowels is rare with

[1] There may be still other consonants in the numerous words unknown to us.

the consonants, but in several cases *nt* and *nd* seem to be a nasalization of primitive *t* and *d*.

The palatization of consonants is not rare, but, except in a few cases, it seems to be the natural product of the coming in contact of the consonant with the semi-vowel *y*: *!ūdya* 'white.' It is possible, however, that the palatized *ń* found in Hottentot exists also in Bushman. In the fables, the Ichneumon, when speaking, changes the clicks into palatized sibilants and dentals, as the Tortoise changes them into labials.

As we should expect it from the small number of consonants, the clicks play an important part in the Bushman language, where they have been, indeed, developed to the number of nine. The great importance of these curious sounds, very insufficiently described in Lepsius's Alphabet, makes it advisable to give here a description of them.

The special and essential character of the clicks is that they are formed, not by expiration, but by drawing in the breath; they form, really, a pure vibration, necessarily followed by a stop before the speaker can pronounce the letter uttered in the usual way with the breath. The clicks are, besides, always placed before the initial letter; when a word contains a click in the middle, it must be a compound, so *tan t³jih* 'warm' written for *tã¡ī* by Lichtenstein and given by Dr. F. Müller under the forms of *ta|i* or *|a|i*, is certainly a compound of the word for 'fire' *t³jih* for *¡ī* in Lichtenstein and *|i* in Müller, and also the word for 'child' given by Lichtenstein *|ka|koaṅ* compound of *|koaṅ* 'a youth,' in the Se-roa *|koṅ*, is 'man.'

The cerebral click ! (confounded by Lichtenstein with the palatal ¡) is sounded by curling the tip of the tongue and pressing it against the middle of the roof of the palate and withdrawing it suddenly and forcibly by suction.

The palatal click ¡ (*t³* in Lichtenstein and ‡ of Bleek) is formed like the last, but pressing the tongue against the termination of the palate at the gums.

The dental click | (*t¹* of Lichtenstein) is formed by pressing the tip of the tongue against the front teeth and withdrawing as for the others.

The lateral, or, rather, faucal click ‖ (t^2 of Lichtenstein) is formed by pressing the tongue against the faucal point of the palate, and for so doing the tongue practically covers the whole of the palate, as noticed by Tindal in his Nama Grammar, and the tongue is withdrawn as usual by suction. The Kafirs imitate this click by pressing the tongue against the side teeth, hence its name lateral, but among the Bushman it is not lateral, but faucal.[1]

The guttural click ┐ (confounded by Lichstenstein with the faucal) is formed like the preceding, but by placing the tongue at the guttural point of the palate.

The labial ▯ (confounded with the dental by Lichtenstein, ∞ of Wuras according to Bleek, and ʘ of Bleek's report) is articulated "by moving the tongue quickly, like that of a performer on a flute."

The spiro-dental ⊿, noticed by Wuras and known only by the mention of Bleek, is sounded by drawing in the breath between the teeth slightly apart. No doubt it has been confounded with the simple aspirate *h* or the guttural fricative χ in the transcription, or has been neglected altogether; when *p* initial precedes a consonant, as in the two words mentioned above, it may perhaps represent this click.

The linguo-palatal □ is only used in fables by the Jackal according to Bleek, who says that it "bears to the ordinary labial click a relation in sound similar to that which the palatal bears to the cerebral." Though we have no other mention of this, it seems so improbable that the Bushmen should have invented a click specially for the Jackal, that it is more rational to think that it actually exists in the language; but it has been confounded in the transcription with the lingual or the palatal.

The undefined click × is, according to Bleek, "a most unpronounceable click," which in the fables takes the place of all the other clicks when the Moon, the Hare, or the Ant-eater are speaking; and he makes no attempt to describe it.

[1] For this reason it would be advisable to have two different signs, in order to distinguish them accurately.

If it existed in the language, as is probable, it has been confounded in the transcription with the others.

As can be seen from the above description, the clicks have all a certain relation to one another, and in a measure to the consonants. Following the order adopted by Lepsius, we have: faucal, guttural, cerebral, palatal, dental, labial; the spiro-dental corresponds to the aspirate *h*, and the linguo-palatal is a kind of *r*-click or *l*-click.

As for the philological position of the clicks, it is most probable that Edwin Norris was right when he suggested that they play the same part as the tones in Chinese. It has been objected that Hottentot, which has clicks, has tones also; but the clicks are probably of Bushman origin, and have been no doubt adopted by the Hottentots in their contact with the Bushmen, as these curious sounds are strangely contagious; the Shuana, the Kafirs, the Zulus, and many other people, even the Boers, have adopted some. The existence of the clicks is not besides incompatible with that of the tones in the same language, as the former seems to indicate a modification of the beginning, and the latter of the end of the words. However, the existence of tones in the language of the Bushman is even doubtful, as Bleek and others do not mention them. As illustration of clicks taking the place of dropped letters, or compensating for their loss, may be quoted: Se-roa *kā* 'hand,' Khuai *|ā* or *|ō*.

As for the question whether the clicks are anterior to the consonants, or the consonants to the clicks, it cannot be answered for the present on account of the few specimens at our disposal.

There is one more observation to be made before leaving the alphabet. As already noticed, the vowels are more or less obscure, but in many cases the vowel must have been so weak that it has been neglected altogether in the transcription; though vowels must be inserted to make the pronunciation possible, as in the name for 'tortoise' ʞχrōi, and with the prefixes *n̓-* and *mm-* before a click, or a consonant, unless we admit vocalized consonants, as in some languages of Asia.

Before going further, the reader might be reminded that the documents at our disposal are only three vocabularies and a few sentences in two dialects. In Arbousset's dialect, the Se-rao, the clicks are not represented at all; in this author, as well as in Lichtenstein's dialect, the Khuai, the orthography adopted is very defective, and often we cannot detect what sound is meant. As far as possible, in this paper the orthography is restored according to the Lepsius system.

In the Bushman's language there are no gender, two numbers only, and three pronouns.

Pronouns.—The personal and possessive pronouns are expressed by means of prefixes or suffixes.

Sing.	1st pers.	*mm. ṅ, en, iṅ, ẽ, ã*	Plur.	1st pers.	*i, si si.*
	2nd ,,	*ã, a*		2nd ,,	*u-u, u.*
	3rd ,,	*haha, ha*		3rd ,,	(wanting)

In Se-roa, for the first pers. we have also sing. *i*, plur. *se* and *si*.

The emphatic personal pronouns are formed with the strongest prefixes and the word for 'man' *|koaṅ*.

mm |koaṅ 'I myself.'
aa |koaṅ 'thou thyself.'

In the Se-roa dialect the prefix is *iṅ* for the 1st pers.

iṅ|koṅ 'I myself.'

The possessive pronouns are expressed by the shorter prefixes:

ṅ-|kã 'my brother.'
a-|kã 'thy brother.'
ha-|kã 'his or her brother.'

The possessive adjectives are:

inṅ 'mine' (written *inng* by Lichtenstein).
aa-ka‖soiṅ 'thine,' *i.e.* 'the thing of thee.'
ha-ka‖soiṅ 'his.'
sisi-ka‖soiṅ 'ours.'

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The pronouns in the accusative governed by verbs are expressed by the shortest forms suffixed to the verb:

ākē (for *āke-ē*) 'give me.'
ha‖antaṅa-e (Se-roa) 'thou like me not.'

Dr. F. Müller gives also for the 1st person object.:

|kiten 'kill me,' from *|ki* 'to kill,'

where the presence of the *t* between the verb and the suffix is not explained.

|kiaa 'kill thee.'
|kha (for *|ki-ha*) 'kill him.'

The demonstrative is *hua* in Khuai and *ke* in Se-roa, but there are other forms, as will be seen:

hua|koaṅ 'this man.'
kī ke 'this fire.'

Verbs.—The verbal forms are necessarily very few in the sentences which compose all our texts, and those found are unexplainable, often on account of no other passage containing the same words.

The imperative contains the root:

|na 'see!' ⌉*oa* 'drink!'

The most usual form is composed by prefixing the pronoun to the root:

iṅ-¡ainti 'I come.'
ā-tai 'thou callest.'

The other persons are not found in our Khuai sentences. In the Se-roa dialect we find:

i-taṅa 'I like.'
i-kega 'I say.'

{ *si-taṅa* 'we like.'
{ *se-taṅ* „ „

The form *n-tagagisa* in the Se-roa sentence,

kũe n-tagagisa 'I have walked a long time,'

is difficult to explain.

When the subject is expressed emphatically, the verb is used without the prefixes:

mm |koaṅ |keũṅa 'I myself am thirsty.'

In the Khuai dialect this form with the pronominal suffixes seems to be used for the past and future as well as for the present, the context or an adverb indicates the tense to be translated :

aa kossi ǁkaṅsi, lit. 'thou again comest,' *i.e.* 'thou willst come again.'

The Se-roa dialect, perhaps through Kafir influence, seems to have developed a kind of future by means of the verb *taṅa* 'to like' or 'to wish for,' used as auxiliary :

i-taṅa i-ʗkoya [] *koĩnta*, lit. 'I wish I go asleep,' *i.e.* 'I will go to sleep.'
i-taṅa i-kekega 'I will speak.'
se-taṅa se-ʗkoa ʗkõ 'we will sing a song.'

This mode of speaking does not, however, necessarily imply the future. But when the wish is distinctly meant, the second verb is preceded by the particle *ga* :

si-taṅa ga tagagisa 'we wish to walk.'

The negative *ǁan* is always placed before the verb and after the pronominal prefix, when the latter is expressed :

mm ǀkoaṅ ǁan ǁkeikei 'Myself have not.'
ha ǁan tanga-e 'Thou likest me not.'

The following sentence in Se-roa :

n-tloke hã 'I have nothing to eat,'

suggests the existence of a negative voice in this dialect. Certain final forms, as that in *-isa*, show that the same dialect under the Kafir influence has perhaps developed derivative verbs.

The interrogation seems in the Khuai dialect to be expressed by one word varying in form placed at the beginning of the sentence, and a particle *ti*, *di* or *de* placed at the end, the pronoun is generally omitted :

1. *aχa kauṅ ¡ainti-di* 'Where doest thou go?'
   what there go?
2. *aχasiṅ ǀna ǁkāi-ti* 'Hast thou seen game?'
   what see game?

3. *aχaṅ ¡ainti-di* 'Whence comest thou?'
what come?

4. *aχaṅ aa tai-de* 'How doest thou call thyself?'
what thou call?

5. *aχa |keũṅa* 'Art thou thirsty?'
what thirst

6. *aχā iṅi* 'Doest thou know him?'
what know

7. *tire χasiṅ |na* 'Where hast thou seen it?'
place (?) what see.

It would be imprudent to draw conclusions and set up rules from these seven examples. However, we can see from the last three that the final particle was not always necessary. The *ṅ* in *aχaṅ* in Nos. 3 and 4 may express a kind of instrumental, in No. 3 it would be 'by what' (place), and in No. 4 'by what' (name). The final *-siṅ* in No. 2 may express remoteness. In No. 4 the pronoun expressed *aa* is no doubt the accusative regimen of the verb, and in No. 6, *aχā* is perhaps for *aχa ha* 'what him;' if so, in interrogative sentences a pronoun regimen would precede the verb. The word *tire*, which in No. 7 seems to take the place of the initial vowel *a* of the interrogative, is not found otherwise, so its real strength cannot be detected.

Numerals.—Bushmen not possessing anything do not want any numerals. When they wish to express a number, they merely raise as many fingers. In the Khuai dialect we have only *!oai* 'one,' *!u* 'two,' for 'three' *¡oaya* 'many' is used. The Se-roa dialect appears to be better off, and the numerals go up to 'four,' and, as in the Polynesian languages, the numeral is always preceded by a word:

one	*te a ṅoa.*
two	*te ṅu.*
three	*te ṅuene.*
four	*te nkeo.*
many	*te a gabe.*

The word *te* is not found in any other sentence or expres-

sion, so we do not know its meaning, but it may perhaps mean 'finger,' which in Khuai is *|ā*; if the supposition is right, *te a ṅoa* would be 'finger is one,' *a* being the Se-roa form of the verb 'to be.' 'Many' *te a gabe* might be 'the fingers are many,' but this is a mere supposition, as *gabe* also is not found in other expressions.

Nouns and Adjectives.—The adjectives do not form a special class, and are really nouns placed in apposition, we therefore take them together.

As already stated, there is no gender in the words: beings of different sex are often expressed by different words:

|kā 'brother.'
¡kaχu 'sister.'

In the words which apply to both sexes the distinction is made by adding 'male' or 'female':

¡go-aih 'bull.'
¡go-aiti 'cow.'

The word *aih* is no doubt the same as *ʔēi* 'people,' and *aiti* the same as *|ati* or *|aiti* 'a female.'[1] The click is dropped, perhaps, because the two words form a compound so homogeneous that they are considered to form only one word, and the clicks not being admitted in the middle must be dropped.

Arbousset and Daumas's vocabulary is so defectively written that it is hard to make out the real words meant in Se-roa; we have:

koeṅ ka oga 'a lion.'
koeṅ ka ṅte 'a lioness.'

which seems to mean 'lion's male' and 'lion's female.' 'Lion' in Khuai is *‖kã̄* according to Bleek, and *¡kāṅ* according to Lichtenstein, of which *koeṅ* seems to be the Se-roa form, the click being omitted by the transcribers. *ka* is the mark of the genitive, *oga* is therefore 'male' and *nte* 'female,' re-

[1] Bleek gives 'man' (vir) *!kui goui*, 'woman' *!kui |ayi*, which seem to be formed with the word *!kui* 'a human being,' and an adjective.

lated to ǂ*ēi* and |*aiti*, as *aih* and *aiti* of the Khuai expressions. In the Se-roa vocabulary we find also:

kuane ka oga 'bull.
ka oga 'cow'—

which must be incorrect: *kuane* may be however the Se-roa word for 'cattle' or 'ox' in general, without reference to the gender, as we have in Khuai ¡*kau* for 'buffalo': *kuane ka oga* would be then 'buffalo's male'—the second expression *ka oga* for 'cow' must be a mistranscription. The two following expressions in Se-roa

kűe-ea 'springbock,'
koli-nte 'blessbock,'

give us the form without the particle: *ea*=the Khuai *aih* 'male' and *nte*=*aiti* 'female.'

It must be mentioned that Bleek said in his report that the Bushman's language distinguished perhaps at one time the genders, as the Hottentot: this is suggested to him by the fact that in the fables certain animals are made to marry others, and he supposes that, as in French, certain genders are specially applied to certain animals and used as common, as in the words *girafe*, *hyène*, *lièvre*, etc., which are always the same one gender, even when spoken of male or female. In French, as in Bushman, one must, to express the sex, say, *le male de la girafe*, *le male de la hyène*, etc. This supposition of Bleek [1] has been adopted by Dr. Hahn and Dr. F. Müller, who suppose Khuai to be a decayed Hottentot dialect. We must remember, however, that in Hottentot the genders are not what they are in the classic tongues. The masculine, feminine, and common gender are always carefully distinguished, and do not answer to our masculine, feminine, and neuter; we do not find masculine applied to female, as in the French *virago*, or neuter to female as in the German *Weib*, or feminine to neuter as in the English *ship*. In the Bushman's language it seems to me that there never was any gender, but that, as in Turk and Akkadian, when it was

[1] Second report, "A Short Account of Bushman Folklore, Cape Town, 1875."

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indispensable to express it, this was done by means of the words male and female; if there is a tendency at all to distinguish genders, it is no doubt due to a long intercourse with, and influence of, the sex-denoting Hottentot, but as far as we know from the documents we possess, this supposed tendency is very doubtful.

The formation of the plural is, by its irregularity, one of the most striking features of the Khuai dialect. The reduplication is generally used, and with monosyllabics ending in a vowel it is simple.

tu	'nose.'	plur.	*tutu.*
‖nõa	'foot.'	,,	*‖nõa‖nõa.*
|kē	'tooth.'	,,	*|kē|kē.*
|kā	'arm.'	,,	*|ka|ka.*

In this last example the vowel has become shortened.

When the word ends in a consonant, or is of more than one syllable, the initial sound alone is repeated:

|nĩn	'house.'	plur.	*|nĩ|nĩn.*
‖nũntu	'ear.'	,,	*‖nũ‖nũntu.*
|nũm	'bear.'	,,	*|nũ|num.*

Some words form their plural with the suffix *en*, dropping their final vowel:

¡anki	'body.'	plur.	*¡anken.*
¡kaχu	'sister.'	,,	*¡kaχen.*

Sometimes this suffix is added after the reduplication:

tsaχu 'eye.' plur. *tsa tsaχen* (by the side of *tsaχen*).

In some words the suffix is preceded by other letters:[1]

kobo	'a black boy.'	plur.	*kokoboken.*
ʗkoa	'leg.'	,,	*ʗkoʗkoaken.*
|ku	'hair.'	,,	*|ku|kugyen.*
¡koa	'bone.'	,,	*¡ko|koa-ken.*

[1] The consonant which is introduced before the suffix may be a remnant of the suffix of the genitive, and the suffix *en* may be a decayed form meaning 'many.' If this supposition is right, the plural *kokobo-k-en* would be literally 'boy boy's many,' *i.e.* 'several boys.'

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In some words there seems to be a change of vocalization with a partial reduplication :

‖kuka 'shoe.' plur. *‖ku‖ku.*
‖kun 'wing.' „ *‖kokun.*
|koĩn 'dog.' „ *|kŭnkũn.*

Finally some words are quite altered :

¡ũiya 'great,' or 'big.' plur. *¡uita.*
|ẽri 'little,' or 'small.' „ *|ẽn.*

As far as we can judge from the Se-roa vocabulary, similar formations were in force in this dialect ; we find :

koatu 'bottom.' plur. *kokoatu.*

Of the following reduplicated plurals the singular is not given :

χuχubi 'white ants.'
koaṅkoaṅ 'stars.'

In some cases the Se-roa seems to form the plural by a prefix, no doubt through Kafir influence :

tsago 'eye.' plur. *n-tsago.*
ṅũtu 'ear.' „ *e-ṅũtu.*
kui 'feather,' or 'bird.' „ *i-kui.*

The plural prefix seems also to have been used with the reduplication :

ṅomaten 'knee.' plur. *i-ṅoṅomateṅ.*

The genitive is generally expressed by simple apposition, the possessor standing first :

‖kã ¡kui 'the lion's tail.'
toi ¡kui 'the ostrich's tail.'
!koa tsaχu 'the water's eye,' *i.e.* 'the spring.'

The particles *ka, ga, ya* or *a* placed after the possessor mark the emphatic genitive :

‖kã ga ãn 'the flesh of the lion.'
sa ga ãn 'the flesh of the eland.'
aa ka ‖soiṅ 'the thing of thee.'
|kam ka |kui 'the man of the Kam,' *i.e.* 'the Hottentot.'

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The word *|kam* is not found by itself.[1]

In the Se-roa dialect the order is reversed, the possessor standing after the regent:

tsago kolo 'the eye of millet,' *i.e.* 'grain of millet.'
geṅ ṅaṅa 'the place of the feet,' *i.e.* 'the door.'

The same order is preserved with the particle, but not always; we have:

koeṅ ka oga 'the lion's male.'
and *geṅ ga koaga* 'the place of the cow.'

The adjectives being really nouns placed in apposition, follow the word they qualify:

|ka |koaṅ 'boy young,' *i.e.* 'child.'
¡go-aih 'ox male,' *i.e.* 'bull.'

In Se-roa the same order is observed:

|kāṅ ta 'master good.'
komao kho 'stone big,' *i.e.* 'rock.'
kaba nieneko 'river small.'

As the verb 'to be' is often understood:

hua |koaṅ teteini

can be translated by 'this man is good,' or 'this good man,'

mm |koaṅ ||huh 'myself [I am] a whiteman.'

In Khuai the verb 'to be' is expressed by *gan* for 'is,' and *gan ||u* for 'are,' the adjective agreeing in number with the subject:

Sing. *¡nūi gan |uiya* 'the sea-cow is big.'
ṅ-¡kaχu !oai gan eṙi 'my sister one is small.'
Plur. *¡nūi e ¡oaya gan ||u¡uita* 'the sea-cows are big.'
ṅ-¡kaχen !u gan ||u ēn 'my two sisters are small.'

In the last sentence but one *¡nūi e ¡oaya* is 'sea-cow the many,' *e* is a short form of the verb 'to be,' which seems to be used in that case as a kind of article.

[1] But I am inclined to believe that it means 'land,' or 'soil': the Hottentot being generally agriculturist, the Bushmen looked on him as the man of the soil.

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In Se-roa the verb 'to be' is *a*, and is invariable.

tloatloa a koaṅ 'the arrow is touching.'
kū a ta 'the locusts are good.'

The weaker form used as a kind of article is also *e*.

χuai e nieneko 'a thing the small,' *i.e.* 'a small thing.'

As just seen, the verb 'to be,' under the form of *a*, was in Se-roa used as a kind of auxiliary, and there seems a tendency in this dialect to treat all verbal roots as adjectives or participial forms, and to use them with this auxiliary:

kū a sē 'the locusts are come or coming.'
χorosi kūe a sē 'rain already is come.'

The word *kūe* is an adverb which indicates the past, as it is translated in the vocabulary by 'formerly' and 'since a long time.'

Order of Sentence.—The order of the word in the sentence is very capricious; however, the imperative is generally placed at the beginning:

āke twakka 'give me tobacco.'

In the other cases the verb or the adjective used as predicate is placed at the end, and the subject at the beginning, when emphatically expressed:

aa kossi ǁkaṅsi 'thou wilt come again.'
hua ǀkoaṅ ǁan teteini 'this man (is) not good.'
ǀuhnkoissi a-ǁgaui 'to-morrow thou comest.'
ǁkaṅ in-ainti 'there I come.'

In the Se-roa dialect the same order is generally observed, but there are some sentences where the verb is at the beginning, and it seems to be the rule for the auxiliary *taṅa*:

sua kī kē 'blow the fire.'
koṅ ka 'to kill a man.'
ǀkoba ki kuita 'filled fire all,' *i.e.* 'the fire is all filled (with smoke).'
i-taṅa i-ǀkogu ǀkoba hu 'we like our stomach filled [with] food.'
i-kega keoa 'I speak the truth.'

Formation of Nouns.—It has been wrongly asserted that the language of the Bushman had no formatives; with the limited vocabularies at our disposal it is difficult often to detect the formation, but even in these few words the existence of formatives is evident. We have already quoted *ta*|*i* 'warm,' from |*i* 'fire,' where *ta* seems a formative prefix, perhaps it is the same formative written *te* in *teteini* 'good,' in other adjectives we have no doubt a formative suffix, as in !*ud-ya* 'white,' ⫛*ki-ya* 'red,' ¡*oaya* 'many,' ¡*ūi-ya* 'big'; in the plural of this last word the suffix *ya* is changed to *ta*; another suffix *ke* or *ki* forms adjectives or appellatives: *ā-ke* 'good,' !*kauru-ke* 'iron,' ‖*kana-ki* 'bad.' Besides *ta* we have another prefix *ū*, placed after the initial click: |*ū-ka* 'dead,' from |*ki* 'to kill.' The same formatives are found in Se-roa: *ya* appears under the form *ia*, and exclusively after a nasal, *keńia* 'needle,' *kuën-ia* (cf. the Khuai |*koĩn*) 'dog,' *keuń-ia* 'a strap,' *kibi-ke* 'ostrich's egg,' *sebe-ke* 'iron.' This same dialect seems to have another formative suffix *se*:[1] *kebe-se* 'fine,' *ṅuala-se* 'spear,' which sometimes is used as a formative prefix, *se-koku* 'shield'; the double use of a formative as prefix and suffix is evident, for *ta*, as seen above, in *ta*-|*i* and the plural !*ui-ta*. Going through the vocabularies we find words evidently formed by other suffixes and prefixes, but they cannot be analyzed with safety and certainty in the present state of our knowledge of the language.

Importance of the Bushman's Language.—These few notes will be sufficient, I trust, to show the great importance of the Bushman's language from a philological point of view, and would largely repay the man who could devote himself to it. Bleek understood it, and gave to this study, entirely and with enthusiasm, the last years of his laborious life.

The Bushmen's dialects are so innumerable that the language has become individual in its peculiarities. Bleek, in his report, remarks that dialectal differences are noticed in each individual from whom he gathered the tales now in

[1] In Se-roa the suffix *ai* seems to form diminutives: *gnu* 'a gnu,' *ngai* 'the little one of a gnu.'

Cape Town; and, as we have already noticed, the few words we possess differ between themselves, even when collected in the same localities from two different persons. This very fact makes this language precious for the philologist, as he could notice in a small area wonderful changes, and, taking into account all the surrounding influences, detect the real and genuine national words; we can already, with the little we possess, notice curious changes. The clicks, for instance, are not immutable, but vary as much as the other elements of the language. The palatal ¡ and the cerebral ! are easily interchanged, and might be considered as developments of the same original, or one as the offshoot of the other: the same may be said of the faucal (lateral) and the guttural. We notice, also, changes between clicks and consonants, as the already-quoted *|a* for *ta*. Bleek, in his report, notices that in the tales collected by him the tortoise changes clicks in labials, the ichneumon uses instead palatals, the jackal replaces the labial click ʘ by the linguo-palatal ǂ, and the moon, the hare, and the anteater, use "a most unpronounceable click." Even in the two vocabularies we possess, changes of clicks are noticeable, *tsün* 'thing,' given by Dr. Hahn, is *‖soiñ* in Lichtenstein, and *tsaχe* 'eye,' becomes *|sagu*; for 'wood' Bleek gives ʘ*hoki*, Dr. Hahn *ihoggen*, and Lichtenstein *|hauki*, etc.[1] The consonantal changes are not less numerous and interesting. Bleek says that in the fables the blue crane adds '*tt* to the end of the first syllable of almost every word.' For 'nose' Bleek gives *tu*, Dr. Hahn and Lichtenstein *|nudu*, and Arbousset *nüeñ*; for 'lion' Bleek gives *‖kã*, Lichtenstein *¡kãñ*, and Arbousset *koeñ*. Sometimes words entirely different have been adopted: for 'arrow' Bleek gives *!kara*, Lichtenstein *|ñoa*, and Arbousset *tloatloa*. As for the peculiar changes which Bleek notices in the Bushman's fables collected by him, they may be compared to the peculiar accent attributed to countrymen and foreigners, or the representation in writing of lisping and

[1] From the words for 'one' and 'two' *!oai* and *!u* in Khuai and *ñoa* and *ñu* in Se-roa, it would seem that the click ! changes regularly in gutturo-nasal *ñ* from one dialect to the other.

stammering; evidently, in the idea of the Bushmen, the animals, when they spoke, had each a peculiar accent. The study of these animals' languages or dialects would be very interesting to the philologist.

Bushman's Literature.—As before stated, the connected texts we now possess are unfortunately very few, and consist only in the sentences collected by Lichtenstein in the Khuai dialect, and those in the Se-roa dialect published by Arbousset and Daumas, with a so-called prayer of four sentences, and one sentence in his text. This is nothing compared to the immense materials collected by Bleek of fables, tales, histories, personal relations, mythological stories, genealogies, etc., all carefully transcribed and translated. This collection forms eighty-four volumes of 3600 pages, in two columns. These volumes are not exclusively filled with Bushman literature, for they contain, also, the translation of the native pieces in English, and sometimes, also, in Dutch, and, in the case of animals' speech, the transcription is also given in ordinary Bushman; some pieces are, besides, entered in several dialects.

A short *resumé* of the catalogue given by Bleek will give a better idea of this collection. He divides the literature into two classes:

A. Mythology, fables, legends, and poetry. I. The tales relating to the mantis, which hold the first place in this class (No. 1–14) and contain many episodes; II. The stories relating to the moon and sun (No. 15–21); III. Stories relative to stars (No. 22–26); IV. Animals' fables, the most interesting part of the literature (No. 27–35); V. Legends speaking principally of the people anterior to the Bushman in the land (No. 36–41); VI. Poetry, consisting of songs, incantations, and prayers (No. 42–62).

B. History (natural and personal). VII. Animals and their habits—adventures with them and hunting (No. 63–86); VIII. Personal history, containing adventures and accidents which befel the narrators (No. 87–96); IX. Customs and superstitions, most interesting as illustrating the mode of life of the Bushmen (No. 67–112); X. Genealogies,

words, sentences (No. 113–125). The last section contains lists of names of animals and insects, extensive vocabularies, and sentences in several dialects.

From this short summary we readily understand the importance of the collection, and must regret that nothing of it has been yet published. Just before his death, Bleek intended to appeal to the European learned world for support to enable him to pursue his researches and publish their result. The appeal was made in the name of his widow by his sister-in-law, Miss Lucy Lloyd, under the date of 18th of September, 1875, but does not appear to have met with any response.

It must be mentioned that doubts have been raised as to the genuineness of the tales recited by the Bushmen to Bleek. Even were these warranted, the circumstance would not take away the philological importance of the texts: but they really seem to have little foundation, as we can hardly believe that the Bushmen would have invented the stories with the curious animals' clicks, and, the other populations not being able to pronounce them, it is not likely that the tales were theirs.

Relationship of the Bushman.—It may be asked, what is the Bushman, what is his position in regard to the other tribes and among the human family, and whether he is a last and isolated specimen of an extinct race? It has been asserted by some that the Bushmen were the result of a mixture of all the runaway slaves, and by others that they were the broken remnants of a degraded and decayed population. Against these two assumptions Dr. Fritsch protests rightly,[1] remarking that the Bushmen have none of the characters which would warrant such suppositions. He observes, with great acuteness, that the Bushmen love their avage life, and prefer it to the comfort of civilization; it is where they have accepted in a certain measure this civilization that they can be said to be decayed. At a period, very early it may be, the Bushmen have found a *modus vivendi*, and, being satisfied with it, neither tried nor

[1] In his excellent paper quoted above.

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wished to change or improve it. It is not the only example of a population which, arrived at a certain degree of civilization, become stationary, being quite satisfied with that stage and considering it as the best attainment. Unfortunately for himself, the stage at which the Bushman chose to remain was not the best to enable him to resist the pressure of the new-comers. The area he covered formerly was much larger, and extended over regions now exclusively occupied by Hottentots and by Bantu; how far it extended in the interior we have no means of knowing, but we have some reason to suppose that the Bushman race occupied at one time the central part of the African continent.

Anthropologically, strange to say, the Bushman offers all the characteristics of the Nigritos, especially of those of the Andaman Islands; the cranial similarity has already been noticed by Prof. Flower, though he explains it by supposing that the two populations have been arrested in their development at an early stage, and preserve an infantile character. The similarity is not confined to the skull, but extends to the principal characteristics we have enumerated—colour of skin, formation and tint of the hair, absence of hair on the body, proportion of the limbs, smallness of the extremities, and reduced size of the stature.[1]

Is there in Africa any population with which the Bushmen may be connected? The central part of Africa is not yet enough known to enable us to answer this question with certainty.[2] There was, however, a race, now nearly extinct or obliterated, which shows many of the same characteristics —that is, the Egyptian race of the first dynasties. Of course it would be absurd to say that the Bushmen are the descendants of the Egyptians, or that the Egyptians were Bushmen, but it may be safely said that both populations

[1] See Prof. W. H. Flower, *On the osteology and affinities of the natives of the Andaman Islands* in Journ. of the Anthrop. Inst. vol. ix. p. 108; Presidential Address, vol. xiv. p. 383; E. A. Mann, same publication, vol. xii. p. 74 *et seq.*

[2] Some early Spanish maps of Africa, however, give the name of Bushmen to populations in the central part of the Continent. Are they the same as our Bushmen? We cannot say. Some utterances of Dr. Livingstone might, however, make us believe that it was so.

came from the same primitive stock and have been modified by crossing with other races, and many other causes. The Bushmen, like the Egyptians, have an exclusive natural graphic power, and, as a special physical characteristic, the *tablier égyptien*. I, however, say that the Bushmen do *not* descend from the Egyptians, but only from the same race—a kind of Nigritoide population. The Bushmen certainly never knew anything of Egyptian civilization, though some might be tempted to say they did; it is probable that they separated when still in a savage state, or rather that at that early period a group, separated and mixed with another race, formed the Egyptian race. It is now admitted by many that the mixed races are those which show the greatest aptitudes. What makes the supposition of such relationship less improbable is that the primitive home of the Egyptians appears to have been at the south of the equator,[1] whence they gradually pushed northwards. The other tribes of this Nigritoide race remained probably in a state of barbarism, or adopted the lowest degree of community: they were pushed and pressed everywhere by all the populations of higher social organization, the ancestors of the Bushmen were thrown on the Hottentot population, whether or not this was indigenous or extraneous—in their tales the Bushmen always speak of a previous population inhabiting the country—and it is no doubt the inevitable infusion of Hottentot blood which has given them the few characteristics they have in common.

It may be said that in my statements there are many assumptions difficult to prove. I would, however, remark that they are rather inferences than conclusions, and that I have reached them through a long and slow process. Having no decided opinion, at first I examined carefully the opinions of every scholar, philologist, or traveller, and in many cases I stopped for awhile, accepting one of them, which I was nevertheless obliged to reject on further examination. Such may be

[1] This is the simplest explanation of the Egyptian tradition preserved in the classics, that, formerly, the sun used to rise at the right and set at the left; there are, besides, other evidences of the Austral origin of the Egyptians.

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the fate which awaits my own conclusions, but if this paper has no other effect than to arouse the interest of scholars in the study of Bushman literature, and to induce one philologist to unbury from the Cape library and give to the world some of the texts so carefully collected by Bleek, I shall be satisfied with the result. I only wish that circumstances permitted me to visit Cape Town, examine the treasure there accumulated, and continue the interesting study of the Bushmen and their language.

P.S.—With reference to note 5, page 59 antè. Since the above was put in type, the following note from our Hon. Sec., Mr. R. N. Cust, has been communicated to me: "Dr. F. Müller has informed me that he has in the press a grammar of two dialects of the Bushman." I regret not to have had knowledge of this before, as the above-named gentleman possesses, doubtless, new data to work on, and a grammar by so great a scholar could not fail to add much to our knowledge, and contain many valuable observations.

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Art. IV.—*Inscriptions at Cairo and the Burju-z Ẓafar.* By Henry C. Kay, M.R.A.S.

A former number of this Journal (Vol. XIX. Part 2) contained a short account of the three monumental gates of Cairo, the chief, indeed almost the only, remaining memorials of the celebrated Fatimite Khalifate of Egypt. It included a copy of the Cufic inscription sculptured on the frieze of the gate, known by the name of Bab en Naṣr, as far as I had then succeeded in reading it.

On a subsequent visit to Egypt, I applied to the local authorities for permission to put up a light scaffolding, admitting of a closer examination of the inscription. This was courteously granted, and enabled me to decipher the missing portions with which, until then, all my attempts had been completely baffled. Near inspection revealed the reason of the difficulty. The lettering was perfectly visible, but it was choked and disfigured by several layers of whitewash, applied at successive but unknown periods. There were traces to show that one of these layers had been a light sky-blue in colour, but the outer one had assumed a dark grey, so precisely the colour of the stone of which the gate is built, that seen from the ground below, its existence could hardly be suspected.

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The following is a complete, and I think I may venture to say a correct copy of the inscription:

بعز الله العزيز الجبّار يحاط الاسلام منتشا لمعاقل الاسوار انشا هذا
باب العز والسور المحيط بالمعزية القاهرة المحروسة حماها الله فتي
مولانا وسيدنا الامام المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه
وعلى ابائه الائمة الطاهرين وابنائه الاكرمين السيد الاجلّ اميرا لجيوش
سيف الاسلام ناصر الائمان كافل قضاة المسلمين وهادى دعاة
المومنين ابو النجم بدر المستنصرى عضد الله به الدين وامتع بطول
بقائه امير المومنين وادام قدرته واعلى كلمته الذى حصر الله
بحسن تدبيره الدولة والانام (انام or ايام ؟) وشمل صلاحه الخاصّ
والعامّ وابتغاءً ثواب الله ورضوانه وطلب فضله واحسانه وصيانة
كرسى الخلافة وازدلافاً الى الله بحياطة الطافه وأُذن بعمله فى
محرّم سنة ثمانين واربعمائه

Islam is encompassed about with the glory of God, the most Great, the Mighty. Raised for the defence of the walls, this gate of honour, and the walls (themselves) that encircle Al Ḳâhirah the Muizzite, the guarded, (may God protect it), were erected by the champion of our Lord and Master the Imam Al Mustanṣir-billah, Prince of the Faithful (Divine glory be upon him, on his fathers the pure Imams, and on his noble offspring), (by) the illustrious Lord, Commander of the Armies, Sword of Islam, Defender of the Faith, Protector of the Judges of the Muslims, and Guide of the Leaders of the Faithful, Abu-l Nijmi Badru-l Mustanṣiry. May God aid through him the Faith, and by prolonging his days, grant comfort to the Prince of the Faithful. May He perpetuate his power and raise his word on high—he with whose righteous rule God hath fenced round the Empire and the age, whose justice encompasseth both high and low—seeking the reward from God and His

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approval, imploring His grace and bounty, and protection to the throne of the Khalifate, and turning with prayer unto God to surround him with His divine favour. He was authorized to erect this gate in Muḥarram of the year 480.

The inscription is interspersed, though very sparingly, with ornaments. The characters are beautifully formed, and its undoubted date adds to its caligraphic and artistic interest. Through the care of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, a plaster cast of a portion is now in the South Kensington Museum.

On a visit, shortly afterwards, to the mosque and tomb of Sayyidah Nafîsah, on the south of Cairo, I observed what seemed to be portions of a marble slab, with the remains of a Cufic inscription, which attracted my attention owing to their close resemblance to the inscription over Bab en Naṣr. The slab had been cut up into slips, which are imbedded in mortar in the walls of the vestibule, in various positions, and some upside down. A reference to Al Maḳrizi's account of the mausoleum (vol. ii. p. 441) shows that in his days (A.D. 1359–1442) a marble slab existed over the gate with an inscription, of which he gives a full copy, and which is almost identically the same as that over Bab en Naṣr. Apart from some slight verbal variations, for which the copyists of Maḳrizi's MS. are, it may be, chiefly responsible, the difference between the two is confined to the following points.

The inscription over the mausoleum, Maḳrizi tells us, commenced with the Bismillah, and proceeded as follows:

نصر من الله و فتح قريب لعبد الله و وليه معدّ ابى تميم الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين صلوات الله عليه و على ابائه الطاهرين الخ

Assistance (and victory) from God, and speedy conquest unto the favoured servant of God, Ma'add Abu Tamîm, the Imâm al Mustanṣir-billah, Prince of the Faithful. Divine glory be upon him, upon his pure forefathers, etc.

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The titles given to Badr al Jamâli, who is stated to have ordered the restoration of the gate, and the invocations that follow, are the same as on Bab en Naṣr; but after the words و اعلى كلمته, "may his words be raised on high," the inscription proceeds and terminates as follows:

و شدّ عضده بولده الاجلّ الافضل سيف الامام جلال الاسلام شرف الانام ناصر الدين خليل امير المؤمنين زاد الله فى علائه و أمتع المومنين بطول بقائه فى شهر ربيع الآخر سنة اثنتين وثمانين و ار بعمائه

May God strengthen his arm, through his most noble and illustrious son Al Afḍal, the sword of the Imâm, the brightness of Islam, the glory of created beings, the Defender of the Faith, the devoted friend of the Prince of the Faithful. May God add to his exaltation, and grant comfort to the true believers, by the prolongation of his days. (The restoration was ordered) in the month of Rabi'u-l âkhir of the year 482.[1]

Badr al Jamâli died in A.H. 487, aged about 80 years. He had appointed his son Shahin Shah, surnamed *Al Afḍal*, to succeed to his power and dignities, regal in all but the name. Al Afḍal was assassinated in A.H. 515. The gate of the mausoleum, Maḳrizi tells us, was plated with iron. The dome over the tomb was renovated, and the mihrâb decorated with marble, by the Khalifah Al Ḥafiẓ li din Illah in 532 (A.D. 1138).

A short account of the life of Sayyidah Nafîsah is given by Ibn Khallikan (De Slane's translation, vol. iii. p. 574). She died in A.H. 208 (A.D. 824), and she was buried in her house, in a grave constructed by herself. She was in the habit of retiring into it, occupying herself in repeated recitations of the whole of the Ḳur-ân. She was thus engaged when she died, and she is said to have breathed her last

[1] See also for the honorific titles of Al Afḍal and his successors, Al Maḳrizi, vol. i. pp. 442, 463, and vol. ii. p. 48.

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immediately after uttering the following verse: "Say, unto whom belongeth that which is in Heaven and upon Earth? Say, unto God. He hath prescribed unto himself the exercise of mercy" (S. vi. 12). The first mausoleum over her grave was built by 'Obayd Allah ibn es Sari, governor of Egypt from A.H. 206 to 211.

Before concluding, I will allow myself to offer some brief remarks on that archæological puzzle, the Burju-ẓ Ẓafar. The name is popularly applied to a line of ruined walls and bastions, on the eastern side of Cairo, at but a short distance from Bab en Naṣr, but it belongs more properly to the curiously-constructed tower at the north-east angle. The remains inclose a piece of ground which may at one time have formed part of the city, but which is now covered with heaps of rubbish, and presents a most desolate aspect.

The fortifications are well built, and the north-eastern tower in particular, with its domed octagonal hall, simple, but not altogether devoid of ornament, may at once be recognized as the work of an able and skilful architect. In style and appearance, but especially in its passages, it resembles Bab en Naṣr and its vaulted staircases. But the theory that both constructions owe their existence to the same builder, or at least to the same period, seems excluded by the distinct and sufficiently authenticated statement of Al Maḳrizi and other historians, to the effect that the walls with which Badr al Jamâli encircled the city were of crude brick, whilst the abandoned line of works consist of solid stone masonry. On the other hand, they greatly differ in appearance from the stone walls known to have been built by Saladin. No inscriptions are to be found, excepting the single word الله, in a style of characters which affords no clue to a date. Nor do any local traditions throw any light upon the subject. But Al Maḳrizi has the following passage (vol. i. p. 380), which must doubtless refer to these remains:

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وكان يحيط بسور القاهرة خندق شرع فى حفره من باب الفتوح الى المقس فى المحرّم سنة ثمان وثمانين وخمسمائه وكان ايضا من الجهة الشرقيه خارج باب النصر الى باب البرقيه وما بعده وشاهدت آثار الخندق باقيه ومن ورائه سور با براج له عرض كبير مبنى بالحجارة الا انّ الخندق انطمّ وتهدّمت الاسوار التى كانت من ورائه وهذا السور هو الذى ذكره القاضى الفاضل فى كتابه الى السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن ايوب فقال والله يحيى المولى حتى يستدير بالبلدين نطاقه ويمتدّ عليهما رواقه فما عقيلة ما كان معصمها ليترك بغير سوار ولا خصرها ليتحلى بغير منطقة نضار والآن قد استقرّت خواطر الناس وامنوا به من يد تتخطف ومن يد مجرم يقدم ولا يتوقف

The walls of Cairo were surrounded by a ditch. It was commenced from Bab al Futûh, in the direction of Al Maḳs, in Muharram, 588. It existed likewise on the eastern side, extending from the exterior of Bab en Naṣr to Bab al Barḳîyah, and beyond it. I have seen some remaining traces of the ditch. Behind them is a wall of great thickness and towers, built of stone. But the ditch is filled up, and the walls that were behind it are demolished.

This wall is that mentioned by the Ḳâḍi al Fâḍil in the writing he addressed to Sulṭân Ṣalâḥ ed dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayûb, in which he wrote as follows: And may God grant long life to our Lord and Defender, that the two cities may be inclosed in the encircling belt of his power, and that he may extend over them the canopy of his protection. For the wrists of no secluded beauty are allowed to be unbegirt with bracelets, nor her waist to be unadorned with a golden zone. Now are the minds of the people at rest, confiding in him for security against the hand of the plunderer and of the miscreant, whom no scruples restrain.[1]

[1] By the two cities, Cairo and Miṣr are meant. The Kaḍi, it must be observed, has chosen many words suggestive of a double meaning. *Niṭâḳ* signifies a belt,

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The latter passage must of course refer to the entire walls of the city. But Maḳrizi's remarks seem to indicate that he regarded the deserted portion as part of Saladin's work. The reason for their having been abandoned may perhaps be found in the fact that they are completely commanded by the high ground in front, which in one part advances so close to the line of works that it may almost be said to overhang them. But this, it is true, still leaves us to seek an explanation of how they ever came to be built in such a situation. A description of the Burju-ẓ Ẓafar, with carefully executed plans, have been published by Professor Hayter Lewis, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, 1882.

The name, as popularly pronounced, Burju-ẓ Ẓafar, برج الزفر, is correctly translated Tower of Filth, an extraordinary denomination, which it is hardly necessary to say cannot be the original one. Nor, it must be added, is there anything particularly appropriate in it. The place is remote from all habitation, and, in point of cleanliness, loses nothing by comparison with any other spot in or near Cairo. I think it exceedingly probable that we have to deal with a corruption of the word ظفر Ẓafar, triumph or victory, and that the correct rendering is برج الظفر the Tower of Victory. This is likewise the name of the Castle of the Pharos at Alexandria, built by Sultan Ḳait Bey (A.D. 1468–96), and Maḳrizi tells us (vol. i. p. 384) that one of the halls or pavilions of the Great Eastern Palace of Cairo, which stood at no great distance from the walls, bore the name of قصر الظفر, the Palace of Victory.

and also power or might. *'Aḳîlah* is applied to a woman kept in a state of seclusion, or to a jewel of great value; but the radical form *'Aḳl* signifies a fortress or place of safety. *Mi'ṣam* signifies the wrist, and the verb *'aṣama* means to protect or defend or to seek refuge, whilst *'Âṣimah*, from the same root, is used to signify a city. *Siwâr*, a bracelet, is, according to the author of the Tâj al 'Arûs, borrowed from the Persian *dastawâr*, but as an Arabic word it is classed as belonging to the same root as *sûr*, plur. *aswâr*, the walls of a city.

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ART. V.—*Gleanings from the Arabic. The Lament of Maisun, the Bedouin wife of Muâwiya.* By H. W. FREELAND, M.A., M.R.A.S., late M.P., Commander of the Order of the Crown of Siam.

MUÂWIYA, the sixth Khalif in succession after Muhammad, was the first of the fourteen Khalifs of the family which presided during a period of nearly a century over the destinies of the Saracenic Empire. His father, Abu-Sufian, was of the tribe of the Kuraish, a tribe to which Muhammad also belonged. Muâwiya and his wife became followers of the Prophet on the same day as that on which the father of the former, who had previously commanded the forces of the enemy, announced his adherence to the new religion. By this conversion Muhammad received a great accession of strength, and was induced, in consideration of its importance, to grant two out of the three requests by which it was accompanied. The first was that Abu-Sufian might take the command of the army of the Faithful against the Infidels. The second, that his son, who afterwards became Khalif, might be appointed Secretary to the Prophet. The third, that Muhammad would vouchsafe to marry the second daughter of Abu-Sufian. The Prophet, however, who complied with the two former of these requests, refused to comply with the latter. Maisun, the Bedouin wife of Muâwiya, was the daughter of Jandal, of the tribe of Kalb. She was a poetess of no mean power, as the poem of which the following is a paraphrase goes far to prove. The original lines are given with some inaccuracy in Carlyle's specimens of Arabian poetry and in Adler's edition of the

Annals of Abulfeda, the great Arabian historian. There appear to be different readings of these celebrated verses, and I was indebted to Faris Shidiak, the translator of the Bible and Prayer Book into Arabic, for two verses which, he assured me, belong to the poem, though not found in either of the texts referred to. I have not hesitated to incorporate them in the text and in my paraphrase, for they are so completely in the spirit of the others, that I cannot but think they originally formed part of, and ought never to have been separated from, the rest of the poem. They are verses 5 and 6 in the Arabic text.

One day the Khalif chanced to hear his wife singing the verses, which were certainly by no means flattering to him, so he said to her: "Thou wast not content, O daughter of Jandal, until thou hadst called me a fat donkey. Get thee to thy family! *Elhaki biahliki* (literally, join thy family)." This was one of the forms of Mussulman divorce, and Maisun was divorced accordingly. So she went back to her desert and rejoined the Bani Kalb, and her son Yazid, who afterwards became Khalif, went with her.

قَالَتْ مَيْسُونُ بِنْتُ جَنْدَلَ ٱلْفَزَارِيَّةُ

لَلُبْسُ عَبَآءَةٍ وَتَقَرَّ عَيْنِي ... أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ لُبْسِ ٱلشُّفُوفِ

وَبَيْتٌ تَخْفِقُ ٱلْأَرْوَاحُ فِيهِ ... أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ قَصْرٍ مُنِيفِ

وَبَكْرٌ يَتْبَعُ ٱلْأَظْعَانَ صَعْبٌ ... أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ بَغْلٍ زَفُوفِ

وَكَلْبٌ يَنْبَحُ ٱلْأَضْيَافَ دُونِي ... أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ هِرٍّ أَلُوفِ

وَأَكْلُ كُسَيْرَةٍ فِي كِسْرِ بَيْتِي ... أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ أَكْلِ ٱلرَّغِيفِ

وَأَصْوَاتُ ٱلرِّيَاحِ بِكُلِّ فَجٍّ ... أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ نَقْرِ ٱلدُّفُوفِ

وَخِرْقٌ مِنْ بَنِي عَمِّي نَحِيفٌ ... أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ عِلْجٍ عَلِيفِ

فَقَالَ مُعَاوِيَةُ مَارَضِيتِ يَا ٱبْنَةَ جَنْدَلَ حَتَّى جَعَلْتِنِي عِلْجًا عَلِيفًا

إِلْحَقِي بِأَهْلِكِ فَمَضَتْ إِلَى بَادِيَةِ بَنِي كَلْبٍ وَيَزِيدُ مَعَهَا ٭ ٭

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Paraphrase.

The Lament of Maisun, the Bedouin wife of Muâwiya.

I give thee all the treacherous brightness
  Of glittering robes which grace the fair,
Then give me back my young heart's lightness
  And simple vest of Camel's hair.
The tent on which free winds are beating
  Is dearer to the Desert's child
Than Palaces and kingly greeting—
  O bear me to my desert wild!
More dear than swift mule softly treading,
  While gentlest hands his speed control,
Are camels rough their lone way threading
  Where caravans through deserts roll.
On couch of silken ease reclining
  I watch the kitten's sportive play,
But feel the while my young heart pining
  For desert guests and watch-dog's bay.
The frugal desert's banquet slender,
  The simple crust which tents afford,
Are dearer than the courtly splendour
  And sweets which grace a monarch's board.
And dearer far the voices pealing
  From winds which sweep the desert round
Than Pomp and Power their pride revealing
  In noisy timbrel's measur'd sound.
Then bear me far from kingly dwelling,
  From Luxury's cold and pamper'd child,
To seek a heart with freedom swelling,
  A kindred heart in deserts wild.

Note.—Mr Sabunjie informs me that in the Kamus, published at Beyrout under the auspices of competent Muhammadan and Christian scholars, and approved by the 'Ulamá of the Azhar at Cairo, the name of the father of Maisun is given as Jandal and not Bahdal, which latter is the name given by some of the earlier authorities. Jandal is also the name given in Lane's Arabic Dictionary.

Art. VI.—*Discovery of Caves on the Murghab.* By Captains de Laessoë and the Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E. With Notes by William Simpson, R.I., F.R.G.S., Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A.

(*Forwarded through the late Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, Secretary R.A.S.*)

In February last, Captain F. de Laessoë, who is attached as one of the Political Officers with the Afghan Boundary Commission, discovered an important group of caves at Penjdeh, and sent me a plan of them, which is here given; and with it the following letter, which contains an account of the discovery.

Penjdeh, 27th February, 1885.

My Dear Mr. Simpson,—

There are a large number of caves at Penjdeh, but as a rule these caves consist of only one or two rooms, and it took a long time to discover and clear out the large group, of which I send you a rough plan.[1] I have no drawing materials here, and I must ask you to excuse the manner in which it is done.

On a high hill in the range on the right bank of the Murghab the sandstone comes to the surface, and the cave is cut out in this rock, which at the time of excavation must have presented on the outside an almost vertical scarp; at present the outer layer has crumbled away, and the cliff has become a steep sandy slope. The group consists of a central vaulted passage 150 feet long by 9 feet wide, and about

[1] This plan, although bearing a resemblance to the one which appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, is not a copy, but is reproduced from a drawing by Captain de Laessoë, made when he first discovered the caves in February last, as the date of the letter to Mr. Simpson shows.

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PLAN OF YAKI DESHIK CAVES, PENJDEH ON THE MURGHAB.

Fig. 1.

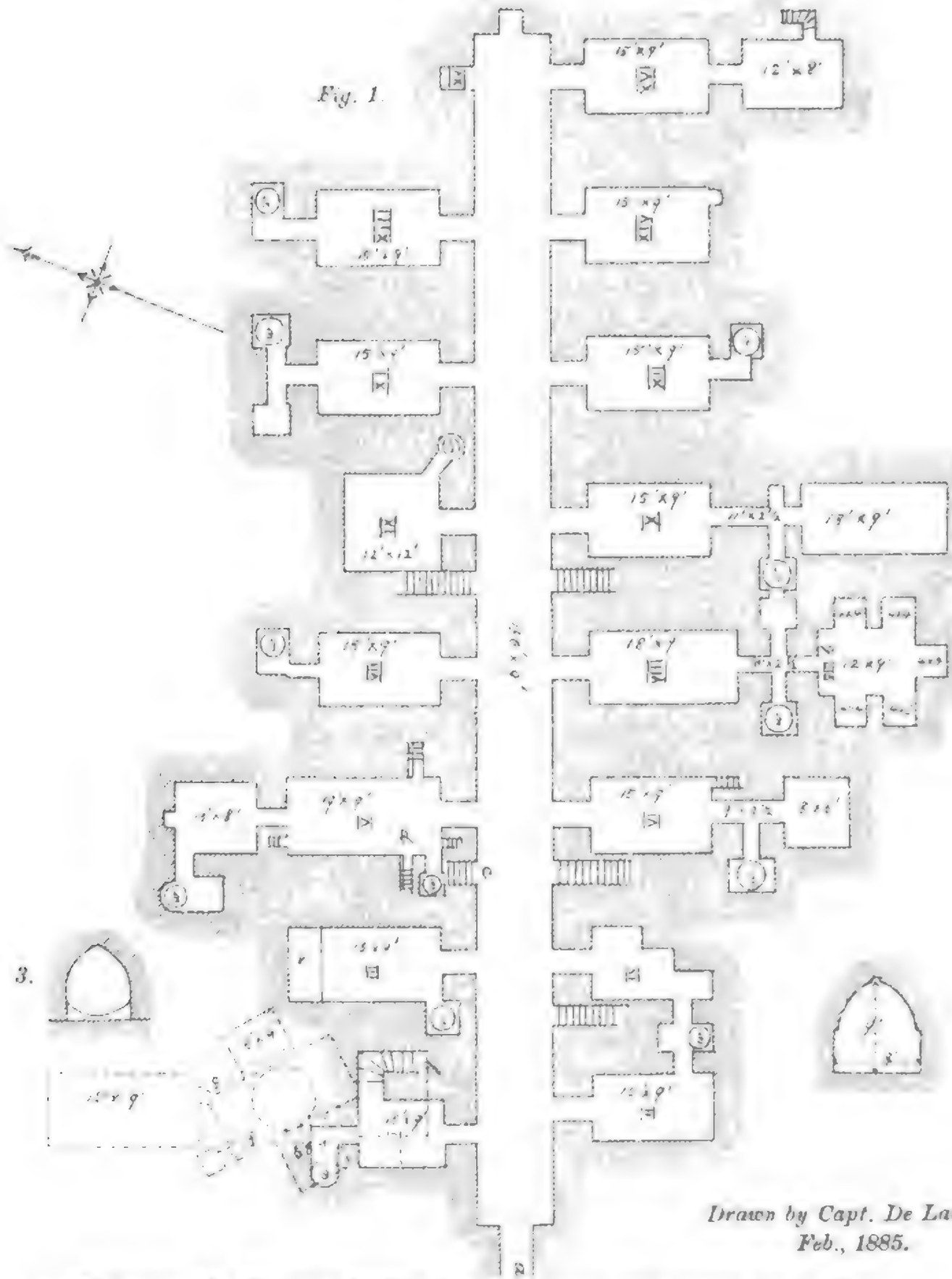

Fig. 2.

Drawn by Capt. De Laesoë,
Feb., 1885.

a.—Entrance. *b.*—Staircase leading to suit of upper rooms meant for habitation. The other staircases lead to store rooms. *c.*—Staircase leading to double upper store room, connected with room No. V by staircase marked *d*. Other store rooms have only one entrance.

***e.*—A shelf 4 feet high and 4 feet broad taking the whole width of the room.**

***w.*—Wells 8-10 feet deep, about 2 feet in diameter.**

***f.*—In upper chamber is a slanting well leading to corner of room I in lower story.**

***g.*—In upper chamber, at this point there is a hole leading to room I in lower passage above entrance to well-room.**

floor of the left-hand room, upper chambers, is about 5 feet lower than central oom, and about 7 feet above floor of lower central passage. Central room has

9 feet to the top of the pointed vault (see Pl. I. Fig. 1). Vaulted passages about 4 feet long, 2½ feet wide, and 4 to 5 feet high, lead to rooms on both sides. These rooms are vaulted like the main passage, and are uniformly about 9 feet high. Walls and roofs are everywhere finely cut with a pickaxe, but not polished, and with no trace of plaster. Ornamentation is attempted in some of the rooms, the roof and walls being divided into 4–6 squares, of which every second is cut about an inch deeper than the neighbouring square. The rooms have been provided with small folding doors; the holes for wooden pegs at the bottom, and for a cross stick at the top are clearly cut, and a rectangular hole at the left side of each door would allow the owner to put in his arm for the purpose of opening it; the door evidently shut from within with a bolt, and probably opening with a wooden key. This arrangement still exists in certain parts of Persia. Every room, or double room (except Nos. XIV. and XVI., which probably are unfinished) (see Pl. I. Fig. 1), is provided with a well, about 2 feet in diameter and 8 to 10 feet deep. These wells are quite empty, with the exception of a layer of fine black dust (quite different from the rock) about a foot thick, such as would have been left if the wells had been for a long time filled with water brought up from the river. One well was entirely filled with black hard stamped earth, evidently brought up on purpose; it was dug out, but without resulting in any find. The different staircases shown in the plan lead to upper rooms, small, and roughly cut. In these rooms is a thick layer of fine brown dust, evidently decayed vegetable matter, all seems to indicate that they were store rooms. Only room No. VIII*b*. has cells separated from the room by a semi-circular border of rock, 1 foot high in the centre and 4 feet at the ends, something like Fig. 2 (See Pl. I. Fig. 1).

As already mentioned, the vaults are all pointed (see section, Pl. I. Fig. 2) (except in a well-room, and an upper-room, which will be described afterwards). The beginning

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and the top of all vaults are marked by straight lines 2 inches deep and the same in breadth.

The staircase *g* leads to a suite of those large upper rooms, which are all carefully excavated. The central room is in the form of a cross, the central room being flat and round, while the four aisles have pointed vaults (see Pl. I. Fig. 3). *a* is a round excavation, marking the keystone of the vault. The two rooms adjoining this central cruciform chamber (see general plan of caves) are on a lower level; the one on the north being 5 feet below. The communications to these rooms are by roughly cut round apertures, large enough only for a man to pass through, and they have evidently been much used, as the surface is quite smooth and polished.

I found a bag with one gold and about 100 silver coins, all from the eighth and ninth centuries; but this bag was found in the deposit very near the entrance, and before the floor of the vault had been come to. It seems to me clearly proved that the bag had been hidden there at a time when the caves had long been disused and the entrance already partly filled up. I suppose this money to have belonged to some inhabitant of a large ruined town situated below the hill with the caves. This town is about five miles long and one to two miles broad; it was brick built, and evidently abandoned in a hurry, as I find a quantity of copper utensils of all kinds, as well as a considerable number of copper coins, and at times gold and silver ones, wherever I dig. I hope a collection of these things will throw some light on the history of the town.

I shall be glad to answer questions, or to have any suggestions regarding future work. Yours sincerely,

F. DE LAESSOË.

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Before making any remarks on this very remarkable group of caves discovered by Captain de Laessoë, I shall give some further account of caves in the same region. I accompanied Sir Peter Lumsden last winter to the Afghan Frontier, and was on the look-out for ancient remains, particularly of any that might date back to the Buddhist period, but as mud or sun-dried bricks seem to have been at all times the principal building material in that part of the world, nothing is left but mounds to mark the site of old towns. Excavations into these mounds may yet be productive of results. Coins and other objects—perhaps the foundations of buildings—may be found, but that is all that may be expected. Owing to the soft nature of the sandstone rock, which is peculiar to those parts of the Heri Rud and the Murghab, we travelled over, caves which have been excavated in it have, at least in the more external portions of them, suffered much from decay.

The first group of caves which came under my notice was on the right bank of the Heri Rud, opposite Dowlutabad, which may be about ten miles to the south of Sarakhs. They are in a sandstone scarp, about a quarter or half a mile from where the undulating ground sinks finally down into the great level plain of Central Asia. There may be about five or six caves at this spot; they are all on the same level, and may be thirty feet above the bank of the river. Being visible from Dowlutabad, I rode over, but found it impossible to ascend to them. There is a mass of rock in front which may at one time have been a stair, and there might have been a means of communication to them from above, but all has now crumbled away, so that I was unable to make an inspection. There was a small opening in the rock, which, from its size and position, I took to be a window, giving light to a cave, the entrance to which would be from one of the caves alongside.

It was not till we reached Bala Murghab that any other caves were noticed; we passed through Penjdeh in the beginning of December, but had no chance at that time of hearing of caves or of examining the locality. It was not till February following that Captain de Laessoë was there for

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some time, and, as he has a knowledge of the Turkoman language, he was able to talk to the people, and thus got on the trail of the important discovery he has made. At Bala Murghab, Captain the Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E, who is on the Survey Department of the Afghan Boundary Commission, discovered a small group of two caves. These are in the low hills on the left bank of the river, and not above a mile from where our winter camp stood; the ascent in this case was so difficult that I deemed it wisest not to make the attempt. Captain Talbot managed to get up, and made a plan with measurements, and gave me a copy of it, which is here given (see Pl. II. Fig. 1). The two caves were on the same level, but the front had through the action of time crumbled away. Below them there had been another very small cave, a few feet only of it was remaining, which presented a pointed arch, similar to that given in the section of those above (see Pl. II. Fig. 2).

Just before leaving Bala Murghab we heard of another group of caves a few miles lower down on the left bank of the river, but we failed to visit them. I understand that they were in a very decayed state. Captain de Lassoë was told of some caves near Meruchak; and at Penjdeh the caves are numerous, he mentions a group called *Bêsh Deshik* (*Delik*?), which means 'Five Holes,' *Yaki Deshik*, the place he explored, meaning 'Two Holes.' He also heard of caves at a place called Gharebil, in the Chol or desert, about fifty miles to the east of Penjdeh. These statements will show that excavated caves are plentiful in the region. Our time was short, and the extent of our movements were very limited; had it been otherwise, I have little doubt, based on our slight experience, that a great many more would have been found. I have a strong presumption that many rock-cut caves exist, and if we had been able to extend our investigations among the higher slopes of the Koh-i-Baba range, there need be little doubt but many more would have been discovered. Our knowledge is all but limited to the magnificent city of caverns at Bamian, and although there is not likely to be another group like it, we may be certain that it is not the

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CAVES AT BALA MURGHAB.

Fig. 1.

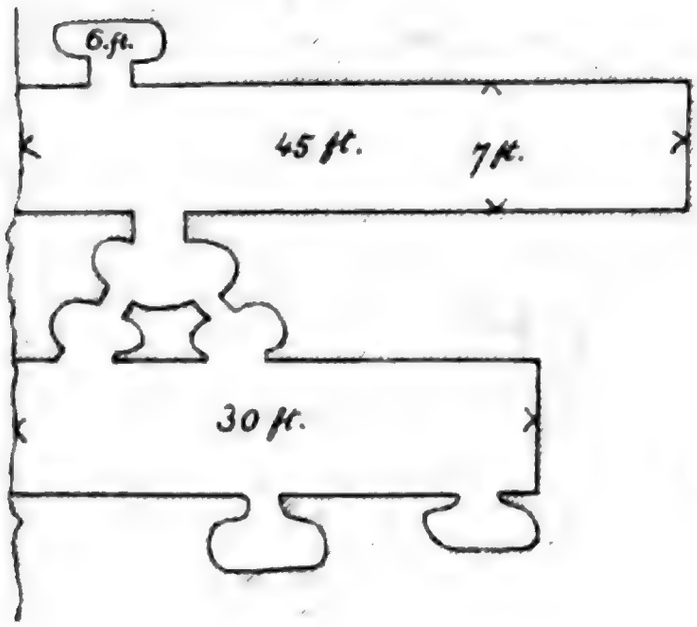

Fig. 2.

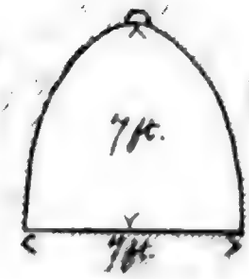

Fig. 3.

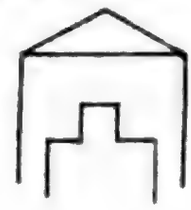

Fig. 4.

Small holes occur in top of arch at intervals, three or four of them in the larger cave.

The natives call them "Dev Kan," or Dug by the Spirits or Devs.

Surveyed by Capt. The Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E.

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only place where caves will be found when the country comes to be explored. Ferrier mentions some caves he visited at a place called Singlak, high up in the Koh-i-Baba, and above the sources of the Murghab. The following, from Ibn Batuta, seems to confirm this; he says: "After this I travelled from Balkh for seven days, on the mountains of Kuhistan, which consist of villages closely built. In these are many cells of religious, and others who have retired from the world. I next came to the city of Herat, which is the largest inhabited city in Khorasan."—Ibn Batuta, Dr. Lees' Translation, p. 94. This journey from Balkh to Herat was along the very district here referred to; but the words may just possibly refer to the 'cells' of Muhammadan fakirs; but the greater probability is that he means caves, as they would not be in such a decayed condition as they are now. Mr. Finn told me he has heard of some wonderful caves, with pillars and inscriptions, near Khaff—that is, within the Persian frontier—which he hopes to visit, and he has promised to send me an account of them. These statements contain all that I have chanced to learn regarding the rock-cut caves in the northern part of Afghanistan.

Regarding the origin of these caves, I think there can be little doubt but that they are Buddhist. Hiouen-Thsang gives us information about the places he passed through in Central Asia, coming to India, and on his return, from which we know that Buddhism had extended beyond the Hindu Kush and the Paropamissus. At Balkh, which is not much over 200 miles to the east of the Murghab, he found about a hundred viharas and 3000 monks. Among the relics of Buddha they had stupas containing a tooth, a portion of hair, cuttings from the finger-nails, the robe, the staff, the broom, and a dish. The two men who, according to the legend, received these objects from Buddha, when he was in the Deer Forest at Benares, were at the same time instructed regarding the form of the stupas, and on their return to Balkh these monuments were erected, and Hiouen-Thsang states that these were the first which were raised in honour of the Law

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of Buddha. As we know that stupas were erected before the time of Buddha, those at Balkh could not have been the primitive models; but we may conclude from the legend the high probability that these monuments at Balkh were constructed in imitation of those in India. If the stupas were built in imitation of Indian ones, we have greater reason to believe that caves would be excavated under similar motives. As Balkh was thus evidently a great stronghold of the religion of Buddha, it gives us every reason to believe that Buddhism would not be confined to that town, but extended, at least, along the whole of what is now known as Afghan Turkestan. The Chinese pilgrim unfortunately did not pass along this country, so we are without information about it; he only states that there was a stupa 70 *li* to the west of Balkh. On his return journey he passed through Badakshan, and found convents in that direction. With such information before us, we may assume as all but certain that Buddhism existed westward along the northern slopes of the Koh-i-Baba range. This pilgrim states that there were convents and monks in Persia at the time of his journey—early part of the seventh century; but as the frontier of that country was not likely to be near the Heri Rud, this information does not help us much.

The Bamian caves are to my mind a very strong evidence that those on the Murghab belonged to the same faith. Large cities imply the existence of towns and villages; and the extensive group at Bamian, which we know were Buddhist, were not likely to be the only ones in that region.

I have here dwelt somewhat particularly on what may be called the circumstantial evidence regarding the character of the newly-discovered caves, because as yet our knowledge of them is too small to speak with certainty from the character of the caves themselves. No sculptures, nor paintings, have been found to help us as data; in the Bala Murghab caves there are a couple of representations scratched on the wall (see Pl. II. Figs. 3 and 4), but they seem to represent houses or buildings of some kind; the form and arrangement of the caves are somewhat different from

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those we already know to be Buddhist. A few years ago I gave a paper to the Royal Asiatic Society on the Buddhist Caves of Afghanistan ;[1] by means of the drawings given in that paper it will be seen that the caves of the Jellalabad Valley were most probably copied from the early form of caves found at Buddha Gaya. Among them was one exception, and it was an evident imitation of one of the Vihara caves of Western India. We are all familiar with the first efforts of a child to copy a good drawing, and such was this Vihara cave as a replica. It must have been excavated from the description given by some one who had seen those in India, and very roughly done. The caves of the Murghab valley may have been cut out under similar inspiration, as we know from Hiouen-Thsang was the case with the stupas at Balkh. This supposition of copying and recopying will easily explain the differences between the newly-discovered caves and those of the Jellalabad valley, these last again, in their turn, having been copied from those in India. The Jellalabad caves thus become an important connecting link, helping so far to explain the caves at Penjdeh and Bala Murghab.

The Jellalabad caves vary in arrangement and in size, and may be described as simple arched recesses, averaging about 20 feet in length, by 10 feet wide, and 12 feet in height. In some cases a couple of these caves are connected by a passage behind. Captain de Laessoë describes the principal chambers of the Yaki Deshik group as 'vaulted,' most of them being about 15 long and 9 feet wide ; some are 18 feet, and one, No. V., Pl. I. Fig. 1, is 19 feet. These chambers I take to be only repetitions of the Jellalabad caves, the original type of which will be found in the Barabar caves near Buddha Gaya. At Jellalabad the caves were cut into a perpendicular scarp, and being open in front received the light ; the two caves at Bala Murghab seem to have been excavated according to this idea. The Yaki Deshik group appears to me to be an imitation of one very exceptional arrangement of caves I

[1] See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XIV. Part 3.

found in the Jellalabad valley. This was opposite the junction of the Surkhab with the Kabul river, which may be called the Pheel Khana caves; in Vol. XIV. Pl. 4 of the Journal of this Society a plan of them will be found. This particular group of caves, which form part of a larger group, are known at the present day as the 'Bazaar,' from a long connecting tunnel by which they are approached. The caves in this case had their fronts opening out through a high scarp overlooking the Kabul river, and the tunnel was cut through the rock behind, each cave having a doorway from it; but the tunnel here had another object to serve, which was the real motive of its construction. At the extremity of the caves is a large niche in the scarp overlooking the river, in which there was no doubt a gigantic Dhyana Buddha, it may have been about 30 feet high. The tunnel leads towards this niche, where by means of a terrace cut in the rock, of which slight vestiges only remain, worshippers could pass round to the statue and perform their devotions in front of it. As the Pheel Khana caves must have been a remarkable group, with a celebrity in the regions round; for I believe that in addition to the caves there were built viharas on the hills above them, as well as a number of large stupas—the ruined remains of a very fine one still exist—the fame of such a spot must have spread, and I take it that the Yaki Deshik group had, as a motive for its construction, to have an equally attractive spot on the Murghab. There is a niche at the end of the long gallery at Yaki Deshik, which would no doubt contain a figure of Buddha at one time. It must be understood that no assumption of certainty is entertained in what is here said, for until we receive details of other caves in the region, and more particularly of the Bamian caves, to give us a broader basis of knowledge, all speculation must be tentative.

It will be noticed that, although there would be a small amount of light towards the outward end of the long gallery of the Yaki Deshik group, the chambers leading from it would all be in complete darkness. This must have necessitated the constant use of lamps. Many of the cells of the

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Vihara caves on the western side of India are very dark, still in all there was some glimmer of light which could enter. I do not remember any evidence that the caves of India had doors to them. In the Tibetan monasteries, which are built, the monk's cells have doors. The well in each chamber is another feature which is new. At Ajunta the caves are in a narrow valley with a stream of water; and I have a faint recollection of noticing a channel which brought the water from some point higher up, so that it ran past close to the front of some of the caves. At Penjdeh the caves were some distance from the river, and hence the necessity for a means of keeping a supply of water, which would have to be carried up to them. The pointed form of the arch is, so far as I can remember, not found in the Jellalabad caves, for the Buddhist arch, as we know from numerous examples in India, was a circular one. It may have come from the west, but wherefrom is the difficulty. Characteristic features of this kind in the past were seldom accidental; however rudely done, such forms were generally copied from something that was known, and it is difficult to believe that the pointed arch came eastward before the Arab conquest, which wiped Buddhism out of existence when it came. In the section given by Captain de Laessoë (see Pl. I. Fig. 2), there is one small bit of detail which, if correctly represented, goes far to prove the copying process which has been suggested; that is the slight 'drip' at the spring of the arch. This is a marked feature of the Jellalabad Caves, and it is found in some of the oldest rock-cut caves of India. Captain de Laessoë says the caves were without plaster, those at Bala Murghab were also without any indication of it. The Jellalabad caves were thickly coated, and the surface painted with figures and ornament.

In the two caves at Bala Murghab are some rudely cut recesses, which bear a strong likeness in size as well as in their position to what will be found in the Jellalabad examples. There is also a very curious connected passage between the two caves, which were described to me by Captain Talbot as being so narrow that it was very difficult

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to pass through. Captain de Lassoë describes the apertures of some upper chambers at Penjdeh as being similarly narrow and difficult of access. Security from attack in times of danger may have been the motive, otherwise it is difficult to explain for what object these passages were thus made.

The interest attaching to these caves results from their giving us the first knowledge we have received of monuments of Buddhism from a new region; and it is to be hoped that it will not be the last. Before leaving the Afghan frontier I talked to the officers of the Survey Department to keep a look out for caves and other remains, and I believe they will do their best to send accounts of anything they may chance to discover. When at Bala Murghab, being comparatively near to Bamian, I was anxious to visit that place. My plan was to go east to Balkh, and then pass on to India by Bamian. Sir Peter Lumsden, who knew my wishes in this matter, was desirous to assist, and most kindly consulted the Afghan authorities to give me permission, but unfortunately they were not favourable to the proposal, and reluctantly I had to abandon the idea. Whether they thought of danger to myself in such a journey, or had political motives in view, I cannot say; but I deeply regret their opposition to my plans. However, I trust that the time is not far distant when some one will be able to send us drawings of that wonderful spot, and its colossal figures and caves, which, we ought to expect, will throw considerable light on Buddhism as it existed in that part of the world.

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Art. VII.—*The Alchemist. A Persian Play.* Translated by Guy le Strange, M.R.A.S.

Prefatory Note.

The *Alchemist* is one of a series of plays lithographed at Tehrân, in 1874, by Mirza Ja'afar, a native of Karâjeh-Dâgh. They are his translation from an Azerbaijani-Turkish original, written by Mirza Fath-'Ali, of Derbend, and first published at Tiflis in 1861. In conjunction with Mr. Haggard, some few years ago, I had occasion to edit, with a translation, the first in order of these plays.[1] Recently, an excellent edition in Persian of three more of Mirza Ja'afar's comedies, and among them "The Alchemist," has appeared under the auspices of two well-known French scholars.[2] They have, however, deemed it advisable not to append a translation, writing that "il nous a paru plus sage d'habituer l'élève à se passer d'un secours dont il est toujours tenté d'abuser:" but it has occurred to me that those not conversant with Persian may be pleased to have yet another of these plays set before them in English dress.

The Plays, as noticed in the introduction to the "Vazîr of Lankurân," where an abstract of the verbose Persian preface was given, appeared originally in the dialect of Turkish known as *Azeri*, which is spoken in Russian Armenia and the North-Western provinces of

[1] The Vazîr of Lankurân. Edited, with a translation, notes, and a vocabulary, by W. H. D. Haggard and G. le Strange. London, 1882.

[2] Trois Comédies Persanes. Publiées avec un glossaire et des notes par C. Barbier de Meynard et S. Guyard. Paris, 1886.

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Persia. The French Consul at Tabriz has recently been able to obtain some short biographical notes concerning both the original author and his Persian translator. These notes Monsieur Barbier de Meynard has inserted in his preface, and we take the liberty of transcribing them in this place.

Mirza Fath-'Ali, the author, appears by his name of "Akhund-zâdeh," to have been the son of a village Mullâ or *Domine*, of the Caspian province of Darbend. He enlisted in the Russian army of the Caucasus, and ultimately worked his way up to the rank of Captain; then settled at Tiflis, the capital of Russian Trans-Caucasia, where he gave himself up to the study of the sciences and arts of the West, recently introduced under the auspices of the Governor-General Waransoff. His imagination appears to have been especially struck by the theatrical representations inaugurated here in a Government building about the year 1850; and, in the hope of seeing his plays performed on these boards—a hope destined never to have been fulfilled—he wrote in succession six dramas, and a sort of historical dialogue: these, all in Azeri-Turkish.

At Tiflis he seems to have made the acquaintance of Mirza Ja'afar, a Persian, who had come thither a pilgrim on his way to Mekka. Mirza Ja'afar, however, had in Tiflis come across certain philosophic free-thinking Persians, who so indoctrinated him with their lax views as to make him give up all idea of continuing his pilgrimage to the Holy City. He joined their mystical society, and, settling in the Caucasus, ultimately obtained some post in the Russian Administration. Here he translated his friend's plays into Persian, and died in 1883, leaving behind him a fortune of ten thousand tomâns (about £4000), which his relatives in Persia, hearing of, did not fail to journey to the Caucasus in order to claim. Of Mirza Fath-'Ali's death no notice is taken, and perchance the worthy Turkish dramatist is still living, and writing of his favourite maxim that *Castigat ridendo mores*. In any case it is to be regretted that his plays were never acted, for they are extremely humorous and not want-

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ing in originality. The three which have recently appeared under the editorship of Messieurs Barbier de Meynard and Guyard are called respectively *The Thief-Taker*, *The Attorneys*, and *The Alchemist*.

In *The Thief-Taker* (Duzd-afkan) the scene is laid in the Caucasus provinces, where the Tartar peasantry (let the Russian Government do what it will) appear not yet to have been weaned from their old habits of brigandage. The mishaps which befall a German who is travelling with performing bears amongst these people, who try to rob him and are themselves in turn set upon by the bears, gives rise to some comical situations. Matters are ultimately set straight on the appearance of the Russian official—the *Deus ex machinâ*—who makes them all a touching speech on the benefits effected by Muscovite civilization.

The Attorneys gives a humorous representation of what takes place in a Moslem law-court, and in truth is but little exaggerated. The roguery of the lawyers, the ignorance of the judge, and the venality of his apparitors, are all cleverly depicted, and in fact the scenes are taken from the very life.

Of *The Alchemist* little need be said, as it follows here, and it is only necessary to remark that alchemists and astrologers are gentry still common in Persia, for in that pleasant country adepts may be met with, at the present day, who continue the search after the Philosopher's Stone, and those who herein have lost the largest sums are the least likely it may be observed to have lost their faith in the certain transmutation of the baser metals into gold.

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The History of Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, the Alchemist.

A Play founded on Facts,

Set forth and concluded in Four Acts.

Dramatis Personæ.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, of Kaldak,[1] the Alchemist.
Mullâ Hamîd, of Sâmûk, his Assistant.
Darvîsh 'Abbâs, the Persian, his Servant.
Hâjî Karîm, of Nakhû, the Goldsmith.
Aghâ Zamân, of Nakhû, the Doctor.
Mullâ Salmân, the Son of Mullâ Jalîl, a learned man of Nakhû, of portly and imposing presence.
Mashadî Jabbâr, of Nakhû, the Merchant.
Safar Beg, of Nakhû, a Landed Proprietor.
Shaikh Sâlih, of Khâchmaz.[2]
Hâjî Nûrî, of Nakhû, a Poet.

Act I.—*The Scene of the First Act is laid at the house of Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith, in the town of Nakhû, during the spring time of the year* 1248.[3] *Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith, has invited friends to his house to meet Shaikh Sâlih, of Khâchmaz, who has lately arrived in the town of Nakhû, and who has come at the Goldsmith's invitation. Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet, who has not been invited, by accident comes in also. The company are discovered seated, dressed in their every-day clothes. Shaikh Sâlih wears a turban, and holds in his hand a long chaplet of beads, which he twirls between his fingers. Hâjî Karîm is facing the company, and exposing the matter in hand.*

Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith. Do your worships know why I have invited you here?

Mashadî Jabbâr, the Merchant. No, not at all.

Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith. I have some fresh news to

[1] All these places are in the Caucasus Province. Kaldak is an Armenian village in the Karabagh Hills, near Erivân; Sâmûk is a town on the Kûr (Cyrus) River, not far from Ganja, or Elizabethpol; and Nakhû (or Nakhî) is the chief town of the district lying to the south-east of Tiflis.

[2] Khâchmaz is a village lying to the south-east of Nakhû. The title of Shaikh here implies that this personage was Chief of a Darvîsh College.

[3] A.D. 1832.

give you. They say that Mullâ Ibrâhîm, of Kaldak, who went to Tiflis to obtain his authorization, has returned and set up his tent in the Khâchmaz Hills, where he practises Alchemy. For instance, he has prepared a substance which they call the Elixir, and when he puts a drachm of this into a stone-weight of brass, it turns to pure silver.

Aghâ Zamân, the Doctor. I too have heard of this.

Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith. Shaikh Sâlih, with his own eyes, saw how the Armenians of Iklîs[1] brought in twenty-five thousand stone-weight of copper coin, and received there for from Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl fifty poods[2] of silver and carried it away. Is not this so, O Shaikh?

Shaikh Sâlih. Yes truly, by the Kurân which I study! I saw it with my own eyes. And every one who brought Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl his coin, received and carried off, double the weight in ingots of pure silver.

Safar Beg, the Landowner. Why should not we too then go and get some?

Mullâ Salmân. Although I keep no actual cash, yet as I am a friend of Hâjî Rahîm, the Money Lender—if you are satisfied with a loan for a year at 12 per cent. interest and will give proper security—I can get from him both for you and for myself as much money as we like.

Mashadî Jabbâr, the Merchant. I myself, Mullâ, have money; but it is all out in business, and it is very difficult to get it back in hand so quickly. So, if it be possible, get me too a thousand stone-weight of copper,—I have got two shops that I will leave in pledge for it.

Hâjî Karîm. Get another thousand stone, as well, for me. I will give a mortgage on my house.

Aghâ Zamân, the Doctor. And another thousand for me; and my wife's garden shall be the pledge.

Safar Beg, the Landowner. And let him give me, too, a thousand; and let my village stand in pledge to him for it.

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet [*suddenly pulling a paper out of his pocket*]. Your worships, it's a fine subject, that of the Lezgî

[1] A village near Erivân.
[2] The Russian "pood" weighs about two stone.

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Avârs, under the leadership of Khân Bûtâi, who came some sixty years back and raided Nakhû. I have set it to verse. Now listen while I read it; and you will note how eloquently and rhetorically I have turned it.

Aghâ Zamân, the Doctor. Fie! Hâjî Nûrî! Is this a fit time for declaiming poetry? We assemble to talk and take counsel, and then here comes a man who begins, 'I have put into verse the events of sixty years ago—how the Lezgîs came and how they went!' What interest has all this for us?

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet [*vexed*]. How 'What interest has it for us?' You will see what misfortunes the Lezgîs at that time brought down on your ancestors' heads, and what inhumanities they perpetrated. And is the knowledge of past events of no interest to you?

Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith [*soothingly*]. Now, Hâjî Nûrî, this is not exactly the time for reading poetry; another day, at your leisure, you can read it to us. At present, look here and tell us whether or no you think it advisable this going to Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl and this buying of silver. Does not your good sense approve of this business?

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet [*sullenly*]. Not at all.

Mullâ Salmân. And for what reason?

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet. For this reason, that each one's profession must be for him his own Elixir, and his means of livelihood: so what need is there to go running after Alchemists? I have not seen Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, but I know by experience that he is just setting up a shop for befooling people. Even though he has been to Tiflis, as 'tis said, who is it that has given him permission to practise Alchemy? Who has seen his Alchemy? There can be no Elixir in this material world. But this Shaikh Sâlih, who comes from Khâchmaz, has bereft you of your wits to such a point that you believe his words, and so will not give credence to anything that I may say.

Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith. But there is proof that a great deal of Elixir exists in this material world, and so there is no need of discussing that matter. But just you prove in

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what way each one's profession is to be his Elixir! Why here I am a goldsmith, and I am unable to make sufficient for my daily expenses!

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet. Because you have lost credit with people, and so no one will confide his business to you. In times back, whatever gold or silver they brought to you to work up into ornaments, you stole more than half of it, and supplied the place with brass or copper, and so returned it to the owner. At last, your tricks were exposed to the light of day, and now nobody brings his business to you. Had you acted honestly, you would assuredly have been a rich man by to-day.

Aghâ Zamân, the Doctor. Well, and why am I without means?

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet. Because you have abandoned your proper professsion, and gone into a business that you know nothing about. Medicine was not *your* profession. Your father, Ustâd[1] Rahmân, the Barber, by means of his hone and his razor, accumulated a reasonable fortune, which you have spent. The worthy man had, with immense pains, taught you to be a good barber. But you were not content with this. You wanted, after the fashion of the Tiflis barbers, to have a reputation as a doctor. But after killing a whole graveyard-full of men, people have got to understand your method, and now keep away from you. At present you are neither barber nor doctor. How often have I not advised you to go to the Russian doctors, and learn from them the medicines for fever, and leave off giving melon-water as the sole remedy?—but you never will listen.

Aghâ Zamân [*apologetically*]. They told me that the Russian doctors use *Khleb* and *sol*[2] as the remedy for fever. I have inquired of those who know the Russian language as to what *sol* is. They say, "salt." But can salt be the specific against fever?

Mullâ Salmân [*stopping Aghâ Zamân's mouth*]. For

[1] Ustâd, literally Master.

[2] *Khleb sol* is Russian for "Bread and salt," presented by the host to the incoming guest.

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Heaven's sake, don't talk, and make an exhibition of your folly. *That* salt is quite different from *this* salt. [*Turning to Hâjî Nûrî*] According to what you have been saying, Hâjî Nûrî, I at any rate ought to have become a Kârûn.[1] Now why is it that I only possess a mat and a water-jar?

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet. That, too, has its reason. Just because your build would fit you so well to be a muleteer, it has, forsooth, got into your head that your father having been a Mullâ, therefore you must be a Mullâ too. Your father had studied, and, having ability, had risen to be a Mullâ, but you, who are not capable of writing your own name even, how can you become a teacher and preacher? Ability is not like the father's fur coat, which comes down by inheritance to the children. And therefore it is that you are not esteemed among the people. And how should you become rich? Why, if with your strength and your stature you had only taken to being a muleteer, you would barely have been content with gaining your hundred and fifty roubles a year by this time!

Safar Beg, the Landowner. And why am I not rich?

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet. You own land, and you should get your wealth by attending to the sowing and the reaping. But you, to your loss, have given yourself up to idle talk, throwing yourself first into this matter and then into that; speaking evil of people behind their backs, and worrying the Government officials with silly petitions about evil-doers and oppressed innocents. At last, having let your pen run riot, you were for three years in the clutches of the law, and then three years more spending great sums of money to get free. So your life has been passed. And now you expect to get rich all of a sudden through this lying Alchemist! Just like Mashadî Jabbâr there, who, in his excess of cupidity, lent out his petty scrapings to people at an exorbitant interest so as to become a capitalist, all in a minute; but now he would be well content if he could only once more lay his hands on the principal.

[1] The Kârûn of the Kurân is identical with the Biblical Korah, who headed the rebellion against Moses in the Wilderness. In Moslem legend he is proverbial for his wealth, as we say of Crœsus.

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Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith. Well, master Poet, even granting that all of us have made mistakes, and have not made full profit each by his trade: still you yourself do not seem to get any very agreeable income from your own profession! If you get your dinner, you go without your breakfast! If you get your breakfast, you go without your dinner! According to what you have said, your talent—which is to make verses—ought to become the Great Elixir in your case too?

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet. Yes; my talent in truth *should* be the Elixir. But just as you say that, for the Elixir you were talking of, it is necessary to have base metal on which it may exert its potency,—even so, in the matter of my talent, it is likewise necessary to find men of taste and culture and understanding, in order that the grandeur of my verses may be appreciated. But seeing that through my evil fortune I find myself in the midst of such fellow-townsmen as you are, without intelligence or culture, and with neither taste nor appreciation, what gain could there be expected from a talent such as mine? and what can my poetry avail me?

Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith. How he does blunder about! What rubbish he talks! Who invited you to come and give advice to all of us here? And look now, where have you got all this philosophy of yours from? Be off outside; for we don't want your advice.

The other Guests [*altogether*]. Get up and go! We don't need your advice!

Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet [*picking up his paper of verses in a hurry and putting it under his arm*]. I'm off—words of truth are bitter! [*Exit.*]

Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith. Well, your worships, we are all agreed. The money must be ready by the beginning of next week, and then we will set off by road to the Khâchmaz Hills, and present ourselves before Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl.

The Guests [*altogether*]. Yes, we are all agreed.

The Curtain Falls.

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Act II. — *The Scene of the Second Act is laid in the Khâchmaz Hills. In a level meadow among the foot-hills, where the herbage is beautified with sweet-smelling flowers of every hue, two tents are pitched, at a distance of fifty paces each from the other. On a lower level than the tents stands a four-walled hut of wood, in the interior of which is seen a large forge. Conveniently placed, near the forge, are the bellows, and all around are lying fractured ingots of brass, in great lumps, as though the metal had been poured hastily into moulds and had been about to become silver. In front of one of the tents is a second—smaller—hut. Above, the meadow runs up into the mountains, which are snow-capped. On the further side is seen a valley, and a small river flows through it, on either side of which are clumps of oak and hazel trees of a hundred years growth, the leaves rustle in the blowing of the breeze, while birds of all sorts flit about from branch to branch and fill the valley with the melody of their harmonious song. On the other side to the meadow a spring gushes from a stoney basin, and with a gentle melancholy murmur flows down towards the valley, its waters sparkling here and there as they wend their way. To the eastward of the meadow spreads a boundless plain, running down to the Caspian Sea. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl occupies one of the tents, and in the other is Mullâ Hamîd, his assistant. In the smaller hut is his servant, Darvîsh 'Abbâs, seated amongst the tools and utensils. It is two hours after sunrise, and the sun's rays are gradually dispersing the mist which lies in the valley. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, the Alchemist, coming out of his tent, calls towards that of Mullâ Hamîd. Mullâ Hamîd, leaving his own tent, goes to him and stands respectfully before him. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl is the first to speak.*

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. Mullâ Hamîd, according to what Shaikh Sâlih wrote, ought not those people from Nakhû to arrive here, in the afternoon to-day?

Mullâ Hamîd. Yes, master, or even earlier.

Mullâ Ibrahîm Khalîl. When these people come, Mullâ Hamîd, pay them every respect. Make them take seat in the tent, and inquire after their health. Ask them why

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they have come, and if they say that they have brought copper coin and want to buy silver, then answer them, 'My master gave all the silver of the last melting to the Armenians of Iklîs, and the silver of this next melting too, which we have now in hand, he has already disposed of to them. Further it requires a month to complete the preparation of the Elixir for this second melting. You have therefore given yourselves the trouble to come quite uselessly, for my master will neither receive the copper money from you, nor give you silver in return.' And then if they want to see me, say further to them, 'My master is in retirement during three days for meditation, and is now occupied with his prayers; therefore, for three days it is impossible for him to receive people or answer inquiries.'

Mullâ Hamîd. Why do you tell me to do this, master? If I talk to them in this manner, it is very probable that they will take their money and go away with it.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. You are a wondrous idiot! Are you going to teach me the ways of the people of Nakhû? Why if you killed them, they would not leave this place without having seen me and given me the money; so go and do exactly as I have told you. [*He returns to his own tent.*]

Mullâ Hamîd [*after him*]. On my eyes be it, master!

[*Time passes, and it is now but two hours to sunset. The people of Nakhû appear, and Mullâ Hamîd, coming out of his tent, advances to meet them.*]

The Nakhû people. Peace be on you!

Mullâ Hamîd [*to them*]. The peace be upon you. You are welcome! What delight you give me! Be pleased to take your repose in the tent.

One of the Nakhû people [*to Mullâ Hamîd*]. We were very desirous of seeing you. Is your health good? Is your nose fat?[1]

Mullâ Hamîd. Praise be to Allah! In such a pleasant, cool spot as this, how could my nose be otherwise than fat?

[1] The literal translation of the Persian expression. It means "Are you well?"

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Particularly, too, in the service of such a great man as Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl!

One of the Nakhû people. Ah well, one often finds places as pleasant as this; but so great a man as Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl one does not come across everywhere! Can we to-day have the honour of visiting his worship?

Mullâ Hamîd. Our master has gone into retirement for three days, and is taken up with his devotions. It is impossible for him during these three days to give an interview to any one, or to talk, or to come out. But you can see him at the end of three days. And now be pleased to tell me the purpose of all the trouble you have given yourselves. Is it merely to make a visit to his worship, or have you some other matter too?

One of the Nakhû people. In the first place, our sole aim is to visit his worship! But secondly, each of us has brought a trifling donation to offer to him, and if he will accept it, perchance he will not be stinting to us of his favour!

Mullâ Hamîd. Well I understand. No doubt you have brought copper money, and you want to buy silver. Now the truth of the matter is that our master, Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, will not take the money from you. The silver that came from the last melting, and also all that which is now under our hands, is already disposed of to the Armenians of Iklîs, and for the double weight of silver that is to be given, a single weight of copper coin has already been received by us. And still another month must pass before the completion of the Elixir for this second melting. Under these circumstances, it is impossible for our master either to receive your money or to give you silver. Especially since the applicants for silver have become so numerous that the silver of each month's melting is sold a month in advance.

One of the Nakhû people. Our feelings of devotion to our master, Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, have nothing to do with the fact of others being his humble servants too! If we could only see him, his very self, all would be quite right!

Mullâ Hamîd. In that case you must have patience for three days, until the time of our master's retirement has

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drawn to an end. You shall be my honoured guests for three days!

The Nakhû people. Very well! Certainly!

At this moment, Darvîsh 'Abbâs appears out of his hut. He is a man of about thirty, his long hair falls over his shoulders, his complexion is yellow, his beard is spare, and his moustaches are cut off. He is tall, wears the conical cap [1] *on his head, and a leopard-skin over his shoulders; in one hand is a horn for blowing,* [2] *and under his arm he holds a red-feathered fowl.* [3] *Intoning in a terrific voice the words,*

Yâ Hû, Yâ Haḳḳ! [4]

he marches up behind the tents, and at a convenient spot drives a tent-peg into the ground. Thrice he blows his horn, and the echoes come back from rock and hill. Then he fastens the cock to the tent-peg, and declaims in a loud voice these three couplets from the poems of Shaikh Sa'adi: [5]

'Tis a fair day of springtide, Arise! and enjoy what the day bringeth forth,
Rely not on days yet to dawn, or that springtide will come back again.
But arise now! and count as thy gain the breath of this soft vernal breeze,
The bright tuneful song of the bird, the perfume so sweet of the flower,
In the sight of the man that is wise, who regardeth the leaf of the tree,
Each leaflet is truly a page proclaiming aloud the Creator.

He blows again three blasts on the horn, then spreads the leopard-skin on the grass at a distance of about ten paces

[1] Such as Darvîshes usually wear

[2] Darvîshes generally carry a cow-horn, or conch, for sounding before they call for alms.

[3] Monsieur Barbier de Meynard takes occasion to point out in a note that the presence of the cock, in this incantation scene, is probably due to some confused recollection in the popular mind of the respect accorded to this bird in Zoroastrian legends. In Persia of Sassanian times, the cock was a sacred fowl, being the favourite of Vohumanô, the best of Ormazd's creatures, in whom was incarnate Wisdom and Science. It was the cock who at dawn of day crowed and called the faithful to their prayers, thereby chasing away the Dîv of sleep. Also, according to the Bundehesh, the cock and the dog were the emblems of vigilance and the adversaries of the evil genii and Yatûs.

[4] This is the Darvîsh cry all over the Moslem east. It is Arabic, and means literally, "O He! (Allah the Only One) O the Truth! (that is, Allah.)"

[5] These verses occur in that portion of Sa'adî's Divân, which is entitled "Tayyibât," or "Perfumed Words." In the Bombay edition of 1851 they are given, but in a different order, in vol. ii. p. 41.

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from the cock, and once more chanting in a loud and terrific voice,

Yâ Haḳḳ! Yâ Hû!

takes his seat on the skin, squatting with his knees up under his armpits.[1] *On hearing the cry of the Darvîsh and the sound of the horn, the Nakhû people in the first moment of astonishment have rushed out of the tent, and thunderstruck stand witnessing the strange scene. When the echoes have died away from rock and hill, and all has become silent again, they turn to Mullâ Hamîd, and in the excess of their wonderment, begin to ply him with questions.*

One of the Nakhû people. Mullâ Hamîd, who is the Darvîsh? and what is this cock?

Mullâ Hamîd [*laughing heartily*]. Ha! ha! ha! Ha! ha! ha! Yes, yes! You have every right to ask the question, for you simple people are ignorant of the secrets of science, and unlearned in its methods. That grass there is a major ingredient in the Elixir, and it is only to be found in these hills. No one besides Mullâ Aghâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl is capable of recognizing it. But according to the assertion of the Greek sages, it must grow while the cock is crowing. So it is the duty of Darvîsh 'Abbâs each night to take the cock, and, after performing the ceremonies which you have just now witnessed, to tie the bird up in a new place, and then he must watch from sundown to dawn to keep off the jackals and foxes. Thus while by night the cock crows, the grass for the Elixir at the same time grows. In the book of *The Wonders of Wondrous Matters* it is plainly indicated that for the service of guarding the cock, only a Darvîsh, and men of no other condition, may lawfully be employed.

The Nakhû people [*in a state of wonderment*]. Allah is great! All praise be to Him!

The Curtain Falls.

[1] This is a favourite position with Darvîshes.

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ACT III.—*The Scene of the Third Act is laid in the same place as the last, but inside the tent of Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. It is dawn. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl is discovered kneeling on his prayer-carpet, facing the Kibla,*[1] *his turban is on his head, and in his hand a chaplet of a thousand beads. He mutters his prayers. Mullâ Hamîd, his assistant, stands facing him, with his arms crossed over the chest.*[2]

Mullâ Hamîd. Master, be pleased to give your commands. Shall I introduce the guests to your presence?

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. Well, yes; go and call them.

[*Mullâ Hamîd makes an inclination, leaves the tent, and returns accompanied by the people of Nakhû, introducing them into Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl's presence.*]

The Nakhû people [*all together, to Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl.*] Peace be on you!

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*blandly smiling, and not disturbing himself in the least, slowly rocks his body from side to side while he is turning the beads of the chaplet.*] And on you be the peace! You are welcome. You have brought joy in putting yourselves to the trouble of coming. [*He moves to make room for the people of Nakhû to sit down, and then motions them to be seated.*]

One of the Nakhû people [*after taking his seat*]. For us to pay a visit to one so great as your worship is not trouble, but rather cause of ease and felicity to us!

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*smirking, and with affected humility*]. My assistant, Mullâ Hamîd, has already assured me of your excellent dispositions. I also was extremely desirous of seeing you. But as to the matter in hand, by Heaven! I hardly know what to do, and assuredly I shall be put to shame before you! From Mullâ Hamîd's report I conclude that you have brought copper coin, wishing to purchase therewith silver.

[1] Towards Mekka.
[2] The attitude of respect and attention.

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The Nakhû people [*in a cajoling manner*]. Yes, master, so please you that your favour may be ours!

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*gratified*]. By Allah! and that I should be put to shame before guests so dear to me as you are! But the buyers of silver are so numerous! And every month, giving money for the following month, they buy in advance the silver of the next melting. Why, the silver of the last melting, and this too that is now under our hands, has already been bought by the Armenians of Iklîs. And the silver that will be produced by the Elixir in the melting to be completed at the end of the month, that too the Jews of of Vârtâsh [1] have got by their begging and bothering, and they are gone off, near by, to bring the copper coin. I had not yet told Mullâ Hamîd of it, for he is not very fond of the Jews. But I must show them some kindness, for their village is near here, and they do me many services.

Mullâ Hamîd [*interrupting the conversation*]. Master, these—

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. Be silent!—In short, those who desire silver have reached such a number that they give me no leisure in which to find time for the preparation of the Elixir. For in order to prepare the ingredients of the Elixir these must be set, for the space of twenty days, in a pot made of luting-clay, to soak in Spirit of Sulphur, and each day a certain fixed quantity of fresh Spirit of Sulphur must be introduced. Then, after this, the ingredients must remain, for ten consecutive days in an alembic and retort, covered with Roseatic Acid, and every other day the Roseatic Acid must be changed and fresh added. After the termination of this portion of the preparation, the ingredients of the Elixir must be brought to the full term of its concoction by incident of igneous heat, in a crucible made of luting-clay. After a space of three sidereal hours, following on the admixture of certain other secret ingredients of a foreign nature, it then first presents an appearance of melting, subsequently coagulates, and finally becomes stable in the form of a

[1] Vartash or Vartashin, a village lying south of Nakhû.

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soft-substanced body. Elixir has the name Elixir because of its action on the baser ores. Thus, for instance, when brass that has been melted has a certain measured portion of Elixir mixed in with it, it turns into pure silver. This is my art, but foolish men, as I am assured, have been spreading abroad on all hands that I work miracles and have received a Revelation. I am no such person. I am but a simple man, who seeks for the companionship of the pious, and strives for the doing of good deeds, firstly through the Grace of the Almighty Creator, and secondly by means of researches and profound investigations which I have made in the science of Alchemy. Through the experiments which now for some time I have been conducting in the philosophical sciences, and while searching out the secrets of the natural world, I have become acquainted with the full particulars of the preparation of the Elixir, and how with prudence it may be concocted. At every degree of its preparation there are a number of essential external conditions to be fulfilled. These are all exigencies necessarily attributive to the Elixir, though at first sight they may appear to common men as strange and peculiar. Also . . . .

Mullâ Hamîd. Master! As I have already begged you to understand, these before you are all Moslems, and, if it please you, you should give them some advantage over the accursed Jews—

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*rising slightly*]. No! Not so! I have given my word! and for two million pieces I would not recall what I have spoken. But see! An idea comes to my mind. Only first tell me that I may rightly calculate. The Elixir for this month's melting, when it is completed, how many poods[1] of brass will it suffice to convert into silver?

Mullâ Hamîd. [*Throwing up his head, and, fixing his eyes on the ceiling of the tent, presses the forefinger of his right hand on his chin, and thinks for a moment. Then answers*] Elixir will be prepared sufficing for thirty-two poods of silver.

[1] See note 2 to p. 107.

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Thus, after its completion in thirty days, it will be projected over thirty-two poods of brass and turn these into pure silver, such as will pass the touchstone. Now, allowing that your worship deducts two poods of this by reason of the impurity of the brass, still at the beginning of next month thirty poods of silver will be produced, as I deduce from my inspection of the amount of the crude brass and of the Elixir.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. And these worshipful gentlemen, how much copper money have they brought?

One of the Nakhû people. Five thousand stone-weight, Master.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. Very well! See, Mullâ Hamîd, what I have in my mind. The copper money of these worshipful people is but little in amount, and we will allow them ten poods of silver. Then there will remain twenty poods, and that can be given to the Jews, that my promise to them may not be broken. What think you of it? Have I not made an excellent partition? On the one hand, your mediation regarding the rights of our co-religionists has not been for naught, and on the other hand my promise given has not been forfeited.

The people of Nakhû [*bowing and vastly contented*]. May Heaven increase your prosperity! So please you, we will deposit the money here in your presence.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*raising his eyebrows, contemptuously indifferent, and speaking slowly*]. It is not necessary to deposit the money with me, and how should I find time enough and have leisure to attend to such trifles! Count it and give it over to Mullâ Hamîd, and then in thirty days come back here and get your ten poods of virgin silver. God be with you! The hour of midday prayer is come!

The Nakhû people [*bowing and greatly delighted*]. May Heaven increase your life and your prosperity! [*Exeunt from the tent.*]

The Curtain Falls.

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Act IV.—*The Scene is once more the same. The thirty days have elapsed. At early dawn from a distance the people of Nakhû are seen approaching to keep their appointment. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl hastily ties a white cloth round his waist and turns up his sleeves. He is dressed in his every-day working clothes, and is without his turban, his head covered with the cotton night cap. He comes outside the tent and calls to his assistant Mullâ Hamîd, and when Mullâ Hamîd has come up, he proceeds to give him his orders.*

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. Mullâ Hamîd, be quick, and go and get in the tent the goldsmith-forge, with the crucible and the small bellows, and bring them out here. Set them up here in this place, and see to arrange the nozzle of the bellows in its proper position. Then light the forge and set in the crucible. Bring, too, the sack of coals from behind the tent, and turn them out in front of the forge.

Now go to the tent, in the casket there are three small coloured phials, and, twisted up, three coloured papers; get them and bring them here.

Now untwist the yellow paper,—open it, and empty the contents of it into the crucible.

Now pour the liquid out of the green phial over it, and now sit down and blow the bellows.

[*After these orders have been carried out, Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl takes up a pair of iron tongs and fixes the crucible firmly in the coals. At this moment, all of a sudden, appear the heads of the Nakhû people from behind the corner of the tent, they having already dismounted from their horses. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl is occupied with his work, his head is averted, and he is looking into the crucible. Apparently he does not perceive them. They however are delighted at discovering Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl thus occupied, and call to him in a loud voice, and eagerly.*]

The Nakhû people. Peace be on you!

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*looking up*]. Peace be on you! Oh but why have you come to-day? How is this? and what have

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you done! What a disaster it is you bring down on my head! I was busy working for your good; but you are come to render abortive all the pains that I have taken for your sakes! Oh! Alas! Alas! Alas!

The Nakhû people [*in astonishment*]. But, master, what has happened? What disaster has come on our heads? What is it that we have done?

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*in perfect despair*]. Why, what would you have worse than this? You set foot here in this place to-day at the very hour of the projection of the Elixir! At the very moment when the ingredients are melting in the crucible! Why, it is the especial property of the Elixir that for a whole farsakh [1] round the tent where it is liquidescing, no stranger man must set foot, or else the Elixir loses its peculiar power and becomes a mere gas. On this subject the Magician of the Sprites, Sakkâkî,[2] has most carefully insisted. Do you imagine that otherwise I should, of my own accord, have come and taken up my abode here in a corner by myself, thus far away from all habitations?

The Nakhû people [*astonished*]. But, master, we have come in accordance with your own commands. To-day the thirty days are completed.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl. What I said to you was, 'at the end of thirty days,' meaning, of course, for you to let thirty days elapse, and to come on the thirty-first. The Elixir would then have been prepared, and the silver already run out. But you come on the thirtieth day, at the very moment when the Elixir is at fluxion in the crucible! Oh! Alas! Alas!

The Nakhû people. Well, but as it is all happened, we don't know what to do. Can't we help it?

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. Why, there is no help for it. The Elixir will not now do its office, and the silver will not be

[1] Farsakh = Parasang. a little over three miles.

[2] This is probably Abu Ya'kûb Sakâkî, the Necromancer, who composed the work entitled *Miftah al 'Ulûm*, "The Key of the Sciences." He died in A.D. 1229.

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transmuted. Unless, indeed, you . . . . . For the counter-spell is possible only with this.

The Nakhû people. Unless we do what? What is it makes the counter-spell possible?

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. Well, now that you have once come, the alchemistic rule forbids that you should leave the place in which the Elixir in the crucible is at fluxion. That is, if you would have any regard for your own welfare, and wish not to render abortive all the pains that I have undergone on your behalf. But from now until the time when the Elixir is complete and pours out of the crucible—and I have already been occupied over it for the last hour, and it still requires two hours more to come to term—for this time you must not allow the idea of a Monkey to cross your mind, nor must you let the semblance of its image come into your thoughts. The counter-spell depends on this! And otherwise this Elixir, which for the whole of the last month I have been working to prepare, in the twinkling of an eye becomes nought, and goes off into thin air. This is its peculiar property, even as Hakîm Julî [1] has very carefully described, times over, and plainly laid down in his treatise.

The Nakhû people [*re-assured by the apparently easy condition of the counter-spell,—together*]. All right, master! This is a simple matter. Please Heaven to make the perfecting of the Elixir dependent on this alone!

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. Yes, it depends simply on this. May Allah be satisfied with what you do, and I shall be so likewise. Mullâ Hamîd, blow with the bellows.

[*Mullâ Hamîd blows the bellows, while Mullâ Ibrâhîm turns the crucible round with the iron tongs. He throws one of the ingredient powders into it, and pours in, drop by drop, the contents of one of the phials. Then he takes his seat, and pulling his watch out of his breast pocket, looks at it. All of a sudden—*]

Aghâ Zamân, the Doctor [*turning towards him*]. Master, is there not some other counter-spell than this?

[1] Who this learned doctor was I have been unable to discover.

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Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. No other but what?

Aghâ Zamân, the Doctor. No other but with the Monkey.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. You fellow! What—what are you saying? What words are you pronouncing? Ah, woe to you!

Aghâ Zamân. Well, but what can I do? I can't drive the Monkey out of my thoughts.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*in despair and very angrily*]. Hold your tongue, you fellow! Whatever comes into your mind, keep it out!

Aghâ Zamân. On my eyes be it, master.

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*angrily to his assistant Mullâ Hamîd*]. Blow hard with the bellows! You are going to sleep! [*Poking down his head, he peers into the crucible. Then undoing the blue paper he pours in the powder out of it. At this moment*]

Mullâ Salmân [*throwing off his cap*]. Ouf! how hot it is! Ouf! Heaven give you all its curse! They will not keep back! There is no help for it!

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. And whom should Heaven curse? Who will not keep back? What is there no help for? What are you talking about?

Mullâ Salmân. There is no help for it! The counter-spell is impossible!

The rest of the Nakhû people. That is true. There is no help for it. It will never be possible!

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*getting in a rage*]. What do you mean by there being no help for it? What is impossible? What are you talking about? What has come to you?

Mullâ Salmân [*prompted by the state of mind in which he and his companions are, and urged on by their looks of approval, ventures to reply*]. Master, all the animals of the hills have changed themselves into the figures of Monkeys and the likenesses of huge Apes, and are uncurling their long tails before my eyes, and now are assaulting my head. Ouf! I don't know what to do, or whither to take refuge! Ouf! Heaven give you its malediction, you Apes and Monkeys!

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The rest of the Nakhû people [*throwing up their heads*]. Malediction on you, you Monkeys! What a pass is this we have got into!

[*While the people of Nakhû have their heads in the air and are not looking, Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl hurriedly throws something into the crucible. Flames and what appears to be a shower of bullets burst out of it and fly about on all sides. Then the crucible cracks, and the pretended Elixir blows up into the air like gunpowder. The fire is upset, and the coals rolling about, the various articles begin to blaze.— Mullâ Hamîd springs back behind the bellows and the forge in terror. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl plucks at the hair of his beard with both hands, and then, striking his knees*[1] *with his hands, moans aloud.*]

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*screaming at the Nakhû people*]. Heaven ruin your homes! What is this that you have done! Heaven ruin your homes, and close the doors of your houses on you! [*He plucks at the hair of his beard, and strikes his knees.*]

The Nakhû people. Sit down, Master! Be calm! What was decreed has come to pass. There is no help for it. But now what ought we to do?

Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*in great vexation*]. What ought you to do? Why, what you must do is, now before the sun sets, to get yourselves to that village, near by there, and remain quiet for all the time that the next Elixir is in preparation. You can come back here again after the thirty-one days have elapsed. You may then receive the silver that is yours, in exchange for what still remains of the five thousand stone-weight of your copper coin. That is, the remainder after deduction of the sum of necessity spent on the indispensable reagents used at the last fusion, and entirely wasted. But understand, — before getting notice from me, on no account do you stir out a step! For, may be, you will again make an error in your counting, and

[1] A common sign of distress in the East.

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arrive most inopportunely one day before the completion of the Elixir, and so spoil the next as you have done this. An idea comes to me. I will add the interest on your money, during this time, to the amount of the silver that shall be set aside for you. For it makes no difference to me to give you a little more or less silver, but for people like you every grain of silver is, after all, something. So God be with you! Go your ways, and wait for my summons. [*He retires to his tent, his head bent down, and, speaking aside to himself, says*] Yes, wait till I send you a summons! But, please Heaven, before that time comes, I shall find means of dispensing with seeing your faces again!

[*The Nakhú people remain in a state of utter perplexity and bewilderment.*]

The Curtain Falls.

FINIS.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VIII.—*On Buddhism in its Relation to Brāhmanism.* By Professor Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, C.I.E., D.C.L., M.R.A.S.

THE recent annexation of Upper Burmah will probably give an impulse to the study of Buddhism. At any rate, the fact that the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists are being

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The Curtain Falls.

Additional Note to "The Alchemist: a Persian Play."—Since my translation has been in type, I learn that Monsieur Barbier de Meynard is bringing out, in the January number of the *Journal Asiatique*, the original Azeri-Turkish text of "The Alchemist," with a French translation appended. The appearance thus simultaneously of the two translations is entirely fortuitous, and had I earlier known about this, it might have been better to have chosen a different play for translation in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. However, this is, perhaps, the less to be regretted, as readers will be able thereby to compare, in the respective translations, the Persian play and its prototype composed in the Turkish dialect of Azerbaijân. It is due to Mons. B. de Meynard to add, that his paper was already in type before the beginning of December, when, unaware of his intention, I wrote out my own translation.—GUY LE STRANGE, *Jan.*, 1886.

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THE recent annexation of Upper Burmah will probably give an impulse to the study of Buddhism. At any rate, the fact that the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists are being made accessible through Professor Oldenberg's edition of the Vinaya-piṭaka,—through the works of Professor Rhys Davids and other scholars,—and more especially through the valuable publications of the Pāli Text Society, is likely, I hope, to cause a considerable accession to the ranks of Pāli scholars.

Rightly or wrongly, and in my opinion wrongly, Buddhism has always excited more attention and interest in this country than Brāhmanism, and the relationship of the one to the other is not yet generally understood.

I may therefore perhaps be held excused if I venture to come before this Society to-day, not with any new theory or discovery, either in the science of language or religion, but with a contribution towards setting forth more clearly the debt that Buddhism owes to Brāhmanism, and Brāhmanism to Buddhism, and the inter-relationship between two systems which together influence the creed, conduct and social condition of more than one-third of the population of the world.

I need scarcely say that I am here using the term Buddhism in a restricted sense. I am applying it to that moral and philosophical system first taught in India about 2350 years ago, of which the Sacred Books of the Southern

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Buddhists are the best exponent, not to those highly developed forms of so-called Buddhism which prevail as popular religions in other parts of Asia in the present day.

And at the outset I may remark that philosophical Buddhism bears much the same relation to its various later outgrowths that pure Brāhmanism bears to Hindūism.

In speaking on former occasions before this Society, I have striven to point out what I conceive to be the difference between pure Brāhmanism and Hindūism.

Pure philosophical Brāhmanism may fairly be identified with the Vedānta system, which again is closely connected with the Sāṅkhya.

It is a creed built up on the doctrine of an impersonal, universally present, unconscious spirit called Brahman—a kind of spiritual element or vital principle pervading all space, and underlying equally every material object, whether organic, or inorganic, whether stones, animals, men or gods.

It postulates the eternal existence of that impersonal elementary spirit as its starting-point—denies the real existence, not only of all material objects, but of the separate human soul, as distinct from the universal soul; and ends where it began in a pure impersonal entity, which it is difficult to distinguish in its unconscious state from pure nonentity. If this be Pantheism, as commonly alleged, it is a kind of spiritual Pantheism very different from the ordinary Pantheism of European philosophy.

Hindūism, on the other hand, is a system built up on the doctrine of devotion to the personal gods Śiva and Vishṇu. It postulates the eternal existence of those personal gods as its starting-point, and ends in simple polytheism and idolatry.

If we compare in the same way philosophical with popular Buddhism, the difference seems to lie in this:—

Philosophical Buddhism—or at least the truest form of it—is a system built up on the doctrine of the utter unreality and undesirableness of life in any form or state, and the non-existence of any spiritual essence, as distinct from material organisms. It postulates the eternal existence of

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Nothing[1] as its starting-point, and ends in simple Nihilism. Impermanence is written on the whole visible universe, including man. Even the most perfect human being must lapse into non-existence.

Popular Buddhism, on the other hand, is a system built up on the worship of certain perfected human beings converted into personal gods. It affirms the eternal permanence of such beings in some state or other, just as Vaishṇavas affirm the eternal existence of Vishṇu. It gives them divine attributes, and ends like Hindūism in polytheism and idolatry.

With this popular doctrine we have at present nothing to do. Our only concern is with that form of philosophical Buddhism which is set forth in the sacred books of the Southern Canon, and was once current in India.

And at first it might seem that for a Brāhman, who is a Brahma-vādī, that is to say, who asserts that Brahman—the one Spirit—really exists and nothing else, and for a Buddhist, who is a Śūnya-vādī—that is, who affirms that a blank or void must be substituted for Brahman—there can be no common meeting-ground.

But a careful examination of the two systems proves that they were not only closely related in their origin, but that the separation and antagonism which afterwards took place between them were never so great as to exclude the prospect of their ultimately drawing towards each other again by mutual sympathy and attraction, and even actually blending; the result of this final union being, in my opinion, the production of the later forms of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. Indeed, the worshippers of the god Vishṇu, in their ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality, in their abstinence from injury, and benevolence towards all creatures, in their hero-worship, deification of humanity and fondness for images, have always seemed to me to be more than half Buddhists.

Perhaps, then, the very first point made clear by the study of the original documents is that the Buddha never seriously thought of founding a religious system in direct

[1] Except it be *Karma* 'act,' but Buddhism does not undertake to explain how the first act originated.

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opposition to Brāhmanism. He himself was a Hindū of the Hindūs, and he remained a Hindū to the end.

And it is remarkable that just as the Founder of Christianity, being Himself a Jew, never required his followers to give up their Jewish creed or usages, so the founder of Buddhism, being himself a Hindū, never required his adherents to make any formal renunciation of their ancestral religion, as if they had been converted to an entirely new faith.

Nor had the Buddha any idea of ostentatiously courting popularity as a champion of universal social equality and denouncer of all distinctions of rank [1]—a kind of Tribune of the people, whose mission was to protect them from the tyranny of caste.

What he rather aimed at was to form a caste of his own, that is to say, an order of monks which had in its constitution much of the character of a caste, though not a priestly one—a vast association of persons who were all to be equals in rank—a brotherhood in which all were equally under the triple vow of celibacy, poverty and mendicancy—a society in which all were equally dominated by one idea—an idea very prevalent before Gautama's time—that life was not worth living under any circumstances, whether on earth or in heaven, whether in present or future bodies.

The founding of such a monastic Order was, without doubt, the Buddha's principal aim; and when founded, it contained within itself potentialities for expansion of which its founder probably never dreamed.

Its growth soon surpassed all anticipations, and its ramifications rapidly extended in all directions, spreading in the end to distant countries, where, like the Indian Fig-tree, they sent down roots to form vigorous plants even after the decay of the parent stem.

In point of fact, an organized monastic system, which opened its arms to all comers of whatever rank, and enforced on its members the duty of extending its boundaries by itinerancy,

[1] This, I admit, is not consistent with what I said in Indian Wisdom (p. 55), but when I wrote that work the Tripiṭaka was not so well known as it is now.

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and by the constant rolling onward of the wheel of the Buddhist law, constituted from the earliest times the chief strength, the very backbone, of Buddhism, without which it could never have been propagated, nor even have held its own in the place of its origin for so many centuries.

But in this, his main design, Gautama was really no innovator; no introducer of new ideas foreign either to the spirit or practice of Brāhmanism.

Monasticism had always been an adjunct, or accompaniment of the Brāhmanical system. Thus, we find it laid down in Manu's Law-book (vi. 1) that every twice-born man was bound to be first a student living with a preceptor, next a married householder, and then, at a certain period of a long life, he was to abandon wife, family, and caste, and become in due course a hermit or anchorite, living in the woods, or a mendicant wandering from door to door.

In fact, it was through these very stages and states of life that Gautama Buddha himself must in all probability have passed.

And be it observed that ordinary Hindū monks were not necessarily Brāhmans. There were in India many monastic communities which included in them men of various castes and sects, and there were also numerous solitary monks and devotees. These took vows of different kinds, whether of self-torture, of silence, of fasting, of poverty, of nakedness, of mendicancy, of celibacy, of abandoning caste, rank, wife, and family.

Hence they called themselves by various names, such as Sannyāsī, 'one who has abandoned the world'; Vairāgī, 'one who is free from all worldly desires'; Yogī, 'one who seeks union with the Deity by abstract meditation'; Yati, 'one who restrains his passions'; Jitendriya, 'one who has conquered his organs of sense'; Śramaṇa, 'one who fatigues himself by austerities'; Bhikshu, 'one who lives by begging.'

The peculiarity of Gautama's monachism was that he made it a necessary qualification for all who wished to enter the path leading to final beatitude, and that he set his face against all solitary asceticism. His aim was to form a vast

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well-organized fraternity of celibate monks, co-extensive with humanity itself; and although these were to be collected in local centres, they were nevertheless bound to move about from one place to another both to obtain their daily food and for the propagation of the Buddha's doctrine. It should always, indeed, be borne in mind that celibacy, poverty, and mendicancy were three essentials of *true* Buddhism, and not a mere accidental accompaniment of it.

It is to be noted, however, that Gautama did not think it necessary to distinguish the members of his Order by any new title, but preferred making use of some of the current Brāhmanical names.

His usual mode of designating them was by the term Bhikshu (Pāli Bhikkhu) 'beggars,' to indicate their poverty; though they were also called Śrāvaka 'hearers,' to denote their attitude of attention as hearers of the Law; and Śramaṇa (Pāli Samaṇa, Sanskṛit root Śram), to indicate the labour and fatigue they had to undergo after their admission to the Order.

For although Buddhism has the credit of being the easiest and least burdensome religious system in the world, and its monks among the idlest of men—as having properly no rites and ceremonies to perform, and nothing to do in the way of working for a livelihood—yet in real truth the carrying out the objects contemplated by the Founder was no sinecure if earnestly undertaken.

It was not possible for men to be really idle who felt that their only mode of avoiding starvation was by begging their daily bread from place to place, and that as members of the Order they were bound to be constantly engaged in turning the wheel of the law, in bringing all their bodily desires into subjection, and in practising profound meditation for the attainment of true knowledge.

This last duty—the duty of meditation—the Buddha himself—as is well known—had set the example of performing for many years as a means of attaining true enlightenment. And it may be here pointed out that in doing so, he had merely conformed to the practice of Yoga, which, though

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not formulated into a regular system of philosophy, was at that time common enough among the Brāhmans.

There can be little doubt that Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna, and Samādhi, three forms of abstract contemplation and mental concentration, were frequently resorted to by Brāhmans in Gautama's time with much the same object he had in view—perfect spiritual insight and true enlightenment of mind. Indeed this may be proved by a reference to Manu vi. 72.

The very Gāyatrī or ancient Vedic prayer—still used by millions of our Indian fellow-subjects at their daily devotions—was originally an act of meditation performed with the very same object:—"Let us meditate on the excellent glory of the divine vivifying Sun, may he enlighten our understandings" (Ṛig-veda iii. 62. 10).

Even the choice of the Aśvattha or sacred Pīpal tree as the place under which the first stirrings of the divine afflatus—symbolized by the mysterious rustling of its tremulous leaves—were likely to make themselves felt, was quite in harmony with Brāhmanical ideas; for we know that in the Kaṭha Upanishad (vi. 1)[1] the root of this tree is identified with the Supreme Being Brahman, and that a passage in the Muṇḍaka Upanishad (iii. 1, 1), and a Mantra of the Ṛig-veda (I. 164, 20), point to the same conception. It is true that Gautama subsequently repudiated all idea of any divine inspiration coming from any external source, yet it is highly probable that when he first seated himself under the sacred Fig-tree, which is even now regarded as a form of Brahmā—he expected to be visited by some kind of supernatural communications.

Enough, then, has been said to show that, according to Gautama's original plan, every true Buddhist was bound to be a celibate monk. Let us not forget, however, that in practice Buddhism recognized laymen and married householders quite as much as Brāhmanism did.

Of course the Buddha knew very well that it was not possible to enforce celibacy on all his followers, however

[1] I do not mean by this to affirm as a certainty that the Kaṭha Upanishad, though ancient, was pre-Buddhistic. Its exact date is immaterial; it must be taken in conjunction with the Mantra in the Ṛig-Veda and other passages, as proving the great antiquity of the idea of this tree's sacredness.

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desirable such an eventuality might have been. He was well aware that if every man and woman had been led through his example and teaching to remain unmarried, and go about from one place to another, either as a mendicant or preacher, there would have been no work done, no food produced, no children born, and in time no humanity—nay no Buddhism —left.

He had to take the Indian world as he found it, and the generality of people were in Gautama's day very much what they are in India now-a-days—bent on early marriage and resolute in devoting themselves to the task of earning a livelihood by honest work—aye and down right hard work too.

Without doubt celibacy in instances of extraordinary sanctity has always commanded respect in India; but in no country of the world has married life been so universally honoured, and the duty of toiling daily for self-support so universally admitted. It is not very likely, then, that the following sentiment from the Sutta-Nipāta could have met with very general approval among the Buddha's hearers:

"A wise man should avoid married life as if it were a burning pit of live coals" (Dhammika-Sutta 21, Kumāra Svāmī).

And indeed it seems to me that the very circumstance that the foundations of Buddhism were not laid, as those of Brāhmanism were—and as those of Christianity notably are —on the sacred rock of family-life, and that Gautama made abstinence from marriage essential to actual enrolment in his society, and to perseverance on the way of salvation, is sufficient of itself to account for the fact that Buddhism never gained any real stability or permanence in India.

At any rate it is clear that the Buddha, foreseeing the impossibility of converting the mass of the people to his anti-matrimonial views, very soon gathered round him an exterior circle of married laymen. These lay brethren were bound to Buddhism by very slender ties. They were required to conform to the simplest possible code of morality.

Probably the only test a layman had to undergo was his willingness to appear before an assembly of monks and repeat

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the formula, "I take refuge with the Buddha, his Law and his Order." And indeed it seems to me probable that it was for this reason that lay adherents were not called disciples, but simply Upāsakas, that is, 'Servers,' or 'Honourers,' and in the case of women Upāsikās.

At all events they had to perform serving, and this chiefly consisted in the offering of food and gifts to the monks. If any lay brother failed in this act of reverence, the only punishment inflicted on him was that he was deprived of this privilege of presenting gifts, and so acquiring a store of merit necessary to his advancement in future states of being. In brief, lay brethren were not true Buddhists except so far as by supporting and serving the monks,[1] they qualified themselves for enrolment within the pale of the Monastic Order at some future time or in subsequent forms of corporeal existence. Nor were they, as I have already hinted, bound to be believers in the Buddha's doctrine, except as one part of their general creed.

What I mean is, that when a man presented himself before a body of monks and claimed to be admitted as a lay brother on the ground of his readiness to do homage to the Buddha, his Law and his Order, he was not thereby precluded from retaining a half or even whole belief in the old-established creeds and customs of his family. In short, he was not required to break with Hindūism, and as a matter of fact never did so, any more than the lay Buddhists of China broke with Confucianism and Tauism.[2]

This was only in keeping with Aśoka's declaration in his twelfth edict: "The beloved of the gods honours all forms of religious faith—there ought to be reverence for one's own faith and no reviling of that of others."[3]

Doubtless, such toleration of the doctrines and ideas of

[1] Comparing Western with Eastern Monachism, I may remark that the chief duty of the lay brethren attached to the monastery at Fountain's Abbey in Yorkshire was to wait upon the monks, procure food and cook it for them; and we learn from an interesting article on the Charterhouse in the *Times* of December 24th, 1885, that the same duty devolved on the Carthusian lay brothers.

[2] In China at the present day the Emperor practises simultaneously Confucianism, Buddhism and Tauism.

[3] See Wilson's and Burnouf's translations.

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other systems had its advantages, especially in the early stages of the Buddhistic movement. It certainly had a prophylactic effect in warding off violent opposition, and helped to secure the permanence of Buddhism for many centuries in India. On the other hand, it had its *per contra* disadvantages, and the absence of any sharp lines of separation between Buddhism and co-existing creeds and superstitions makes it easy to understand how in the end it happened that on the destruction of Buddhist monasteries in India by hostile religionists, Buddhism seemed to melt away or become merged in Hindūism, while all its temples, symbols, idols, and sacred places became subservient to Vaishṇavism and Śaivism.

Yet, as a matter of fact, Brāhmanism and Buddhism co-existed for about a thousand years after Aśoka's Council (about 245 B.C.). If conflicts took place, they were not general, but confined to particular localities, and I think it may be safely affirmed that if Buddhism was ever anywhere persecuted, it never anywhere persecuted in return. I myself was much struck in one of my visits to India by the evidence Ellora (in the Nizām's territory) affords of friendly tolerance between Brāhmans, Buddhists, and Jains. Brāhmanical, Buddhist, and Jain caves may be there seen side by side, and their inmates no doubt lived on terms of just as much harmony as the members of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan communions do in Europe at the present day. It was only in the South of India that any violent crusade against Buddhism—like that instituted by Kumārila and Śaṅkara in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era—seems to have been carried on. In other parts of India, Brāhmanism crept up somewhat insidiously to its rival, and drew the heat out of its body by close contact. In brief, I hold that if it be true to say that Brāhmanism was the birth-place of Buddhism, it is quite as true to assert that in India at least Brāhmanism became its grave, and that the passing away of the Buddhistic system was, on the whole, peaceful and unattended with any violent pangs.[1]

[1] No doubt there are places in the South of India where there is evidence

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With regard to the Order of Nuns (Bhikshuṇī, in Pāli Bhikkhunī), it is generally believed that at the outset of his career Gautama refrained from imparting, or allowing others to impart his ideas to women, simply because he feared the danger of encouraging communication with the female sex. Tradition asserts that women were indebted to the intercession of Gautama's favourite cousin Ānanda for permission to form a Sisterhood of their own.

Certain it is, that no long period elapsed before the Buddha conceded to women the privilege of entering on the same path of deliverance as that opened to men.

It is well known that at the time when Gautama lived, women were not kept in actual seclusion. Yet we learn from Manu's law-book that they enjoyed little independence of action, and were regarded as inferior beings, incapable of the same form of religion as men.

It was not surprising, therefore, that Gautama, while admitting the justice of the plea for women's rights under a system of universal brotherhood and equality, and while actually instituting a sisterhood of nuns, should have placed them under the direction of monks, and made them subject to the male Order in all matters of discipline.

Whatever may be said about the theory of social equality between men and women in Buddhist countries, there can be little doubt that in India Buddhism effected little alteration in Brāhmanical ideas about women.

It is at any rate clear that men were regarded as possessing an advantage over women in respect of the more rapid attainment of Nirvāṇa, and that every nun cherished as an object of legitimate ambition the hope of being born as a man in some future birth.

of some violent persecution. I may instance among the places I visited the Temples of Tanjore and Madura. When I concluded the reading of this paper at the meeting of the Society on February 15, 1886, our President, Colonel Yule, very justly remarked that the members of two religious communions who hold very similar doctrines often on that account hate and oppose each other all the more; but my point is that the intense tolerance and eclecticism that characterized both Brāhmanism and Buddhism must have prevented mutual persecution, except under special circumstances. Brāhmanism was much more likely to have adopted Buddhism as part of its system than to have persecuted and expelled it. In point of fact, the Brāhmans, as is well known, turned the Buddha into one of Vishṇu's incarnations, very much as they are ready to turn the Founder of Christianity also.

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Such then was the monachism which lay at the root of true Buddhism. It was in no one particular openly antagonistic to Hindū caste. It was supported, as we have seen, by a large body of lay associates, and those lay brethren who refrained from enrolling themselves as members of the Order retained their caste-distinctions without any denunciations from Gautama. Nor did Gautama ever rail at the Brāhmans, or dispute their right to be regarded as men of higher social rank. On the contrary, he treated them with respect, and taught others to do so,[1] just as he admitted the superiority of the gods over men, and allowed men to worship them; merely denying that either gods or Brāhmans could alter a man's condition in a future life.

What he really opposed was priestcraft and priestly domination, not caste; for, be it observed, Buddhism recognizes no priests, and has properly no priests of its own, unless monks can be so called.

Other reformers and leaders of Hindū sects had done much the same before him, so that even in this respect it cannot be said that Gautama struck out any wholly original line.

But it was not merely in the establishment and organization of a universal monastic Order, by means of which he might propagate what he believed to be true knowledge, that the Buddha took care to avoid any direct or offensive opposition to the spirit of Brāhmanism: he was equally careful in regard to the form in which the knowledge so propagated was presented. It seems indeed as if the great Teacher to whom the majority of Asiatic races have for centuries looked as a kind of god-like example, if not as an actual god, was naturally so tolerant of the opinions of others, and so humble-minded in regard to his own, that he could not bring himself to pose in the attitude of an original thinker.

[1] He even asserted that birth in a Brāhman family would be a reward for merit. According to Burnouf "very little difference appears between the Buddhists and Brāhmans in the *early* Buddhist writings, and Buddha is often described as followed by a crowd of Brāhmans as well as of Bhikkhus." See Journal R.A.S. o.s. Vol. XII. p. 242.

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Almost all the doctrines of Buddhism will be found on examination to be more or less amplifications or modifications of previously current Brāhmanical ideas, which again were afterwards modified by an interchange with Buddhistic ideas. At any rate, it may be doubted whether Gautama himself during his whole life-time ever expressed opinions calculated to cause any serious offence to the most orthodox Brāhmans. He could not of course wholly dispense with dogmatic teaching of his own; but all his dogmas were more or less the result of a compromise with old-established doctrines.

And it is certain that the Buddha's method of clothing old truths in a new dress, or, to adopt another metaphor, of mixing new wine with old, had in it a fascination very attractive to most men. For Brāhmanism was in truth equally tolerant of other creeds, and equally eclectic. Even if a man were one of its most orthodox adherents, he was allowed to choose one of three ways or methods of securing his own salvation.

The first was the way of sacrifices, ceremonies and rites, as enjoined in the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda.

The second was the way of devotion to one or other of certain commonly worshipped personal deities, leading in later times to Śaivism and Vaishṇavism (as ultimately unfolded in the Purāṇas).

The third was the way of knowledge as set forth in the Upanishads.[1]

Any one of these three ways, or all three together, might be chosen without fear of being charged with heresy, so long as the authority of the Veda was not impugned; but the third, or way of knowledge, which was incomparably the highest way, was not open to all.

It was the way reserved for the more intellectual and

[1] The three ways are usually expressed in Sanskṛit by Karman, Bhakti, and Jñāna respectively: but the doctrine of Bhakti was not fully developed till after the time of Buddha, though the Upanishads prove that the practice of devotion (as expressed by Upāsanā) must have existed.

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philosophically-minded Brāhmans. The generality of men had to content themselves with the first and second ways. All that the Buddha then did was, in the first place, to institute an Order to which all classes were admissible; and in the second place to throw open the third or highest way—the way of true knowledge—to all who wished to enter upon it, of whatever rank or caste or mental calibre they might be. No human being, he declared, not even the lowest, was to be shut out from free access to the path of true enlightenment.

And here, of course, it will occur to most persons to inquire what was the nature of that knowledge which the Buddha thus made accessible to all?

Was it some deep spiritual truth? Some abstruse doctrine of philosophy, or physical, or metaphysical science? Was the Buddha's open way very different from the old, well-fenced-off and carefully-guarded Brāhmanical way? Was his knowledge opposed to Brāhmanical knowledge?

Unhappily we are here met by a difficulty. The Buddha promulgated a creed, but he never, like Muhammad, wrote a book or even a single line. He was, in some respects, the Socrates of India, and we are obliged to trust to his followers for a record of his sayings and doings. Still we have no reason to doubt the genuineness of what has been handed down in regard to the main doctrines he taught, and we are at once struck with the fact that Gautama called his own knowledge *Bodhi* and not *Veda*. Most probably he did so because he wished to imply that his own knowledge, as attainable by all through their own efforts and intuitions, was to be distinguished from *Veda* or knowledge obtainable through the Brāhmans alone, and by them through supernatural revelation only.

But it should be noted—as pointed out long ago by Professor A. Weber of Berlin, and recently by Professor Oldenberg—that even in the choice of a name derived from the Sanskṛit root *Budh* 'to know,' the self-enlightened Buddha was only following the authors of the Brāhmaṇas. For example, the Śata-patha-brāhmaṇa called a

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man prati-buddha[1] who had attained to perfect knowledge of the Ātman. It may be pointed out, too, that in Manu (iv. 204) the wise man is called Budha.

Moreover, the doctrines which grew out of his self-acquired knowledge Gautama still called *Dharma* 'law,' using the very same term employed by the Brāhmans—a term expressive of law in its most comprehensive sense, as comprising under it the physical laws of the Universe, as well as moral, political and social duties. And, further, the very first truth taught in the Buddha's Dharma was after all no new truth. It was in perfect harmony with Brāhmanical ideas. His way of knowledge, though—like that of the Brāhmans—it ultimately developed into many paths, had only one point of departure. It started from the old truth, taught long before, that all life—not merely some life—was pain and misery, and it indicated two cures for that misery.

The first cure was *the suppression of desire*, especially the desire for continuity of existence. The second cure was *the removal of ignorance*. When, however, we come to put the question—ignorance of what? we find ourselves brought round by the well-known twelve-linked chain of causality to the old truth, and the answer we receive is:—ignorance that all life is pain and misery and all craving for continuity of individual existence a mistake.

It would be easy to prove that this kind of pessimism—the pessimism of Schopenhauer, von Hartmann and other modern European philosophers—was taught by the Brāhmans in Buddha's time and has continued to be a thoroughly Brāhmanical idea even to the present day. Witness the following sentiment from the Maitrāyaṇi or Maitri Upanishad:—

"In this weak body, ever liable
To wrath, ambition, avarice, illusion,
To fear, grief, envy, hatred, separation
From those we hold most dear, association
With those we hate; continually exposed
To hunger, thirst, disease, decrepitude,
Emaciation, growth, decline and death,
What relish can there be for true enjoyment?"

[1] Śata-patha-brāhmaṇa xiv. 7, 2, 17.

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Also the following, from Manu (vi. 77) :—

"This body like a house composed of the (five) elements, with bones for its rafters, tendons for its connecting links, flesh and blood for its mortar, skin for its covering; this house filled with impurities, infested by sorrow and old age, the seat of disease, full of pain and passion, and not lasting—a man ought certainly to abandon."

Later writers chime in, thus (Vairāgya-śataka of Bhartṛihari, iii. 32) :—

"Enjoyments are alloyed by fear of sickness,
High rank may have a fall, abundant wealth
Is subject to exactions, dignity
Encounters risk of insult, strength is ever
In danger of enfeeblement by foes,
A handsome form is jeoparded by women,
Scripture is open to assaults of critics,
Merit incurs the spite of wicked men,
The body lives in constant dread of death,
One course alone is proof against alarm,
Renounce the world, and safety may be won."

And again (iii. 50) :—

"One hundred years[1] is the appointed span
Of human life, one half of this goes by
In sleep and night; one half the other half
In childhood and old age; the rest is passed
In sickness, separation, pain and service—
How can a human being find delight
In such a life, vain as a watery bubble?"

Then we know that the removal of the pain caused by desire, ignorance, and bodily existence, was the chief aim of the Brāhmanical systems of philosophy, quite as much as of the Buddhistic.

The very first aphorism of the Sāṅkhya system defines the chief aim of man to be complete deliverance from the misery and pain incident to corporeal existence. The Nyāya,

[1] Centenarians (S'atāyus, S'ata-varsha) seem to have been rather common in India in ancient times, if we may judge by the allusions to them in Manu and other works. See Manu, iii. 186; ii. 135, 137.

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too, in its second aphorism, declares that beatitude consists in complete deliverance from the pain resulting from birth, actions and false knowledge; while the Vedānta considers that ignorance alone fetters the soul of man to the body, and is therefore, of course, the cause of all pain and suffering. Then, again, as to the Buddha's so-called agnostic and atheistic ideas, it is said that he wholly repudiated the existence of a Supreme Being. And it is true that his highest being was the perfectly enlightened man, free from all ignorance, desire and suffering.

Yet, as already pointed out, he had great sympathy with Yoga ideas, and the Yoga philosophy not only asserted the existence of God, but defined His nature thus (ii. 24):—

"God is a particular Spirit (*purusha*, which also means man), unaffected by pain, acts, the result of acts, and desires."

Surely this might equally serve as a definition for the Buddha's perfect man, and it is difficult to suppose that one was not suggested by the other.[1] It seems, also, difficult to reconcile the Buddha's predilection for Yoga with his disbelief in the existence of Spirit as distinct from bodily organism. But a little consideration will perhaps indicate how he was brought round to this disbelief.

Probably before his so-called enlightenment and attainment of true knowledge, he was as firm a believer in the real existence of one Supreme Spirit as the most orthodox Brāhman. He had become imbued with Brāhmanical philosophy while sitting at the feet of his two teachers Udraka and Alāra. At that time there were no definite or finally formulated systems of philosophy, separated from each other by sharp lines. But the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta systems were assuming shape, and the doctrines they embodied had been roughly enunciated in the Upanishads, and were orally current.

For instance, it was then believed, as had been repeatedly stated in the Upanishads, that nothing really existed but one universally present impersonal Spirit, and that the whole visible world was really to be identified with that Spirit.

[1] By this I do not mean to imply that the Yoga definition was necessarily the first in point of time.

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Then it followed as an article of faith that man's spirit, deluded into a temporary false idea of separate personal existence by the illusion of ignorance, and maintained in that false idea through repeated births by the force of its own acts, was also identical with that One Spirit, and ultimately to be re-absorbed into it.

Now it is obvious that to believe in the ultimate merging of man's personal spirit in One impersonal unconscious spirit, is virtually to deny the ultimate existence of any human spirit at all. Nay more—it is virtually to deny the existence of a supreme universal Spirit also.

For how can a merely abstract universal Spirit, which is unconscious of personality, be regarded as possessing any real existence worth being called true life?

To assert that such a Spirit is pure abstract Entity or (according to Vedānta phraseology) pure Existence (without anything to exist for), pure Thought or even Consciousness (without anything to think about, or be conscious about), pure Joy (without anything to rejoice about), is practically to reduce it to pure non-entity.

All that Gautama did, therefore, was to bring common sense to bear in purging Brāhmanism of a dogma which appeared to him to be a mere figment and a sham.

He simply eliminated as meaningless and incapable of proof the doctrine of an impersonal incorporeal unconscious spirit, whether human or divine.

And this leads us to the important question how far the great central Brāhmanical doctrine of soul-transmigration formed the basis of the Buddha's theory on the same subject. It might seem at first that the teaching of the Buddha would differ materially from that of the Brāhmans in regard to this central dogma. The real fact was that the divergence of the Buddhist doctrine from the Brāhmanical theory of metempsychosis was not greater than was to be expected from the difference between the two systems in regard to the doctrine of soul and spirit. Of course Gautama was brought up to accept unreservedly the Brāhmanical theory as minutely described in Manu's Law-book (chapter

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xii. 41, 50, and elsewhere). The great Brāhmanical law-giver there set forth a triple order of transmigration through lower, middle, and higher planes of existence, resulting from good, middling, and bad acts, words and thoughts. Thus—to instance only the lower—the soul of a man who spoke ill of his teacher was destined to pass into an ass or a dog (ii. 201), the soul of a thief might occupy a mouse (xii. 62), the soul of one who neglected his caste-duties might pass into a demon (xii. 71, 72); and greater crimes might lead to the soul's being condemned to occupy plants, stones, and minerals. Then there was an intermediate condition of the soul, as a departed spirit or ghost, which would be miserable but for the Śrāddha ceremonies—a source of constant profit to the Brāhmans who performed them.

This passage of the soul through repeated bodies was the terrible incubus which it was the great object of Indian philosophers to remove. It was impossible, however, for Gautama to accept such ideas, denying as he did the existence of any soul or spirit at all, as distinct from material organization. He therefore put forth a view of his own, which was no doubt afterwards amplified by his followers into something more Buddhistic than Buddhism, just as Darwin's followers of the present day develope his teaching into something more Darwinian than Darwinism.

And perhaps I may be pardoned for recapitulating here what so many Pāli scholars have already made clear, that every human being according to the Buddhist is composed of five constituents called Skandhas.[1] And that these are: 1. Form (*rūpa*). 2. Sensations (*vedanā*). 3. The faculty of perception (*saññā*). 4. The faculty of conformation (*saṃskāra*), that is of forming ideas, dispositions (leading to actions, etc.). 5. The faculty of thought or consciousness (*vijñāna*). This fifth is the most important of the five, and is the only kind of soul recognized by Buddhists. Theoretically it perishes with the other Skandhas at death, but practically it is continued, its exact counterpart being reproduced in a new body.

[1] Sometimes a human being is said to be made up of the five elements—ether, air, fire, water, earth—with a sixth called Vijñāna, consciousness.

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For although it is true that when a man dies, all the Skandhas are dissolved, yet by the force of the merit and demerit (*kuśala* and *akuśala*) resulting from his actions (*karma*), a new set, of which consciousness (*vijñana*) is still the dominant faculty, instantly starts into being. The process of the new creation is so instantaneous that it is equivalent to the continuance of the same personality, pervaded by the same consciousness, though it is only really connected with the previous personality by the force of acts done and character formed in that personality. In short (as Prof. Rhys Davids has well shown), to speak of transmigration of souls as a doctrine of Buddhism is misleading.

A true Buddhist does not believe in the passing of a soul from one body to another, but in the passing on of what may be called act-force or character-force: that is to say, in the constant perpetuation and transmission of the aggregate of merit and demerit resulting from a man's acts so as to cause a continuous and connected series or succession of separate forms and personalities. It is this act-force alone, commonly called Karma, which is the connecting link between each man's past, present, and future bodies.

In its subtle and irresistible operation this accumulated Act-force may be compared to stored-up chemical or electric energy. It is a force which continually creates and re-creates the whole man, and perpetuates his personal identity (even in the absence of recollection) through separate forms, whether it compels him to ascend or descend in the scale of being. Be it observed, however, that the scale of descent appears to be limited in true Buddhism to animal organisms. It is not extended, as in the Brāhmanical system, to plants and minerals, stocks and stones.

Enough then has been stated to make it clear that the only creator recognized by Buddhists is, so to speak, Act-force. It is Act-force that creates worlds. It is Act-force that creates all beings in any of the six classes into which Buddhists divide all beings,—namely, gods, men, demons, animals, ghosts and the dwellers in hell. We know that it is an axiom with modern European men of science that no

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force can ever be lost, but must of necessity be transmitted onwards in some form or other. Now the Buddhist philosopher affirmed this very thing many centuries ago in regard to the force generated by a man's character and acts; and Brāhmanical philosophy affirmed much the same.

And what does the modern Positivist philosopher assert? He maintains that both body and mind are resolved into their elements at death. The only immortal part of us is what good deeds we have done, what good words or thoughts we leave behind us, to be made use of by our descendants and improved on for the elevation of humanity. And the aggregate of these, according to the Buddhist, constitute a force strong enough to re-create us.

Is was thus that the force of Gautama's own acts had constantly re-created him through a long chain of successive personalities terminating in the perfect Buddha. And it was a peculiar characteristic of the perfect Buddha that he was gifted with the faculty of recollecting these personalities and describing them. The stories of at least five hundred and fifty of his births (Jātakas) are even now daily repeated to thousands of eager listeners in every Buddhist country over the greater part of Asia, and are believed to convey important moral lessons, much in the same manner, if I may be allowed to say so with all reverence, that the stories of the Old Testament patriarchs, prophets, and heroes, who are held by Christians to be types of Christ, are repeated as lessons in our own religious services.

The close inter-relationship between Brāhmanism and Buddhism, and the interchange of ideas which took place between each, are again exemplified by the Buddhist birth-stories, many of which are obviously mere modifications or adaptations of old fables and folk-lore long current in India, while others have evidently been imported from Buddhism into the fables of Sanskṛit literature.

In reading them one is constantly reminded of similar stories in the Pañća-tantra, Hitopadeśa, Rāmāyaṇa, and Mahā-bhārata. The noteworthy point about the repeated births of the Buddha is that there appears to have been no

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Darwinian rise from lower to higher forms; no working of the way gradually and progressively upwards; but, on the contrary, a mere jumble of metamorphoses. Thus we find him born twenty times as the god Indra, eighty-three times as an ascetic, fifty-eight times as a king, twenty-four times as a Brāhman, once as a gamester, eighteen times as a monkey, six times as an elephant, eleven times as a deer, once as a dog, four times as a serpent, six times as a snipe, once as a frog, twice as a fish, forty-three times as a tree-god, twice as a pig, ten times as a lion, four times as a cock, twice as a thief, once as a devil-dancer, and so on in an endless irregular series, without any apparent conformity to any rule or law of development.

Another wise man of the East, who lived long before Gautama, spoke of "the path of the just shining more and more unto the perfect day."[1] Of this kind of progressive advance towards higher planes of perfection, the Indian sage knew nothing. Nor to the Buddha, of course, would such a doctrine as that of "imputed Righteousness" have conveyed any meaning whatever. With Gautama, righteousness and unrighteousness, holiness and sin, were merely forces causing in the one case a man's rebirth either in one of the heavens or in higher earthly corporeal forms, and in the other his rebirth in one of the hells or in lower corporeal forms. "Not in the heavens," says the Dhamma-pada, "not in the midst of the sea, not if thou hidest thyself away in the clefts of the mountains, wilt thou find a place where thou canst escape the force resulting from thy evil actions."[2] And this Buddhist theory of every man's destiny being dependent on his own acts is quite in keeping with Brāhmanical ideas expressed here and there in Sanskṛit literature. Take for example the following: — Pūrva-janma-kritaṃ karma tad daivam iti kathyate, "the act committed in a former birth that is called one's destiny"; and again, "As from a lump of clay a workman makes what he pleases, even so a man obtains

[1] Proverbs iv. 18.

[2] Dhammapada, 127, 219 (Dr. Oldenberg's Buddha, p. 243), with a slight variation of phraseology.

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whatever destiny he has wrought out for himself" (Hítopadeśa, Introduction).

We are reminded too of a sentiment by a poet of our own—

> "Our deeds still travel with us from afar,
> And what we have been makes us what we are." [1]

And of Don Quixote's saying, "Every man is the son of his own works;" and of Wordsworth's, often quoted, "The child is father of the man;" and of Longfellow's, "Lives of great men all remind us, we can make ourselves sublime."

Nor can ceremonies and rites performed by priests avail aught, nor can any devotion to personal gods avail aught, nor can anything whatever, except a man's own works and deservings, possess the slightest efficacy.

Not that the gods and demons of the Hindū Pantheon were held by the Buddhists to be mere myths. They existed in more subtle corporeal forms than those of men, and were, moreover, powerful beings, capable of working good or evil, benefit or harm; among them the Vedic god Indra being particularly revered.

Yet they were not omnipotent, and were wholly powerless to help or hinder any one on the road to his own salvation. If we turn next to that division of the Buddhist system which seeks to explain the operation of physical laws in the creation and dissolution of worlds, we are again reminded of Brāhmanical ideas.

We have already noted that, notwithstanding the great difference between Buddhism and Brāhmanism in regard to the doctrine of Spirit, the disagreement in the end appears to be more apparent than real. The same may be said with regard to Buddhist ideas on the subject of matter as opposed to spirit. Here, again, the gulf between the two systems appears at first to be impassable. It might indeed have been supposed that since Gautama denied the eternal existence of Spirit, he would at least give eternal existence to matter.

[1] These lines constitute the text of the 70th chapter of George Eliot's "Middlemarch."

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But no; here, again, Buddhism allowed no permanence. Here, again, the only eternal thing is the Causality of Act-force.

The world around us, with all its visible phenomena, must be recognized as an existing entity, for we see before our eyes evidence of its actual existence. But it is an entity produced out of nonentity, and destined to lapse again into nonentity when its time is fulfilled.

For out of nothingness it came, and into nothingness must it return, to re-appear again, it is true, but as a wholly new creation brought into being by the accumulated force of its own acts, not evolved out of any eternally existing germ.

It is thus that the Universe is like an endless succession of countless bubbles which are for ever forming, expanding, drifting onwards, bursting and re-forming, each bubble owing its re-formation to the force generated by its vanished predecessor;

> "Worlds on worlds are rolling ever
> From creation to decay:
> Like the bubbles on a river,
> Sparkling, bursting, borne away." [1]

Or like an interminable succession of wheels for ever coming into view, for ever rolling onwards, disappearing and reappearing; for ever passing from being to non-being, and again from non-being to being.

As to the question what force created the first world, the Buddha hazarded no opinion. He held this to be an inexplicable mystery.

Many of these speculations also may be traced back to a Brāhmanical source. We know that a fundamental doctrine of Brāhmanism is *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* The true Vedānta philosophy makes the Universe proceed out of an eternal illusion, and students of Manu are familiar with the doctrine of Kalpas, or immense intervals of time (lasting for 4,320,000,000 earthly years), during which every creation attains perfection, and then again deteriorates and decays till it is utterly dissolved, not indeed into nothingness,

[1] Shelley's Hellas.

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but into Brahman or simple unconscious Spirit, to be again evolved with the inauguration of a fresh Kalpa.

Can it be affirmed, however, that pure unconscious spirit is virtually very different from pure nothingness?

What says the author of a well-known hymn of the Ṛig-veda (x. 120)?—

"In the beginning there was neither naught nor aught,
Then there was neither sky nor atmosphere above.
Then first came darkness hid in darkness, gloom in gloom;
Next all was water, all a chaos indiscreet,
In which the One lay void, shrouded in nothingness."

Then as to the Kalpas or ages of the world, we know that the Brāhmanical notion of vast intervals of time exceeds the wildest dreams of modern geologists; yet the Buddhist conception is a mere exaggeration of the same notion.

Let it be supposed, say Buddhist writers, that a solid rock forming a vast cube 16 miles high, and the same in length and breadth, were lightly rubbed once in a hundred years with a piece of the finest cloth, and by this slight friction reduced in countless ages to the size of a mango-seed; that would still give you no idea of the immense duration of a Buddhist Kalpa.

Then again the Buddhist theory of numerous heavens and hells is nothing but an equally exaggerated expansion of the Brāhmanical.

One of the earliest doctrines of Brāhmanism was that earth, atmosphere, and heaven formed three worlds (Manu xi. 236), and we find Buddhist writers expanding these into three sets or groups of worlds, the first comprising the seven worlds of sensuous desire (Kāma), viz. the earth and six heavens of the gods, all the inhabitants of which are capable of those sensual feelings and desires which lead to re-birth and death, and are therefore presided over by Māra, the deadly spirit of evil, whose sphere is the atmosphere, and who, as Prof. Oldenberg has well shown, is the counterpart of Mṛityu, 'god of death,' in the Kaṭhopanishad. The second group are called 'worlds of form' (Rūpa), divided according to four

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places of pure thought or meditation, and said to contain sixteen (or according to the Northern school seventeen or even eighteen) heavens. The third group are called 'formless worlds,' and contain four heavens, inhabited by beings who appear to exist in a highly sublimated transcendental state, untroubled by desires, feelings, or thoughts.

Similar hyperbole is used in describing the numerous Buddhist hells. Manu (iv. 88–90) reckons 21 hells or places of torment of various degrees, but these are expanded by Buddhists into 136, the eight principal of which are minutely described as terrible places of torture. The worst, called Avīći, is for unbelievers in and revilers of Buddha and his law.

And now, before I conclude, I feel rather like a foolhardy person rushing recklessly over thorny ground when I venture to speak of the culminating Buddhist doctrine of Nirvāṇa? I think, however, I may assert two things about this much controverted expression without fear of being contradicted.

The first is that the word Nirvāṇa is an expression common both to Brāhmanism and Buddhism. It was probably current in Gautama's time, and certainly occurs in the Mahā-bhārata, parts of which may extend back to the time when Buddhism first arose in India. Of course, like some of the crucial theological terms of Christianity, it is capable of being interpreted differently, according to the views of the interpreter and the point he wishes to establish.

The second is that it would be about as unreasonable to restrict the expression Nirvāṇa to one meaning as it would be to restrict both Brāhmanism and Buddhism—two most elastic, comprehensive and Protean systems—which have constantly changed their front to suit changing circumstances and varying national peculiarities at different epochs and in different countries, to one hard and fast outline.

Nirvāṇa, no doubt, properly means 'a state of extinction' like that of a blown-out flame, but such extinction may have at least three meanings. It may indicate first a complete extinction of the fires[1] of the passions and a total cessation

[1] The three chief fires are lust, infatuation and hatred.

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of all desires,[1] especially the desire for individual existence—a state achieved by all Arhats while still living in the world, and notably by the Buddha himself, at the moment when he attained Buddhahood, forty-four years before his complete Nirvāṇa. Then, secondly, there is a form of Nirvāṇa insisted on by many, in which the leading idea seems to be a state of absolute release from all pain, accompanied by a sense of profound peace and rest, all fear of further bodily existences having terminated. This condition, implying as it does an actual consciousness of blissful repose, precludes the idea of utter annihilation. Then, thirdly, Nirvāṇa may stand for a state of entire cessation of re-births, with utter extinction of all conscious personal existence as attained by the Buddha, according to the orthodox view, at the moment of his death.

Now with regard to the first form of Nirvāṇa—the extinction of the fires of the passions—it must be borne in mind that a feeling of profound respect for such a condition was ingrained in the mind of every true Hindū, and that there was really nothing new in this idea.

Even to this day no one can have come in contact with the natives of India in their own country, without observing that for a genuine aristocratic Brāhman to allow others to see him give way to any passion, to exhibit any emotion or enthusiasm, is regarded as a proof of weakness.

We can easily understand, therefore, that when the Buddha exhorted his followers to strive after a wholly impassive condition, he addressed a sympathetic audience.

Long before his exhortations were heard in India, his fellow-countrymen held persons in the highest respect who claimed to have entirely suppressed their passions. The only peculiarity in Gautama's teaching was that he made this object incumbent on all true Buddhists alike, without exception. And this state of absolute impassiveness is well indicated to the eye by the usual attitude of the images which, after Gautama's death, were carved to represent him

[1] Prof. Rhys Davids holds that the Buddha did not advocate the suppression of good desires.

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—an attitude of complete tranquillity, passionless composure, and dignified calm.

Then, with regard to the second phase of Nirvāṇa, in which the main idea is cessation of all pain, this seems to correspond very much to the Brāhmanical Apavarga, described in the Nyāya, and defined by a commentator, Vātsyāyana, to be Sarva-duḥkha-ćheda. I trust I shall not shock my Indian friends if I illustrate this condition by an example from the animal creation. In crossing the Indian Ocean, when unruffled by the slightest breeze, I have sometimes observed a jelly-fish floating on the surface of the transparent water, apparently lifeless, but really drinking in the warm fluid in a state of lazy blissful repose.

No Buddhist at least could look at such a sight without being reminded of the second idea of Nirvāṇa—the idea of, so to speak, floating in perfect peace and cessation from all pain on a kind of ocean of conscious beatitude.

With regard to the highest form of Nirvāṇa—sometimes called Parinirvāṇa—absolute extinction of conscious personal existence and individuality, I have already shown that if this is to be distinguished from the Brāhmanical idea of absorption into an impersonal unconscious spirit—whereby the Ego of personal identity was utterly destroyed—it is a distinction without much difference.

We may be quite sure that although the highest form of Nirvāṇa is the ultimate goal, and great object of all the loftiest aspirations of a true Buddhist, it has no place in the aims, efforts, and even in the thoughts of the ordinary adherents of Buddhism.

The apex of all the desires, the culminating point of all the ambition of the most religiously-minded Buddhists of the present day, point to a life in one of the heavens, while the great mass of the people aim only at escaping one of the hells, and elevating themselves to a higher condition of bodily existence in their next birth on this earth, and perhaps on that very part of this earth which is the scene of their present toils, joys and sorrows.

And now, in conclusion, let me say a few words in regard

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to the Buddhist Code of Morality. It may be well asked, "How can any scheme of morality find a place in a system which makes all life and action proceed from ignorance and error, and even virtuous conduct the product of a mistake as leading to continuity of life in higher states of being?"

The inconsistency seems difficult of explanation, but it must be borne in mind that notwithstanding the constant insisting on the misery resulting from every form of existence, Gautama taught that the life of a virtuous man and life in heaven were better than a wicked life and a life in hell.

Hence accumulation of merit (*kuśala* or *puṇya* or *dharma*) by good actions, by the practice of morality, self-renunciation, meditation and almsgiving, according to the example set by the Buddha himself, was made an absolutely indispensable factor in securing a man's re-birth in higher corporeal forms, with a view to the attainment of perfect knowledge, perfect self-renunciation, and perfect deliverance from individual being at some future period.

Indeed, both Buddhism and Brāhmanism might be well summed up in a few words as schemes for the intense accumulation of self-righteousness, with a view to getting rid of self; but let it be clearly understood that the self to be got rid of is not the self spoken of in Christianity, but the self of individuality and continued personal conscious existence.

And of the two systems Buddhism is certainly entitled to the palm as the most perfect art of merit-making. For every Buddhist is like a trader who keeps a ledger, with a regular debtor and creditor account, and a daily entry of profit and loss.

He is forbidden to store up a money-balance in a worldly bank, but he is urged to be constantly accumulating a merit-balance in the bank of Karma.

To be righteous in a Christian sense, a man must be God-like, and to be righteous in a Buddhistic sense, a man must be Buddha-like; but the righteousness of the Buddhist is not the perfection of holiness, nor even the perfection of

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self-enlightenment by the dissipation of ignorance. It is the perfection of merit-making, whereby the complete extinction of individual existence is achieved.

I do not, of course, mean to imply that the Buddhist system of morality is not of a very high order.

Often, indeed, it rises to the highest plane of Christian teaching, but the same can be said of the moral code existing among Brāhmans and Hindūs before the Buddha's time, and in nothing is the close connection between Buddhism and Brāhmanism better shown than in the moral precepts of these two systems which are sometimes nearly identical.

There is scarcely a sentiment in the Dhammapada and Sutta-nipāta which may not be matched by something similar in either Manu, the Epic poems, or the Nīti-śāstras of Sanskṛit literature.

Most certainly the highest morality of both Buddhists and Brāhmans has this in common, that both had an ultimate reference to their own interests, and that both inculcated doing good to others, with a view to laying up such a store of merit for themselves as might secure their own advancement in future states of corporeal existence.

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ART. IX.—*The Stories of Jîmûtavâhana, and of Hariśarman.*
Translated by the Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM, M.R.A.S.

THE Buddhist legend of Jîmûtavâhana is related twice in the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, in the 22nd Tarânga, from which the following translation is made, as well as in the 90th Tarânga. The two versions of the legend differ somewhat in their treatment of the story, the latter version giving a fuller account of Jîmûtavâhana's courtship and home-life, at the same time omitting all account of his actions in a former birth, and their results. The legend has also been dramatised in the Nâgânanda, or Joy of the Snake World, a highly sensational drama, remarkable as being the only known existing drama commencing with an invocation to Buddha. The drama follows the lines of the legend as laid down in Tarânga 90.

THE STORY OF JÎMÛTAVÂHANA (*Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, Tarânga 22, Śloka 16).

A mountain called the Snowclad on this earth
Uprears its mighty form, the chief of hills,
Father of Parvatî,—of Gaurî's spouse
The spiritual head. In that great mount,
The home of the Vidyâdharas, once dwelt
Their lord, Jîmûtaketu. To his house
Belonged a "wishing tree," the legacy
Of his forefathers, from its nature called
"The giver of desires." Then the king
One day approached that heaven-sent tree and said,
In supplicating tones: "O deity!

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Who ever grantest all we ask or seek,
Give me, I pray thee, now, a virtuous son,
For I am childless." "King," replied the tree,
"Thy prayer is granted, thou shalt have a son;
Within his mind shall dwell the memory
Of former births; he shall be liberal,
The lover of all creatures." Then the king,
Filled with delight, in adoration bowed
Before the tree, and straightway to his Queen
Bore the glad tidings. Soon a son was born,
And to the boy the father gave the name
Jîmûtavâhana. As time went on
The youth increased in stature, while the love
Which filled his inmost nature, step by step,
Grew with his outward form. At last, the prince,
Proclaimed Successor to his father's crown,
Filled with compassion for all living things
That move upon this earth, in secret spoke,
And thus addressed his father, who with joy
Heard his son's words. "Surely I know full well
That all things perish: nothing on the earth
Has an abiding place; one thing alone,—
The glory of the virtuous, replete
With purity,—though countless ages pass,
Shall never fail. If men of noble mind
Have gained renown by showering kindnesses
On others, more than life, far more than wealth,
They value that fair glory. As for us—
If our good fortune—our prosperity—
Be for ourselves alone, nor overflow
On the less fortunate, then like a flash
Of lightning shall our fortune pass away,
And vanish into air. This 'Wishing tree'
Grants all that we desire; if, then, we pray
The tree to pour its blessings o'er the world,
Nor keep them selfishly,—then shall its fruit
Be ours indeed. So let me supplicate
The wishing tree that by its boundless wealth

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The multitudes of men, who pass their lives
In poverty, may be relieved." Thus spoke
Jîmûtavâhana: gladly his sire
Assented, and the youth invoked the tree.
"O Bounteous tree! The giver of all good
To us; fulfil this day our earnest prayer;
Banish from earth all want and poverty.
Hail to thee! friendly one! Thou hast been sent
To bless the world with wealth, therefore I pray
Bestow on men the wealth that they desire."
In answer to Jîmûtavâhana
The self-denying one, the tree sent down
Gold in abundant showers on the earth,
While all mankind rejoiced. Who could have bent
The wishing tree to carry out his will
And rain down plenty, even though he were
Incarnate Wisdom, but the glorious
Jîmûtavâhana? Therefore to him
Were all the regions of the earth fast bound
By ties of gratitude, and o'er the heav'n
His spotless fame extended far and wide.
Then the relations of the King uprose,—
Even of King Jîmûtaketu,—full
Of hatred, since the throne was firmly fixed
By his son's glory; and their minds they set
To overcome that place wherein the tree,
The giver of all blessings, grew,—a place
Unfortified, easy to be o'ercome.
Therefore they met together, fully bent
On war. Then said Jîmûtavâhana,
Calm and composed, "Father! this life of ours
Is even as a bubble on the stream.
Why should we then desire prosperity?
For even as a lamp, whose tongue of flame
Flickers befere the wind, so among men
Is fortune. Who could ever hope to gain
(If he were wise at least) prosperity
From other's harm or death? I will not fight

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With kinsmen ; I will rather leave my realm
And dwell within the forest. Let them be!
We will not slay these miserable men,
Our brothers and our kin." His father said,
Firmly resolved in mind: "I, too, my son!
Will go with you, for I am old and grey,
And how should love for power abide in me
Since thou, all young and vigorous, hast cast
Thy realm aside, as though it were but straw,
Through love and pity?" Thus the King approved
Jîmûtavâhana's advice, and left
His realm, departing with his wife and son
To Mount Malaya. There the youth abode
Within a grove, the Siddha's dwelling-place,
Where trees of sandal shadowed o'er the brooks,
Making his father's life his chiefest care.
And while he sojourned there, the Siddha prince,
One Mitrâvasu, took him as a friend,
Whose maiden sister in a former birth
Had loved Jîmûtavâhana. He saw,
And filled with perfect wisdom knew again
The damsel he had loved. Their mutual glance,
Like the frail meshes of the net which holds
The captive deer, ensnared each other's souls.
One day the Siddha prince, his countenance
Beaming with joy, in sudden thought addressed
Jîmûtavâhana, whom the three worlds
Adored: "A younger sister dwells with me,
Called Malayavatî: to thee I give
The maiden; O! do not refuse my gift!"
Then spoke Jîmûtavâhana, and said:
"Prince! in a former birth she was my wife,
Thou too my friend, even as dear to me
As my own heart; to me is given the power
Of calling back to mind births past and gone."
Then Mitrâvasu said: "Tell me, I pray,
The story of thy former births, I long
To hear it." And Jîmûtavâhana,

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Loving towards all creatures, answeréd:
"Hear then my tale: Once in a former birth
As a Vidyâdhara, flying through space,
I passed Himâlaya, whose lofty peaks
Shone forth beneath me, and I was beheld
By Śiva, sporting with his spouse. The god
Enraged, because my towering flight
Bore me above him, with a curse pronounced
This sentence on me: 'In the world of men
In mortal guise thou shalt be born: a wife
From the Vidyâdharas thou shalt obtain.
Thou shalt appoint thy son to occupy
Thy room, and then once more remembering
Thy former birth, thou shalt again be born
As a Vidyâdhara.' Thus Śiva spoke,
Yet while he cursed, foretelling too the end
Of his Anathema, and disappeared.
Soon after, in a merchant's family
I entered human form, and lived the son
Of a rich trader in a city named
Vallabhî: Vasudatta was the name
Bestowed on me. Time passed; to manhood grown,
My father sent me forth, a retinue
Of servants following, to some far land
To traffic. On my journey, I was seized
By robbers in a forest; stripped of all
My merchandise, they loaded me with chains
And dragged me to their village, to the shrine
Of Durgâ, where a silken banner waved,
Crimson and long, like as it were the tongue
Of Death, all eagerness to lick the blood
Of living things. Then to Pulindaka,
Their chief, they brought me, who was worshipping
Before the goddess, that within her shrine
I might be offered as a sacrifice.
He saw me, and although a Savara,
At once he felt his heart within him melt
In pity for my fate; a causeless love

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Which seems to spring unbidden in the heart
Tells us of friendship in a former birth.
Thus was I saved from slaughter by the King,
Who, still intent upon the sacrifice,
Prepared to make the offering of himself,
And so complete the rite. But while he thought
Thereon, a voice from heaven said: 'O king!
Hurt not thyself! Ask of me what thou wilt,
It shall be granted thee, for thou hast been
Approved of me.' Then filled with joy the king
Replied: 'Since thou, O goddess, hast approved
My deeds, what should I further need? but yet—
One thing I ask of thee: in births to come,
May love between me and the merchant's son
Ever remain unchanged.' 'It shall be so,'
Answered the goddess. Then the Savara
Restored me to my home loaded with wealth.
My father, seeing that I had returned
From a far-distant land, the jaws of death
Barely escaped, held a great festival
To do me honour. Then I saw again
After some time had passed the Savara chief
Led in a prisoner before the king
For sentence and for punishment: his crime
The plunder of a caravan. Straightway
I told my father, and I prayed the king
To spare the Savara. My prayer was heard
And with a mighty sum of gold I saved
The Savara chief from death. Thus I repaid
His benefits, and to my own abode
I brought him home, and long I tended him
With loving care. After a time he turned
Departing to his village, while his heart
Tender with love was fixed upon me still.
And then he roamed the earth, seeking a gift
Worthy the kindnesses which I had showed
Towards him. As he wandered here and there,
He saw a lake before him, on its banks

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A woman riding on a lion, young
And beautiful. The Savara, amazed,
Thought thus within himself. 'Who may this be?
Is she a mortal? How then does she ride
Upon a lion? Can she be divine?
But if a goddess, how should such as I
Behold her? Surely clad in human form
I see her as the merit which I gained
In former births. Oh! could I only win
Her for my friend in marriage,—then indeed
I should bestow on him a just reward
For all his benefits.' The Savara,
Thus thinking in himself, respectfully
Advanced to greet the maiden, who returned
His salutation. 'Who art thou?' she said
'Why hast thou come to this far-distant land?'
'I am a Savara prince,' he made reply,
'Lo! I am seeking treasure in this wood,
And at the sight of thee I called to mind
The friend who saved my life, the merchant's son.
Matchless is he in youth and comeliness,
A very fount of nectar to the world,
Even as thou art. Fortunate the lot
Of that fair maid who shall bestow her hand
On one so full of generosity,
So full of love, of patience, of compassion.
If this surpassing lovely form of thine
Should fail of such a destiny, Alas!
Then Kâma bears indeed his bow in vain.'
The maiden's mind by these enticing words
Was borne away, as though the spells of love
Bewildered her. 'Where is this friend of thine?'
She said, under love's prompting. 'Bring him here!
That I may see him.' 'Even so,' replied
The Savara, and full of joy returned
To seek his friend, thinking his object gained.
Then bringing with him treasures—pearls and musk,
He came to our abode, and entering in,

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While all our house saluted him, he gave
My sire the present, worth a mighty sum
Of gold. After the day and following night
Had passed in feasting, then the Savara
Took me aside, and told me privately
The story of the maiden; and to me,
Full of excitement at the tale, he said,
'Come there with me, my friend!' When nightfall came,
The Savara departed, bearing me
Along with him. And when the morning light
Shone forth, my father knew that I had gone
Together with the Savara prince; but yet,
Confiding in the prince's love for me,
He felt no grief. And I, as time went on,
Journeyed towards Himâlaya; the prince
Tending me on the way with loving care.
At length, one evening, we beheld the lake
Before our eyes, and in the forest bounds
We tarried all that night, eating the fruits
Which grew within the wood,—that lovely wood
Wherein the ground was strewed with creeper flowers,
While all the air resounded with the hum
Of bees: sweet gentle breezes blew,—the herbs
Sent forth a gleaming light even like lamps.
And then all night we rested in that wood—
The chamber of delight. Next day the maid,
Riding upon the lion, like the moon
Resting upon an autumn cloud, drew near.
As she approached, my mind at every step
Flew as it were to meet her, and the prince,
Advancing tow'rds her, said in courteous tones:—
'Goddess! I offer thee my dearest friend,
Accept him as thy bridegroom.' 'Bring thy friend
Hither,' she answered, and with eyes of love
She glanced at me approaching her, and said,
'This friend of thine must surely be a god!
No mortal has so beautiful a form.'
'Fair one! I am a mortal,' I replied.

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'A merchant's son, who dwells in Vallabhî.
My father by the favour of the god
Who wears upon his head the crescent moon
Received me as his son.' Then said the maid,
Her eyes cast down through modesty, 'The god
Hath now fulfilled his promise; for he deigned
To tell me in a dream, "To-morrow's sun
Shall show thy spouse to thee." Lo! here I find
In thee my husband.' Thus she charmed my mind
With speech of nectar sweetness. Then the wood
We quitted, journeying homewards that the rites
Of marriage might be duly solemnized;
And mounted on the lion, in my arms
Holding the maiden, we reached Vallabhî.
Then lo! with wonder filled the people ran
To tell my father; marvelling, he came
To greet me. When he saw the gracefulness
And beauty of the maiden, and perceived
How fitly I had chosen her, his heart
Rejoiced, and to our marriage feast he called
Her friends and relatives. Thus she became
My spouse, and all my life was filled with peace
And happiness, blessed with a virtuous wife.
At length, as time went by, old age crept on,
And I, feeling disgust for earthly things
And weariness of life, I made my son
The ruler of my kingdom. Then I turned,
Casting aside my royal state, and went
Into the forest. There intense desire
To leave this mortal frame possessed my mind.
Therefore I meditated on the deity
And from the mountain side I threw myself
Down headlong. So I quitted life. Now born
Again into the world, thou seest me
Jîmûtavâhana. To me belongs
The recollection of my former births.
Thou Mitrâvasu art the Savara prince,
And this thy sister, Malayavatî,

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Is that same damsel born again, whom I,
The merchant's son, chose in my former birth
To be my bride. Therefore 'tis right and good
That I should marry her. First do thou go
And tell my parents: truly shalt thou gain
Thy whole desire." When Mitrâvasu heard
The story of Jîmûtavâhana,
He told his parents, who were filled with joy,
And gave their daughter Malayavatî
In marriage to Jîmûtavâhana,
And the pair dwelt in great prosperity
And happiness upon Malaya's mount.
Once on a time Jîmûtavâhana
Was wandering amid the woods that gird
The shore; and in that place he saw a man
Fearful and trembling; and with loud lament
His mother followed, while the man would turn
And bid his mother leave him, but with tears
She never ceased to follow him. Behind
The pair there followed one in soldier's garb,
Who led the man up to a lofty rock
And left him. Then Jîmûtavâhana
Spoke to the man and said, "Tell me, I pray,
Who art thou? Why does this thy mother weep
For thee." Then said the man, "In bygone times
Kadrû and Vinatâ, Kâsyapa's wives,
Held a dispute. The horses of the sun
Were black," so one declared,—the other said
That they were white. The one who erred should serve
The other as a slave. Thus each agreed.
The subtle-minded Kadrû, fully bent
On victory, induced her sons the snakes
To send forth showers of venom o'er the steeds;
And then she showed them all defiled and black
To Vinatâ. So by an artifice
Was Vinatâ o'ercome and made a slave.
How terrible is woman's spite which wreaks
Vengeance upon its kind. Then came the son

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Of Vinatâ, Garuḍa, and he begged
His mother. Then the sons of Kadrû said,
'Garuḍa! lo! the gods have now begun
To churn the sea of milk. If thou wilt bring
The nectar from that sea, O mighty chief,
And give it us, thou shalt indeed redeem
Thy mother from her bonds of slavery.'
Then to the sea of milk Garuḍa went,
And showed his mighty power, if by that means
He might obtain the nectar. Vishṇu, pleased
With that display of might, exclaimed, 'Indeed
Thou hast delighted me! Ask what thou wilt,
And I will give it thee.' Garuḍa, wroth,
Because his mother had been made a slave,
Replied, 'I pray thee may the snakes become
My food.' The god assented. So he gained
The nectar by his valour, and a boon
From Vishṇu. As Garuḍa turned to go,
There met him Indra. 'King of birds!' he said,
'I know thine errand; may thy power and might
Restrain these foolish snakes lest they consume
The nectar; and enable me to take
It from them.' When Garuḍa heard these words,
He willingly complied, and to the snakes
Bearing the nectar in his hand he went,
Rejoicing in the thought of Vishṇu's boon;
Then standing at a distance, he addressed
The snakes, filled with alarm at Vishṇu's gift:—
'Here is the nectar, lo! I bring it you,
Take it,—release my mother; if you fear
My power, I will place it on a bed
Of Darbha grass; and when you have restored
My mother I will go, and you can take
The nectar thence.' All willingly the snakes
Assented, and upon a sacred bed
Of Kuśa grass, Garuḍa placed the bowl
Of nectar, and departed, having freed
His mother. Then the snakes approached to taste

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The nectar, but with sudden swoop from heaven
The mighty Indra fell, and bore away
The nectar from its bed of Darbha grass.
Then in despair the serpents licked the grass,
One single drop of nectar may remain
(They thought) upon the grass; and thus their tongues
Were split, and they became all double-tongued,
Nor gainéd aught. What can the greedy hope
To gain but ridicule? And so the snakes
Failed to obtain the nectar, while their foe,
Garuḍa, fell upon them, and began,
Strong in the gift of Vishṇu, to devour
Them up. And all the snakes in Pâtâla
Were dead with fear, the females cast their young,
Over the serpent race destruction seemed
To hang. Then Vâsuki, the serpent King,
Seeing his enemy come day by day,
Foresaw the ruin of the serpent world,
And as a suppliant to Garuḍa said:
'O mighty one! whose power and majesty
Are past resisting, as each day goes by
One serpent will I send thee, king of birds,
And on that sandy hill, hard by the sea,
My offering shalt thou find: nor enter thou
Pâtâla day by day, destroying all
The serpent race; for then thy life
Will lose its object.' Thus spoke Vâsuki.
Garuḍa to his words assented. In this place
Each day he eats the snake Vâsuki sends.
So have innumerable serpents met
Their death. I am a serpent too. My name
Is Śankachûḍa, and my time is come
To furnish forth a meal. The serpent King
Has therefore sent me to this rock of death,
Whither my mother follows me with tears
And lamentations sore." Then grief possessed
Jîmûtavâhana, and thus he spoke:
"Ah! but a coward is that king of thine!

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He offers to his enemy as food
The people of his realm! Why did he not
First offer up himself? Oh, base thy King!
Since he the overthrow of all his race
Unmoved can witness. Ah! how great a sin!
Garuḍa too commits. Lo! mighty sins
Do even mighty men commit, impelled
By selfish greediness. Cheer up, my friend!
I will deliver thee, surrendering
My body to Garuḍa." "Mighty one!"
Responded Śankachûda; "This be far
From thee! Thou wouldest not destroy a gem
To save a bit of glass. Never will I
Endure that foul disgrace through me should fall
Upon my race." Thus tried he to dissuade
Jîmûtavâhana, and to the shrine
Of Śiva went, thinking his time was come,
To offer adoration to the god.
And then indeed Jîmûtavâhana,
Of pity and compassion, as it were,
The very treasure house—thought that the chance
Had come, by offering of himself, to save
The serpent's life. Therefore he quickly sent
Mitrâvasu away, on some pretence.
Then came Garuḍa, and immediately
The earth began to tremble at the wind
Of his advancing wings, as though it shook
In wonder at the steadfast bravery
Of the great-minded one. Then rose in haste
Jîmûtavâhana, and filled with love
For living things, mounted upon the rock
Of death, knowing the quaking earth foretold
The advent of Garuḍa. Then swooped down
The serpent's enemy—the heavens grew dark
At his dread shadow, and he bore away
Jîmûtavâhana, while drops of blood
Flowed from the hero, and his jewelled crest
Fell to the ground, torn by Garuḍa's beak.

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And flying to the topmost mountain peak,
The king of birds began to eat his prey.
Then instantly there fell from heaven a rain
Of flowers, while Garuḍa at the sight
Was filled with wonder. Soon this snake returned
Fresh from Gokarṇa's shrine, and when he saw
The rock of death wet with the drops of blood,
"Surely the mighty-minded one, (he thought)
Has offered up his life to ransom mine.
Oh, whither has Garuḍa borne him hence?
Lo! I will search for him, it may so chance
That I may find him." Following the track
Left by the drops of blood, the serpent went.
Meanwhile Garuḍa with amazement saw
That gladness filled Jîmûtavâhana.
He ceased to eat him, and within himself
He thought:—"Who can this be? This must be one
To whom I have no right; for misery
Has no abode within his constant mind.
Lo! he rejoices in his fate!" Then said
Jîmûtavâhana, upon his aim
Intent:—"O King of birds! there still remains
Within my body flesh and blood: I pray
Why hast thou ceased to feed upon my form,
Seeing thy hunger is not satisfied?"
Filled with astonishment, the King of birds
Ceased from his meal, and said, "O! mighty one!
Surely thou art no snake; I pray thee, say,
Who art thou?" Then Jîmûtavâhana
(His answer just begun, "I am a snake!
Eat me, I pray, for men of constant mind
With perseverance carry through the task
They have in hand,") heard from afar the voice
Of Śankachûḍa, "King of birds! desist!
I am the snake prepared for thee! Alas!
How camest thou in recklessness and haste
To err so grievously?" Confusion seized
Garuḍa, and Jîmûtavâhana

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Was overcome with grief, for his desire
Had fled, all unfulfilled. At last the truth
Was clear before Garuḍa, and he knew
His prey was not a serpent, but the king
Of the Vidyâdharas. Then deepest pain
Possessed his mind. "Alas! my cruelty!"
He said; "What sin has that brought forth in me!
How easily does sin lay hold on those
Who follow after sin! This noble one
Who for another's good has sacrificed
Himself, despising this illusive world,
Nor fears my power—all honour be to him,
And praise unceasing!" Then the king of birds,
To purify himself, into the flames
Was rushing headlong. "King of birds," exclaimed
Jîmûtavâhana, "Do not despair!
If thou wouldst truly turn from guilt—repent!
Slay no more serpents for thy food—repent
Of those which thou didst eat in times gone by;
So shalt thou find a remedy for guilt,
None other may avail." The king of birds
Heard and rejoiced, determined to repent,
Obedient to Jîmûtavâhana
As to a ghostly father. Then to heaven
He went to bring down nectar, to revive
The wounded prince, and to restore to life
The serpents who had perished, and whose bones
Alone were left. Then Gaurî came from heaven
In human form, and on the mighty one
She poured forth showers of nectar: and his limbs,
Renewed in greater beauty than before,
Were given back to him, while through the sky
The heavenly music rang, and all the gods
Rejoiced. Garuḍa, too, returned from heaven,
Bearing the nectar; and along the shore
He sprinkled the life-giving drops. And lo!
The serpents that had perished, once again
Rose up, clothed with the forms that they had worn

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In life, and filled that forest by the shore—
Crowds upon crowds of serpents pressing on ;—
It seemed even as though the serpent world,
Forgetting their dread enemy, had come
To see and honour their deliverer.
And round Jîmûtavâhana his friends,
His wife, his parents, clustered, and they praised
Him for his glory, and undying fame.
Could aught but triumph reign in word or thought
Since joy had banished pain. Then to his home,
Together with his wife, and friend, and son,
Jîmûtavâhana, compassionate
Towards all living things, departing, reigned
The sovereign lord of the Vidyâdharas.

The Story of Hariśarman (*Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, Tarânga 30, Śloka 92).

Once on a time within a certain town
There lived a Brâhman ; he was very poor,
And foolish too. Moreover, he had naught
Wherewith to earn a livelihood ; his case
Was altogether very bad. Besides he had
No end of children ; thus the deity
Would punish him for all the wicked deeds
Committed in some former life. So then
The Brâhman (Hariśarman was his name)
Wandered about, with all his family,
To beg for alms : and in his wanderings
He chanced upon a village. There he stayed,
And in a rich householder's family
He entered into service. While his sons
Tended the cows, and kept their master's goods,
His wife served him, and in a dwelling near
He lived himself, performing day by day
The tasks appointed in his master's house.

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One day the daughter of the householder
Was married, and a mighty feast was made,
And friends from far and near invited came.
Then was the Brâhman pleased, because he thought
That he would cram himself up to the throat
With dainties; but no one remembered him
Nor asked him to the feast. When night had come,
Filled with distress because his hopes had failed,
He called his wife to him:—"Stupid," he said,
"And poor am I: men therefore with disdain
Put me aside: now by an artifice
Will I deceive them, and I shall appear
Wise and discerning. This must be your part
To tell my master, when you have the chance,
That I am learned in magic art. Respect
Shall then be paid me." So a plan he formed
And secretly by night he stole the horse
On which the bridegroom rode. When morning came,
The bridegroom's men searched far and near, but found
Him not, for Hariśarman had concealed
The horse in some far-distant place. Then came
The Brâhman's wife and said, "Why not consult
My husband? for he knows astrology
And all the sciences. Lo! he will find
The horse for you." Therefore the householder
Sent messengers to ask the Brâhman's help.
Then Hariśarman said, "To-day the horse
Is stolen, and you call me to your house,
'Twas only yesterday, I was ignored."
"I pray thee pardon," said the householder,
"Indeed we did forget:"—with such like words
He turned aside the Brâhman's wrath, and said,
"Tell me, where is the horse?" The Brâhman drew
Elaborate diagrams, and feigned to make
Deep calculations. "You will find the horse
(At last he said) in such and such a place,
Be quick and fetch him home, before the thieves
Convey him further." Then they went and found

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The horse and brought him back, praising the skill
Of Hariśarman. All men honoured him
And took him for a sage. It came to pass
After some time the palace of the king
Was entered by a thief, who carried off
Jewels and gold. Now Hariśarman's fame
Had reached the royal ears, therefore the king
Sent for the Brâhman. He, when, summoned came,
But gave no answer, trying to evade
The question. "When to-morrow comes," he said,
"An answer I will give you." Then the king
Locked Hariśarman up within a room
And placed a watch. Filled with despondency,
The Brâhman thought but little would avail
All his pretended wisdom. In that place
There was a maid called Jihvâ; it so chanced
That she, helped by her brother, was the thief.
This maid, o'ercome with terror at the skill
Of Hariśarman, listened at the door
By night, intent on finding out, if possible,
What he might be about. Just at that time
The Brâhman, who was in the room alone,
Taking to task his tongue, which had assumed
To know that which it knew not, said:—"Alas!
O Jihvâ![1] What is this that thou hast done
Through lust of pleasure? Evil one! Endure
Thy punishment." The servant, terrified,
Thought that her crime was known, and entering in,
Fell at the Brâhman's feet, whom she supposed
To have all knowledge, and she said:—"O Sir!
'Tis true! I am the thief! I Jihvâ stole
The gold and jewels, and I buried them
Under the roots of a pomegranate tree
Behind the palace. Take the gold I pray
Which I have left, and spare me, I confess
My crime." When Hariśarman heard these words,

[1] Jihvâ means 'tongue,' as well as being a proper name.

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He said with haughtiness: "I know all this!
Depart! The future, past, and present lie
Within my ken; but I will not denounce
You as the thief, because you are a wretch
Who have implored my mercy. Bring to me
Whatever gold you have." Without delay
The maid departed. Then the Brâhman thought
In wonder: "That which seemed impossible
Fate has accomplished, as it were in sport,—
Fate well disposed to me. Calamity
Seemed close at hand, but yet I have attained
Success beyond my hopes. I blamed my tongue,
The cause of all my ills, when suddenly
Before my very feet Jihvâ the thief
Falls prostrate. Secret crimes are brought to light
(This I perceive) by fear." With thoughts like these
He passed the night rejoicing. Morning dawned,
And then, he led the king, with much pretence
Of wisdom, to the garden where the gold
Had been concealed. Showing him what remained,
He said the thief had carried part away.
Then was the king delighted, and he gave
To Hariśarman honours and rewards.
But Devajnânin, the chief minister,
Said to the king in private, whispering
Into his ear: "How should a man possess
Knowledge like this, which ordinary men
May not attain, seeing his ignorance.
He knows naught of the Śastras,—of the books
Treating of science. So you may be sure
He has a secret partnership with thieves,
And makes his living by dishonest means.
Try him again by some new artifice—
And test his wisdom." To this scheme the king
Gladly assented, and he placed a frog
Within a covered pitcher, newly bought,
And said to Hariśarman, "Tell me now,
What is within this pitcher? If you guess

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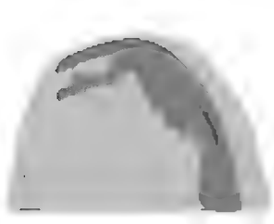
Aright, then will I honour you indeed."
The Brâhman heard these words, and thought his end
Had come at length : then rose within his mind
The name of " frog," by which in sportiveness
His father used to call him ; suddenly,
Impelled by some divinity, he spoke,
Lamenting his untimely fate, and said,
Addressing thus himself, " Poor little frog !
Surely this pitcher is the overthrow
Of all your hopes, for on you in this place
Destruction swiftly falls." Then all who heard
The Brâhman's words, with loud applause exclaimed,
" Indeed, a mighty sage ! he even saw
Within the pitcher." Then, indeed, the king,
Thinking that Harišarman's skill was due
To magic art, gave to him villages
And wealth, and outward marks of royal state.
The humble Brâhman thus became a prince.



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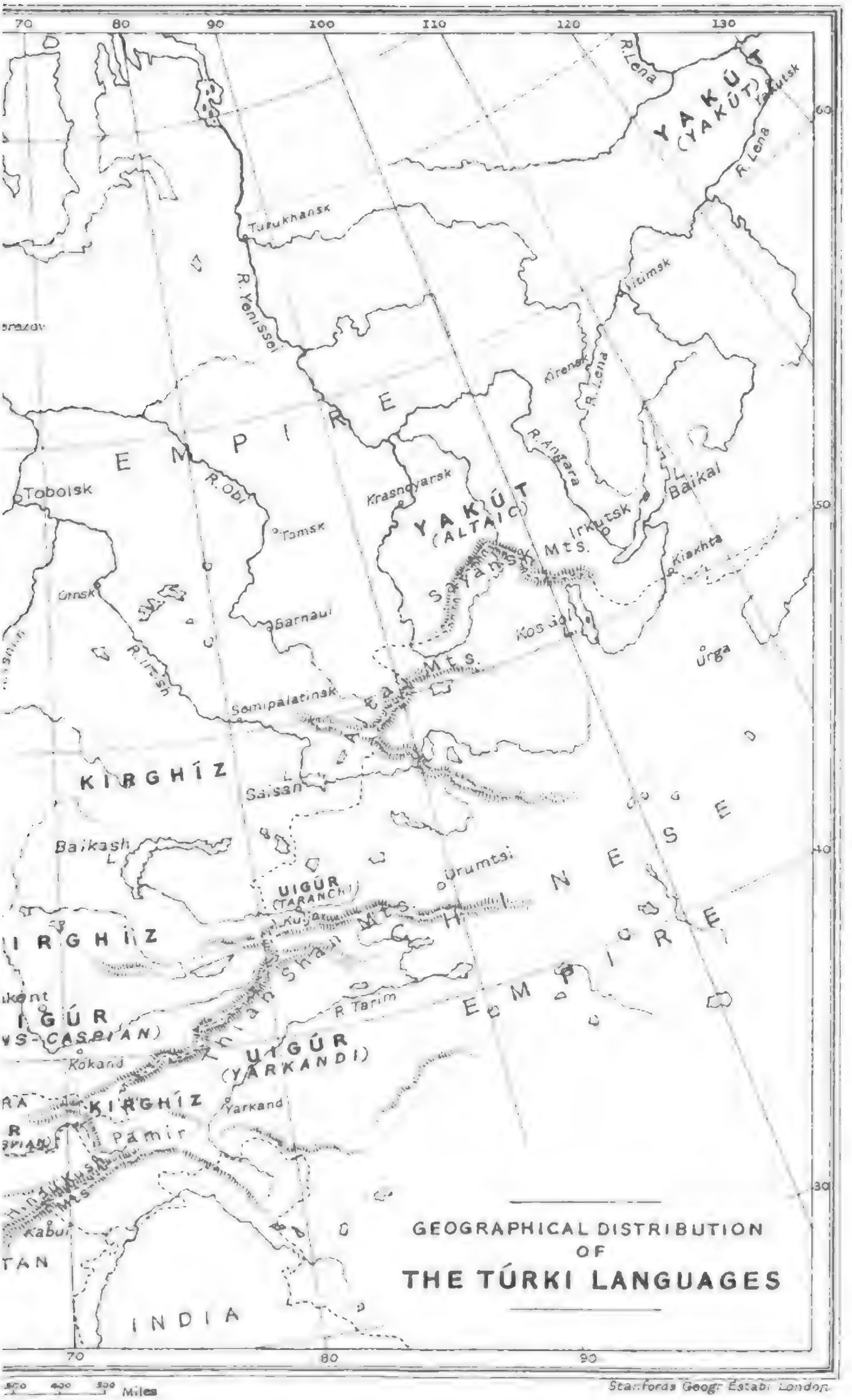

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ART. X.—*The Geographical Distribution of the Modern Túrki Languages.* By M. A. MORRISON, Esq., Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society in South Russia.

Communicated by R. N. CUST, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S., with a Note, Table of Authorities, and a Language-Map.

THE task to which I address myself in this paper is the geographical distribution of the Túrki languages. But before doing so it might be well to glance at the whole Ugro-Altaïc family, in order to determine the position of the Túrki Branch in this great division of the languages of the human race.

Broadly speaking, but with sufficient accuracy, the Ugro-Altaïc languages are spoken over a region extending through more than 100 degrees of longitude, from the shores of the Adriatic to the Great Wall of China and the plateau of Tibet, and through 35 degrees of latitude, from the frozen steppes of Samoyéd and Yakút to the plains of Northern Persia and the head-waters of the Indus.

These languages, spoken over this vast portion of the earth's surface, are, for philological purposes, divided into five distinct Branches. They are:

1. Finn.
2. Samoyéd.
3. Mánchu.
4. Mongól.
5. Túrki.

With the details of the various languages which compose the first four Branches I have nothing to do at present. A few broad outlines, however, descriptive of their geographical position, may be found useful.

I. *Finn.* This group is almost altogether confined to

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Europe. Its four sub-branches are the Ugric, Finn proper, Volga-Finn, and Perm-Finn. With the single exception of the Magyar, one of the languages of the Ugric sub-branch, all these sub-branches are confined to the north of Russia, viz. to Lapland, Finland, Livonia, Esthonia, part of Kúrland, the northern banks of the Volga and the region between this well-watered district and the territory of the Samoyéd.

II. *Samoyéd* represents the semi-barbarous tribes inhabiting the inhospitable shores of the Arctic Ocean from the Gulf of Kandalak to the river Obi.

III. *Mánchu* is divided into three sub-branches: Mánchu proper, occupying the country known as Manchúria, north of Koréa; Túngús, spoken in a compact district around Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk; and Lamut, spoken by tribes leading a hard life in the district watered by the Upper Lena.

The *Mongol* Branch is spoken by a population altogether nomad. Its home is Mongolia; but immense bodies of Mongols are found in almost all parts of Central Asia and Southern Russia, from the Sea of Azov to Manchúria. The Mongol who inhabit the south-eastern steppes of Russia are known generally as Kalmük.

I now come to the fifth Branch, of which it is the object of this paper to give some more detailed account.

This Branch, for philological purposes, may be divided into five sub-branches, as follows:

1. Túrki proper.
2. Nogai.
3. Uigúr.
4. Kirghíz.
5. Yakút.

Each of the sub-Branches is distinct from the other, and contains its own Languages. A few general remarks on the linguistic aspect of these sub-Branches may be a useful preface to my remarks on their geographical distribution.

1. *Phonetics.* (A) There is an endless variety in the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants. There is hardly a single letter of the alphabet that has the same value in any

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two of the fourteen languages. We have here in this section of Túrki linguistics an immense field for research.

(B) The words are very few which are pronounced alike in all the languages. To illustrate what I say take the word 'still' or 'yet.' We have *dakhee*, *daakhee*, *d'ha*, *taghee*, *tagee*, *taagee*, *tagen*, *tagenda*, *dagee*, *daagee*, *dagen*, *thagee*, and *da*, in all thirteen varieties. There are more than ten forms for 'till' and seven for 'is.' A comparative dictionary of these Túrki Languages would be a useful work.

2. *Word-Store.* Some verbs are common to several Languages, but derivatives of these verbs may not be common to the same Language. The same applies to words built on substantives and adjectives.

3. *Structure.* I cannot say that in the matter of structure there is any radical difference in the Túrki Languages. The same general rules run through them all. Every sentence, for instance, in every one of the Languages must end with its predicate. There are doubtless certain differences in the formation of the dative and accusative terminations in several Languages, in the comparison of the adjective, in *nomina actionis*, in participles, in pronouns, and in the formation of gerundial forms from the verbs, but there is nothing radical separating any one of the Languages from the rest of its cognates.

Geographical Distribution.

It will be more convenient if, instead of taking each of the five sub-branches and treating it in its entirety, I were to consider each Language in Geographical order, beginning in the west and moving eastwards, and indicating to which of the sub-branches the Language belongs.

i. *Nogai.*

The Nogai proper belongs to the Nogai sub-Branch. The tribes speaking it number about 190,000. The most westerly point that they have reached is the Russian province of Bessarabia, where they occupy about twenty villages. They

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are found all over the Crimea, settled in good villages and following agricultural pursuits with great success. Villages of Nogai are traced thence along the banks of the Kúban and Kúma, and on the steppes lying to the north of the great Caucasus chain. The Bezian, inhabiting the pasture district north of Mount Elburz, are included in the Nogai. A few nomad Nogai are still found north of the Volga at Astrakhan, their ancient territory, tending their flocks on the great Kirghíz steppe. Nogai is the name of one of the great Uzbek clans; and without doubt the Nogai are an offshoot of this dominant family. Any western Túrki travelling in Central Asia is called a Nogai. This Language has been most erroneously styled the Karass. Karass is an insignificant German colony in the Stavropol government of Cis-Caucasia, in which a Scotch Missionary translated a portion of the Scriptures into Nogai. Hence the appellation Karass.

ii. *Osmánli.*

The Geographical position of this, the most cultivated and best known of the Túrki Languages, is so familiar to every one that I need only say it is spoken by the ruling classes in the Ottoman Empire, and the population of Asia Minor. It belongs to the Túrki sub-branch.

iii. *Kumük, or Kumik, or Kumian.*

This is the Language spoken by the Kumük tribes inhabiting the north-west shore of the Caspian near Petrovsk, and the north-east districts of Daghestan, watered by the Aksai and Sunja rivers. It is also found spoken on the river Terek, a little higher than Kizliar. The Kumük number about 70,000, and are now a peaceable race, learning to till the soil, and availing themselves of the schools which the Russian Government has placed among them. Their Language is closely related to that of the Nogai, and is placed in the Nogai sub-Branch.

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iv. *Kasán.*

The Language of Kasán is another member of the Nogai sub-Branch. As its name implies, it is chiefly spoken in the province of Kasán on the Volga. There are also a number of scattered communities speaking this language in the province of Simbirsk, south of Kasán. It is corrupt, not only possessing, like almost all its congeners, a good many Arabic and Persian words and constructions, but also borrowing words from the Finn Languages. The population speaking this Language numbers about 200,000.

v. *Chuwásh.*

Belongs to the Túrki sub-Branch. The district now inhabited by the Chuwásh was formerly a part of the Kiptchak territory. It stretches along both sides of the Volga, but chiefly on the left bank, and forms part of the modern government of Nijnii Novgorod, Kasán, Simbirsk, Viatka, and Orenburg. The Chuwásh are most thickly settled in the south-west of the government of Kasán; in the other governments they are more scattered. They number about 450,000. Although this Language is wedged in between two distinctly Finn Languages, the Mordvín and the Chéremiss, it is clearly Túrki. It is indeed true that it contains many Ugric and Samoyéd forms, but the Altaïc element is decidedly in the ascendant. This is put beyond dispute by Schott in his 'La Langue des Tschouwaches.'

vi. *Azerbijáni or Trans-Caucasian.*

I now cross the main ridge of the Caucasus, and come in contact with another Túrki Language, the Azerbijáni or Trans-Caucasian. It is the language of an important settled population in Trans-Caucasia and North-West Persia, numbering over 3,000,000. Here we find the descendants of the old Kizil-Bashi. In large districts of Georgia, in Shirwán, and Karadagh, on the Western Caspian coast from Resht to Derbent, in the Sirdarlic of Eriván, in the Persian provinces

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of Azerbiján, Ghilan, and Mazándaran, this is the vernacular. It is a peculiar and corrupt form. For philologists it has none of the value of the more archaic languages, e.g. the Uigúr. German missionaries, stationed in Shusha, about the year 1830, were the first to reduce to paper its grammatical principles. In this they were assisted by a most able Armenian linguist, Mirza Ferúkh.

vii. *Bashkír.*

Again going north to Astrakhan on the Volga delta, we enter the country of the Bashkír. If we draw a line from Astrakhan north-east to Orenburg, and thence due north to Ufa and Perm, we bisect the country of the Bashkír into two not very unequal parts. The Bashkír are most compact in the neighbourhood of Ufa, which is really a Bashkír town. They number some 400,000, and are mostly settled. Their language belongs to the Nogai sub-Branch. Ethnologists are divided in opinion about the origin of the race, but the best authorities are agreed that, although the race may be of Mongol origin, the language is Túrki.

viii. *Trans-Caspian.*

This is a very widely dispersed language. It is spoken by about 2,300,000 people. Going from west to east we see it spoken by the Tekke in the rich pasture plains lying between the northern slopes of the Kopet hills and the desert, and in that long strip of the Arkatch valley north of the Kuren Dagh. But in addition it is also the language of the ruling natives in Samarkand, Tashkent, Bukhára, Charjúi, Kokan, Ferghana, Balkh, and the populous Zarafshan valley. In other words it is the language of the great Uzbek nation. The 92 clans of the Uzbek are scattered over all that part of Central Asia in which the towns just named are situated. It is also the language of the Salor and Sarik tribes of north-west Afghanistan; also of the Kiptchak dwelling north of the Naryn river, and in the district

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round the important town of Andijan. It belongs to the Uigúr sub-Branch. Although it is somewhat corrupted by the Tájik dialect of Persian, it retains the ancient forms of Túrki more faithfully than either the Bashkír or Azerbijáni. When any one in these districts wishes to speak in a more refined manner, or to write a letter or document, he uses either the dialect of the Tájik or else pure Persian. As applied to this language, the name Jagatai is little known in Central Asia. The Uzbek say that they speak 'Túrki.' The term Jagatai is derived from Jagat, that son of Jenghíz Khan to whom the portion of Turkestan now inhabited by the Tekke was given by his father.

ix. *Khivan.*

This Language also belongs to the Uigúr sub-Branch. It is spoken by about 1½ million in the Khanate of Khiva and in the Great Desert between the Amu Daria and the Caspian. In this estimate are included 150,000 nomad Yomut inhabiting the desert, and the Kara-Kalpak, numbering perhaps 200,000, who live round the southern shores of the Sea of Aral. The Turkoman, who form the bulk of the population speaking this language, must have broken off at a very early period from the original home of the race among the Altai. Their language has marked affinities with the most archaic form of the Túrki language.

x. *Kirghiz.*

Perhaps none of the five sub-Branches is so free from dialectic variations as the Kirghíz. The language spoken on the steppes of the lower Volga and that spoken in the valleys of the Thien Shan mountains are one and the same, and it is perhaps nearer to the Western Túrki than the language of the tribes of the Caucasus and Western Caspian shores, and certainly nearer than the language of Yarkand. The Kirghíz nation consists of two great divisions, the Kara- or Burut-Kirghíz, who are highlanders confined to

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the Altai, Pamir, and Thien Shan mountains, and to that part of Eastern Turkestan belonging to the Chinese Empire; and the Kazák-Kirghíz, dwellers on the plains, who roam with their sheep and camels over half a million of square miles from the Caspian to Lake Tenghiz. The Kazák or western division are far more numerous and powerful than the Kara-Kirghíz, and are subdivided into the well-known Lesser, Middle, and Greater Horde. The Greater Horde, which borders on the territory of the Kara, inhabits the Alatau district. The Middle Horde is scattered over the whole of south-west Siberia in the territory north and west of Lake Balkhash between the Upper Syr Daria and the Irtish, and is bounded on the west by the Sarisoa. The Lesser Horde is as far west as the Caspian and Ural Mountains, and meets the Middle Horde on the Syr Daria and Yemba. There is yet another Horde confined to Russia called the Inner or Bukeieff Horde. They dwell on the steppe between the Volga and Ural. There is moreover a considerable Kirghíz population in the government of Orenburg. Ethnologists are not yet able to decide whether they belong to the Mongol or to the Túrki race. They number altogether a little over 2,000,000. The Kazák or Western Kirghíz has been called 'Orenburg Tartar,' for the same reason that the Nogai has been called 'Karass': a Scotch Missionary resident in Orenburg translated portions of the Scriptures into Kazák-Kirghíz. I may add that the translation gives an excellent idea of the written form of this dialect.

xi. *Yakút.*

For the purposes of the philologist this is perhaps the most important of any of the languages, inasmuch as it has preserved its ancient forms untouched by the influence of foreign idioms. It is the language on which Böhtlingk wrote his celebrated monograph. The tribes speaking Yakút inhabit the far north-east corner of Siberia, and number about 200,000. It is pretty certain that at some unknown time they have migrated to that secluded region from the

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shores of Lake Baikal. All their traditions agree with this theory. The Russian Orthodox Church has had a mission for some time among the Yakút, but more than the half of them still retain their heathen usages.

xii. *Yarkandi.*

The language of Yarkand in Chinese Tartary and the region south of the Thien Shan mountains. We have here a pure and archaic form of Túrki. Vambéry considers that this language has incontestably the most primitive words and formations amongst all Túrki forms of speech. It has attained, moreover, alone, with the single exception of Osmánli, a high degree of literary culture. Early in the fifth century it was reduced to writing by the Chinese, and in the eighth century Christian missionaries from Syria formed an alphabet. The population speaking this Language numbers nearly 1,000,000.

xiii. *Taranchi.*

According to Baron Kaulbars the Taranchi number some 40,000. They are settled in Kulja and in small agricultural communities around. They are probably emigrants from Eastern Turkestan, settled in their present territory by the Chinese Government. Radloff says of the Taranchi that which may be said of any of the Central Asian Turkish idioms, "it is more specially Turkish than any Turkish book printed in Constantinople." It belongs to the Uigúr sub-Branch. The name is derived from the Turkish word *Taran* 'millet.' The Taranchi are skilful agriculturists; hence, perhaps, their appellation.

xiv. *Altaic.*

According to Vambéry, Radloff, Castren, and Pavet de Courteille, the Koibal and Karagas are distinct forms of speech, spoken on the northern slopes of that range, and Radloff mentions many others, calling them dialects.

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Summary.

Division.	Sub-Div.	Population.	Geographical Extent.
1. Túrki	Osmánli	11,000,000	The ruling class of the Ottoman Empire and the inhabitants of Asia Minor.
	Chuwásh	450,000	Governments of Nijnii Novgorod, Kasán, Simbirsk, Viatka, Orenburg.
	Azerbijáni	3,000,000	Trans-Caucasia and N.W. Persia.
2. Nogai	Nogai	190,000	Bessarabia, Crimea, Cis-Caucasia, and Volga Delta.
	Kumük	70,000	N.E. Daghestan, Terek Valley, and N.W. Shore of Caspian.
	Kasán	200,000	Governments of Kasan and Simbirsk.
	Bashkír	400,000	Governments of Astrakhan, Orenburg, Ufa.
3. Uigúr	Yarkandi	1,000,000	Yarkand and Chinese Tartary.
	Trans-Caspian	2,300,000	Country of the Tekke, Zarafshan Valley, and generally Central Turkestan.
	Khivan	1,500,000	Khanate and Desert of Khiva, and South of Sea of Aral.
	Taranchi	40,000	Kulja.
4. Kirghíz	Kirghíz	2,000,000	From the Volga to confines of Manchúria, most compact in S.W. Siberia.
5. Yakút	Yakút	200,000	N.E. corner of Siberia.
	Altaic	Unknown	On the N. Slopes of Mt. Sayan.

Note by the Honorary Secretary R.A.S.

Now that the entire Region occupied by Túrki-speaking tribes has come under the influence of European domination, it is desirable that some clearer understanding should be arrived at of the different languages of this wide-spread Family. I had hoped to prevail on my friend Arminius Vambéry to write a paper for this Journal on the subject, and no one is more competent to deal with it, but the Council declined to offer any remuneration, and so the negotiation dropped, which I had commenced at Buda Pest in 1883. Pavet de Courteille of Paris, at my request wrote a paper on the subject in the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1877; but, as it appeared to me to be rather a Geographical than a Philological subject, I went down in the autumn of 1883 to Tiflis, to talk over the matter with Mr.

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Michael Morrison, the Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and his learned colleague, the Rev. Amir-khanians, whom I found engaged in the translation of the Scriptures in the Túrki spoken in Trans-Caucasus and Azerbiján, the North-West Province of Persia. This was not so much a task for a profound scholar in his study in Europe, as for a person engaged in Asia in distributing the Scriptures to each horde in the Language intelligible to them. When Mr. Morrison visited London last year, we talked over the whole subject, and fixed approximately the number of languages; but I consider this sketch to be only tentative, and a step in advance towards the final settlement of this important subject.

We learn from Vambéry that though he calls the Language of the three Khanates of the Oxus the Jagatai, there are distinctly marked Dialects at Kokan, Bokhára, and Khiva, caused in each case by the peculiarities of each State. This paper assigns to Khiva the place of a separate language, including the two other Khanates under the same language with the Tekke. This may or may not be accurate. It is at least intelligible, and therefore easily susceptible of correction. I can however quote no authority.

Michael Terantief published, at St. Petersburg, 1875, Grammars of the Turkish (Osmánli), Persian, Kirghíz and Uzbek languages, as spoken in Central Asia, followed by a Chrestomathy: by Uzbek he means the two Languages described in this paper as Trans-Caspian and Khivan, and proposes to call it Turkestáni; but this would be going too far, as it would be assuming a name for one portion of the field which belongs to the whole field. He admits that the Dialect spoken in Khiva is differentiated from the Dialect of Bukhara and Tashkend, owing to the contact of the former with the Azerbijáni. At the time that he wrote he knew nothing of the language of Yarkand and Kashgar, as Shaw had not published his Grammar, and he knew nothing also of the language of the Tekke of Merw, that country being at that time unvisited and unconquered. Every Russian hates Vambéry the Hungarian, and Terantief, as was to be

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expected, attacks the "Jagataische Sprach Studien," but Scholars will probably agree with Vambéry. Radloff is of opinion that a single version of the Scriptures will be understood by the populations of Turkestan (Tashkent), Bokhára, Khiva and Kokan, amounting to two or three millions. A competent scholar, Ostramof, is engaged in the translation of the Gospels: his work has been submitted to Radloff, who is entirely satisfied with it. It will be carried out at the expense of the English Bible Society, and a large issue published and distributed; and the question as to the Language spoken in these Regions will be settled by the test of experience. Schuyler, who is a trustworthy authority, in his Travels entirely supports the same view as Terantief.

I have had a Language Map prepared, and add a table of Authorities or Texts, as the best proof of the existence of the Language and Family, and the best means of differentiating them.

Regarding their written Character, it may be noted that some of these are perfectly illiterate. The Osmánli, the Azerbijáni, Kumük, Kirghíz, Nogai, Yarkandi, Khivan, and Trans-Caspian use the Arabic Character partially or entirely. Vambéry tells us that among the Kirghíz the Mongolian Character is in use, and that the Mulla, who visit these Nomads for the purpose of propagating the Mahometan Faith, do not hesitate to use for that purpose the Character, which on other occasions they call the Káfir Character, and the use of which they try to suppress elsewhere. We find also that there are certain people who speak the Túrki, but read only the Armenian Character, and an Edition of the Bible has been published to suit their convenience. The Chuwásh tribes have been educated to read their Bible in the Russian Character, and are supplied with an Edition. The Osmánli Túrki Language has been made the instrument of Religious Instruction to some of the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who have forgotten their glorious language, but from mere racial and theological hate will only use the Greek Character, and the entire Bible has been supplied to them in the Alpha Beta of Hellas. The Yakút,

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who are Christian subjects of Russia, apparently use the Russian alphabet, to judge from the texts given by Böhtlingk.

There is no doubt no finality as yet arrived at. In dealing with Nomads we must expect the Dialects to fluctuate. M. Lessar had in his Survey from Kizil Arbát to Askabad two interpreters, one a Kurd from the frontier colony in Persia, who had been a prisoner among the Tekke, and spoke the Trans-Caspian Language, and the other a native of Kasán in Russia on the Volga, whose form of speech is stated, though no examples are given, to have resembled that spoken by the Tekke. We must take this statement for what it is worth. Vambéry mentions that, though he tried to make use of the Khivan language instead of the Osmánli, the Khan of Khiva was obliged to have much translated to him. This admission from Vambéry, an accomplished Osmánli scholar, and who knew something of Khivan, and a good deal of Trans-Caspian, implies a great divergence. Bellew mentions that a Túrki Dialect was heard among the Nomads betwixt Herat and Farah, implying an intrusion into the Pashtu Language-field.

It will be at once remarked that two venerable names are omitted from this detail of languages, and they are intentionally omitted. The object of this paper is Geographical: the name given to each language indicates the region or the tribe to which it pertains. But a place must be assigned to the Uigúr and Jagatai. Pavet de Courteille agrees with Vambéry in dividing the Túrki languages into two great subdivisions. The North comprehends the languages spoken from the rivers Lena to the Jenissei, or rather the Northern slopes of the Sayan Mountains; these languages are the Yakút, Koibal, Karagas, and many Dialects. The South comprehends all the Túrki languages spoken from the frontier of China to the Danube. This is a far better classification than the vague expedient of dividing the Family with reference to the population being nomad or sedentary. The Uigúr is the most ancient form in which the Túrki speech appears as a cultivated language, while the languages of the Northern subdivision, which may be called the Altaic, and

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which are totally illiterate, present the most primitive form of words and forms. There exists a manuscript, known as the Kudatku Bilik, the date of which is fixed at the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era: this is stated by some to be the oldest record, and is in Uigúr. Vambéry makes it the basis of his investigations. Though late in date compared with the literary monuments of the Aryan and Semitic Families, it is of great importance, as it is the most pure specimen of real Túrki, free from the influences of the Persian and Arabic languages, and worthy to be considered the typical language.

We have now to inquire what Jagatai is. One of the most remarkable writers on the subject of the Turki tribes is Abul Gházi of Khiva, who wrote a book called "The Genealogical History of the Tatars." He lived at Khiva in the seventeenth century of our era, and he remarks that he wrote his book in Túrki, in order that all might understand him, and that he employed words which a child of the age of five years would comprehend, and that he rejected all loan-words from Jagatai, Persian, and Arabic. This shows that the language, which he used, was not called Jagatai, in his time, but that he used what he deemed pure Turki. Pavet de Courteille comes to the following conclusion: that the Jagatai was the language, in which the Kudatkú-Bilik was written, and was, in fact, the language in its most ancient form, and in the region nearest to its birthplace. Abul Gházi would not allow himself to use antique words, which were intelligible in the eleventh century, but which had fallen into desuetude in the seventeenth, and were only known to the learned. The literature of every country supplies an analogy of this process. The words Jagatai and Uigúr only indicate differences of age, and stages of dialectic variation, through which the Túrki language passed. Shaw confirms this view, and writes that though some European linguists have called the Túrki of Kashgar and Yarkand Uigúr, the name is totally unknown to the people, and would be a misnomer for a modern language. Terantief confirms this view. The term should be abandoned. Vambéry,

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in his Jagataische Sprache, goes so far as to state that it is probable that the word "Jagatai Turki" means nothing more than "pure Turki," just as the word Jagatai coupled with the word "man" means a "brave, trustworthy man."

I have tried to catch up all the names which are scattered through the books of reference, which are sometimes tribal, sometimes local, sometimes synonyms, sometimes artificial. They will find their place under one or other of the Geographical terms now supplied. Karachai and Kabarda in the Caucasus region, Kapchak on the Lower Volga, and Uzbeg in Transoxania, are tribal names. Chantu is identical with Túrki. Tatar, converted by the wit of a Pope into Tartar, is identical with Túrki (J.R.A.S. N.S. Vol. XIV. p. 125). Alatyan is identical with Altaic. Vocabularies in Meshtsheriak, Tobolsk, Chasowo, Chjulim, Jenisee, Kusnek, Baraba, Kangayen, Teleut, Chiwa, are supplied by Klaproth in the Túrki chapter of his Language Atlas of Asia Polyglotta, published at Paris, 1822. If they have any surviving value, it must be appraised after identification of their locality, and testing their accuracy. In these days learned compilations in an imposing form are of no value, unless the Geographer can mark the spot with precision on the Language-Map, and the compiler can give other authority and security for the genuineness of the Vocabulary than the notes in his own Diary. We have got beyond the uncritical stage, and like to know the latitude and longitude, and the capacity of the compiler, as well as his method of transliteration.

It is worthy of remark that the whole of the Túrki-speaking population of the world is slowly, but surely, gravitating towards Russian domination. A few corners still lie outside the absorbing influence, but they seem tottering on the brink of the chasm. The Taranchi of Kulja, and the Yarkandi of Kashgaria are still in the Chinese dominions; and the Túrki, who inhabit the regions behind the Oxus and the Hindu Kúsh, are still in Afghanistan: the Province of Azerbiján still forms part of the Persian kingdom, and Asia Minor is in the Ottoman Empire: but this state of affairs

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is only for a time. Every fragment of the Indic branch of the Aryan Family of Languages, with the exception of the rude form of speech of the Siah Posh of Kafiristan and the Dards, has been absorbed into the Indian Empire; the same fate of being gathered under one sceptre awaits the whole of the widely-scattered Túrki tribes, and it is a notable fact for the future, since unity of language is put forward as the basis of political union.

How far the Russians possess the necessary sympathy for such a task, and the capacity for educating such a population, nomad, as well as sedentary, is a question. The Russian language, with its ponderous word-store, and illogical Aryan structure, has but slight attraction to the agglutinative and severely logical Túrki, which stands at the head of all languages in its wonderful symmetry and power of form, evolution or accommodation. Perhaps the Bántu family of South Africa alone can rival it. Of the kind of words, which will come into existence from the contact of such uncongenial elements as Russ and Túrki we have a specimen in the name of a son of a Kirghíz chief in the Russian service, Vali Khan, who has assumed the name of Valikhanoff. In India we should hardly call the son of Gulab Singh, Gulabsinghson, but such words may hereafter be formed.

How the subtle poison of the Arabized Persian language has found its way into the veins of the linguistic body of the Osmánli Túrki is well known, but it is surprising to find in the distant and secluded language of Yarkandi in Chinese Tartary the same infiltration of foreign elements, though to a less degree. The celebrated Uigúr Manuscript is quite free from this contagion. The presence of a Tájik servile population would supply the Persian element, and the conquering Religion of Mahomet would force into use Arabic words and forms. But we have the authority of Vambéry for asserting that it was quite unnecessary for the Osmánli language to make such prodigious loans from Arabic and Persian, as it had in its own Túrki root-store and expanding mechanism, a capability of expressing every human idea, and could at pleasure replace every foreign word by drawing

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upon its own stores; and, in fact, the East-Turki languages have done so to a very great extent. We find the same linguistic phenomena in the marvellously beautiful and versatile lingua franca of India, the Urdú, or Hindustáni, in spite of the wealth of word-store and grammatical forms of the great Sanskritic Vernaculars, and the high degree of culture, to which the pure Indian literature had reached long before the Mahometan Conquest, which rendered loan-words quite unnecessary. The very word "Urdú" marks the Túrki conquest of India by the Mughals. The Baber-namah of the great founder of that dynasty is in Jagatai. A certain proportion of words, though not many, have survived in the great Indian vernacular. The word Turk survives in the Hindustáni Dictionary in connection with horses and horsemen. I close with the proverb:

عـربی اصل فارسی شکر
هنِدی نهڪ تـرکی هنـر

Arabic is the root: Persian is the sugar:
Hindi is the salt: Turki is the *art*.

The desideratum is a Scientific Comparative Grammar of the whole family, worthy to be placed on the same shelf with the Comparative Grammars of other families of speech which we already possess, and it is stated on good authority that Radloff is preparing such a work.

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A. Appendix of Authorities and Texts.

No.	Language.	Authority or Text.
1.	Nogai	Pentateuch and New Testament.
		Krym Khowadja, Proverbs of the Tatars of the Crimea, Kasán.
2.	Osmánli	An extensive literature, and the whole Bible.
3.	Kumük.....	Bodensted, Vocabulary. Z.D.M.G. vol. v. pp. 245, 851.
		Makharoff, Túrki Languages spoken in the Caucasus.
		Gospel of St. Matthew.
4.	Kasán	Balinth, Túrki Grammar, Buda Pest, 1875.
		Wakhabof, Dialect of Kasán.
		Ostramof, Christian Tatar Dictionary, Kasán, 1876.
		Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark.
5.	Chúwash	Schott, Société Philologique de Paris, 1876.
		The Four Gospels.
		Zolonitzki, Chuwash-Russian Dictionary, Kasán, 1875.
6.	Azerbijáni or Trans-Caucasian	Kasimbeg, Allgemeine Grammatik Turko Tatar Sprachen, translated from Russian in German by Zenker, Leipsig, 1848.
		Vambéry, Jagatai Sprach Studien, Leipsig, 1867, p. 6.
		Bergé, Report of International Congress at St. Petersburg, 1876, p. 85.
		do. Dichtungen transkaukasischer Sänger, Leipsig, 1868.
		New Testament.
		Translation of Play. Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc. N.S. 1886.
		Text of do. Jour. Soc. Asiat. 1886, p. 5, and Grammatical Note by Barbier de Meynard.
7.	Bashkír.....	Sayce, Introduction to Science of Language, ii. p. 45, London, 1880.
8.	Trans-Caspian ...	Vambéry, Jagatai Sprach studien, Leipsig, 1867.
		do. Etym. Worterbuch, Leipsig, 1878.
		do. Abuska, collection of Jagatai Words, Buda Pest, 1862.
		Pavet de Courteille, Jour. Soc. Asiatique, 1878, vol. xii. p. 208.
		Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark (in the Press).
		Ahmed Vefík, Text of Makbúl al Kulúb by Nevai. Constantinople, 1872.
		Veliaminof-Zernof, complete edition of the Abuska, St. Petersburg, 1869.
		Ilminsky, Text of Babér-namah, Kasán, 1857.
9.	Khivan...	Schuyler, Travels, vol. i. p. 109.
10.	Kirghíz	Ilminsky, The Kirghíz, Kasán.
		New Testament, and part of Old.
11.	Yakút	Boehtlingk, Ueber die Sprache der Jakúten, St. Petersburg, 1851.
12.	Yarkandi	Shaw, Language of Eastern Turkestan, Lahore, 1875.
		Vambéry, Uigurische Sprach Monumente, Innsbruck, 1876
		Klaproth, Ueber die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren, Paris, 1820.
		Faulmann, Buch der Schrift, Vienna, 1878, p. 111.
13.	Taranchi	Baron Kaulbars (name of work not known).

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No.	Language.	Authority or Text.
14.	Altaic	Grammar of the Altaic Languages, by Members of the Altaic Mission, Kasán, 1869.
		Pavet de Courteille, Transactions of Philogical Society of London, 1877, p. 61.
		do. Jour. Soc. Asiatique, 1878, vol. xii. p. 209.
		Vambéry, Etymologiches Worterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen, Leipsig, 1878, p. viii.
		Radloff, Ueber die Formen der gebundenene Rede bei den Altaischen Tartaren.
		do. Aus Sibirien, Leipsig, 2 vols. 1884.
		do. Phonetik der Nördlichen Turksprachen, Leipsig, 1882.
		Zeitschrift für Volkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft, iv. band 8. 85.
		Castren, Versuch einer koibalischen und karagassischen Sprachlehre, Petersburg, 1869.

B. Books of Reference. General Subject.

1.	Pavet de Courteille	Note upon Turkish Languages, Transactions of Philological Society, 1877–8–9, p. 54.
		Dictionnaire Turk-Orientale, Paris, 1870.
2.	Max Müller.....	Survey of Languages of Seat of War in the East, London, 1855, p. 144.
		Lectures on Science of Language, i. p. 333, London, 1871.
3.	Hovelacque	La Linguistique, Paris, 1876, p. 130.
4.	Latham	Comparative Philology, London, p. 98.
5.	Quatremère	Chrestomathie Orientales.
		Specimen of Eastern Túrki Dialects.
6.	Budagoff	Comparative Dictionary of Turk-Tatar Language, St. Petersburg, 1869.
7.	Radloff.....	Proben der Volkslitteratur der Turkischen Stämme Sud-Siberiens, St. Petersburg, 1866–72.
8.	Desmaisons	Texte d'Abul Gházi, St. Petersburg, 1871.
9.	Schott	Altaische Studien, 1867–72.
		Versuch ueber die tatarischen Sprachen.
10.	Klaproth	Asia Polyglotta et Sprach Atlas, with Vocabularies, Paris, 1822.
11.	Remusat	Recherches sur les langues Tatares, Paris, 1820.
12.	Faz-ulláh.....	Dictionary Turk-Persian, Calcutta, 1825.
13.	Frœhn	Text of Abul Gházi, Kasán, 1825.
14.	Fredk. Müller.....	Allgemeine Ethnographie, pp. 25, 393, Vienna, 1879.
		Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 51, Vienna, 1882.
15.	Berezine	Recherches sur les Dialectes Mussulmans. Première partie. Systeme des Dialectes Turks, Kasan, 1848.
16.	Davids.....	Turkish Grammar. Preface.
17.	Terantief	Grammar of Turkish, Persian, Kirghíz and Uzbek. (Russian.) St. Petersburg, 1875.
18.	Lütsch	Kirgisische Chrestomathie, 1883.

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ART. XI.—*A Modern Contributor to Persian Literature. Rizá Kulí Khán and his Works.* By SIDNEY CHURCHILL, Esq., M.R.A.S.

BUT a few Persians have devoted so much time, energy, and real enthusiasm to their own literature during the present century as the subject of this notice: the Amíru-sh-Shu'arú Rizâ Ḳulî Khán B Muhammad Hádí Khan B Ism'aíl Kamál, poetically surnamed "Hidáiyat," and popularly known as the "Lalah Báshí." Descended in a direct line from the well-known poet, Kamál Khojandí—a cotemporary of Háfiz, who died at Tabríz in A.H. 792 (A.D. 1389)—the Amíru-sh-Shu'arú was born in Tehrán on the 15th Muharram, A.H. 1215 (8th June, 1800). His family, in honour of their ancestor, appended the surname Kamál to their individual appellations. Hidáiyat's grandfather, Ism'aíl Kamál, suffered death at the hands of Zakí Khán Zand for refusing to take up the cause of the Zand dynasty in preference to that of the Pretender Aghá Muhammad Khán Ḳajár.

Rizá Ḳulí Khán lost both father and mother at an early age, being left an orphan at Shíráz, where he entered the service of the Farmán Farmáí Husain 'Ali Mírzá. His *takhallus* was first "Chákar"; but after some of his odes had reached Mazandarán, his native home, he changed it to "Hidáiyat."

Fath 'Ali Sháh Ḳajár, when in Shíráz, appointed him Amíru-sh-Shu'arú, or "Chief of the Poets," but notwithstanding this and other evidences of the Sháh's goodwill, he sojourned in Shíráz until A.H. 1254 (A.D. 1838), when he travelled towards Tehrán, and being presented to Muham-

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mad Sháh, who had succeeded his grandfather, was appointed by him as Lalah Báshí, or guardian to his favourite son, 'Abbás Mírzá Náib us-Sultanah, who is now known by the title of Mulk Árá, "ornament or adorner of the kingdom."

In A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848), Muhammad Sháh died and was succeeded by the Valí'ahd Násiru-d-Dín Mírzá. Owing to the intrigues against Hájí Mírzá Aghásí during the last few months of Muhammad Sháh's life, some of the princes were banished to Karbalá. Amongst these were 'Abbás Mírzá and his mother, who had been the late Sháh's favourite wife. For these reasons Rizá Ḳulí Khán was obliged to keep quiet for a time. Through the patronage of the Amír Nizám—Mírzá Taḳí Khán—however, he was, in A.H. 1267 (A.D. 1851), sent on a mission to Khiva. On his return from Central Asia, he was appointed Deputy Director of the Royal Academy, which had lately been formed at Tehrán, a post he held for some years. When the Valí'ahd, Muzaffaru-d-Dín Mírzá, was appointed to the government of Azarbaiján, Rizá Ḳulí Khán received the royal orders to follow him in the same capacity as that he had held with 'Abbás Mírzá. A few years later, whilst in Tehrán, to seek a little rest, he died, from an illness from which he had been suffering, in A.H. 1288 (A.D. 1871).

The Lalah Báshí was a very good scholar, and one of the most learned men of his day. His learning being recognized, he had many opportunities of taking advantage of his friends' libraries. His value as a poet is highly estimated by his countrymen; though his *díwán* has not yet been published.[1]

The following is a list of his works:

(1) An edition of the Rauzatu-s-Safá, a general history of Persia and the adjacent countries, from the creation to A.H. 873, in six volumes, composed by Muhammad B. Khávand Sháh B. Mahmúd, better known as Mír Khwánd.

[1] M. Schefer, in his introduction to the "Relation de l'Ambassade au Kharizm," says that this collection consists of more than 50,000 *baits* or distichs, besides miscellaneous writings, of which mention is made in Mr. Churchill's list, numbers 8, 12, 6, 14 and 13.—ED.

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To this work is added the rarer seventh volume, in the introductory lines prefixed to which the name of Ghiásu-d-Dín Khwánd Mír occurs as its author—its subject being a history of Abú-l-Ghází Sultán Husain Mírzá and his sons, to A.H. 929. In continuation of these, Rizá Ḳulí Khán, by Royal command, compiled, in the course of two years, three volumes, which consist—in his own words—of the history of three hundred and seventy years, from the origin of the Safavís to A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1858); thus including the first decade of Násíru-d-Dín Sháh's reign. These three important supplements, comprising about seventy thousand lines, were lithographed together with the preceding seven volumes, the whole ten being formed into two big folios, at Tehrán, A.H. 1271–74 (A.D. 1853–56), and a thousand copies struck off.

(2) The "Naĵád Námah Pádsháhán Irání Naĵád." This work is rare, and still in MS. It consists of an enumeration of the kings and dynasties of Persian origin, and is divided as follows: Mukaddimah; on the five principal branches of early Persian kings, viz. (1) Mahábád, (2) Jaiyán, (3) Sháyán, (4) Yásánián, (5) Gil Sháh. Guftar; early Persian history to the death of Yazdijird B Shariyár. Tabaḳah: I. Al-i-Saffár; II. Al-i-Sámán; III. Bávand; IV. Búyah or Dailamites; V. Al-i-Kákríyeh; VI. Al-i-Zíár, called also Al-i-Ḳábús; VII. Ḳávbárah dynasty; VIII. Nimrúz; IX. On the third branch of the Al-i-Bávand; X. Al-i-Fazluyeh, of Shíráz; XI. The Bádúsbán dynasty, descendants of Ḳubád, the Sasanian; XII. The Bahmaní dynasty of Dakkan; XIII. Al-i-Shírvan; XIV. Dynasties who ruled over Núr and Rustamdár; XV. Kujúr dynasties; XVI. Láristán dynasties; XVII. Hurmuz dynasties; XVIII. Rulers over Sind and Multán. Khátimah; consists of a chronology of the principal historical events, from the birth of the Prophet to the date of composition of the work. The Najhád Námah begins as follows:

پاک شاهنشاهی را سپاس وستایش که دم کیهان کیائلش همتای

The following is a list of some of the works and authorities

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mentioned in the text: Dabistán ([1] ul-Mazáhib; an anonymous work on the religious creeds of the East. Lithographed, Tehrán, A.H. 1260). Sháh Námah Firdúsí. Jámásb Námah (or rather, Kitáb-i-Jámásb, a work on the horoscopes of the Persian Kings posterior to his own day, by Jámásb, vazír of Sháh Gushtásb B Luhrásb). Ayín Bahman. Dáráb Námah. Dánish Afzáí Anúshírván, the author of which is Hakím Buzarjumahr. Dánishvar Námah (the work referred to is the Khodáí Námah of Dánishvar, the Dehgán). The Khirad Námah. The Luhrásb and Gushtásb Námah (of Shamsu-d-Dín Muhammad, Dak-áíkí). Táríkh Guzídah of Hamd-Ullah Mustaufí Ḳazvíní.[2] Asáru'l-Báḳiyah (a historical and scientific work by Abú 'l-Raihán Md. B Ahmad al-Bírúní-al-Khwárazmí; who died after A.H. 430). Baháristán of Jámí. The Gurshásb Námah (of Assadí Túsí, completed in A.H. 458). Yúsuf Zulaikhá of Firdúsí (lithographed at Tehrán, 1299). Táríkh Herát of Mu'ínu-d-Dín Asfizárí. Jahán Arái (Nasukh Jahán Rá of Ahmad Ghaffárí). Ihyá ul-Mulúk (a history of Sístán and its rulers to A.H. 1027, by Sháh Husain B Ghíásu-d-Dín Sístání Suffárí). Táríkh Fakhr Banáketí (Rauzat Aúlí Albáb). Táríkh Tabaristán (to A.H. 613) of Ibn Isfandíár. Táríkh Tabaristán (to A.H. 881) of Saiyid Zahíru-d-Dín. Táríkh Aúliá Alláh (also an early history of Tabaristán). The Tajárubu'l-Umam of Abú 'Alí Maskuyah. Jám'au't-Taváríkh Rashídí. Tabaḳátu-n-Nahát (of Jalálu-d-Dín 'Abdu-r-Rahman B Abú Bakr as-Síútí). 'Izáh fí'l-Nahv (of Abú 'Alí Hasan B Ahmadu'l-Farsí). Kitábu-t-Tájí (a history of the Dailamites by Abú Isháḳ Ibráhím B Hilál B Hárúnu'l Harrárrí, commonly called Sábí). Táríkh Ḳáharah Misr. Táríkhu'l-Mulúk. Miftáhu'l Ḳulúb. Táríkh Farishtah. Táríkh Karmán, called 'Iḳdu'l-'Ula, by Afzalu'd-Dín Ahmad B Hámid (brought down to A.H. 584. Also known as the Táríkh Kúhbinání; lithographed at Tehrán, A.H. 1293), etc.

[1] Words in brackets are the writer's own.

[2] A note on a newly-discovered work of this author is added at the close of the present paper.—[Ed.]

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(3) Fihrisu't-Taváríkh, a chronology; consists of about twenty thousand lines. Said to have been partially lithographed at Tabríz.

(4) Ajmalu't-Taváríkh; an elementary historical class-book. Lithographed at Tabríz, A.H. 1283. Was originally composed for the use of the Valí'ahd (heir apparent).

(5) Safar Námah Khwárazm. This work has been edited by Ch. Schefer, Boulaḳ, 1879, and translated by the same Orientalist, Paris, 1879.

(6) Anváru'l-Viláyah, a masnaví, in the metre of Nizámí's Makhzan ul-Asrár.

(7) Gulistán Iram, a masnaví, on the loves of Ráb'ah and Baktásh, also called Baktásh Námah. Lithographed, illustrated, Tehrán, 1270.

(8) Bahru'l-Hakáiḳ, a masnaví, in the metre of the Hadíḳah of Sanáí.

(9) Anísu'l-'Ashiḳín, a masnaví.

(10) Khurram i Bahisht; a masnaví, in the Taḳárub measure.

(11) Minháju'l-Hidáyah, a masnaví.

(12) Hidáiyat Námah, a masnaví, in the Raml measure.

Risálahs (13) Madáriju'l-Balághah. (14) Miftáhu'l-Kunúz. (15) Mazáharu'l-Anvar, and (16) Latáífu'l-Ma'árif.

(17) Edited the Ḳábús Námah[1] of Amír 'Ansuru'l-Ma'álí Kai Káús B Iskandar B. Ḳábús. Lithographed at Tehrán, 1285.

(18) Edited about 3000 distichs of Minúchihrí's poetical works. Lithographed at Tehrán; and since re-edited and re-lithographed.

(19) Ríázu'l-'Arifín, a biography of Súfís and poets.

(20) Farhang Anjuman Aráí Násirí; a glossary of difficult words, collected principally from the poetical works of the Persian poets. The current year, A.H. 1286, is mentioned in the introductory remarks, where the author states that he had already spent much time in collecting over one hundred thousand distichs of the choicest passages from the works of

[1] No mention of 9, 10, 15, 16, or 17 is made in M. Schefer's enumeration of Rizá Kulí's works.—[Ed.]

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the early and modern Persian poets—which collection he has perpetuated in the shape of the "Majma'u-l-Fusahá" and "Ríázu'l-'Arifín. Following this is a list of the author's precursors and their works, which are as follows: Abú Hafs Sughdí Samarḳandí's Risálah. Abú Mansúr Assadí ut-Túsí's Risálah Lughat Furs (d. A.H. 465). Ḳatrán Tabrízí (Abú Mansúr Ḳatrán B Mansúr Ajaltí ul-Urumavi. The work referred to is the Tafásiru'l-Lughat-i-Furs. Died some time between A.H. 445 and 465, according to his various biographers). Farrukhí Sístání (Abú 'l-Hasan 'Alí B Ḳúlú, d. 470 A.H. The work referred to is probably the "Navádiru'l-Lughat"). Shams Fakhrí's (Shamsu-d-Dín Fakhrí ul-Isfahání, d. 744) "Mi'yár Jamáli," a glossary composed for Sultán Shaikh Abú Isháḳ. The Sharaf Námah Munyarí (better known as the Farhang Ibráhímí) of Ibráhím Ḳavám Sirhindí (Fárúḳí). The Majma'u-l-Furs (equally well known by the name of Farhang Surúrí) of Muhammad Ḳásim B Hájí Muhammad Káshání. Takh. Surúrí; dedicated to Sháh 'Abbás I. Safaví (A.H. 993–1036). The Farhang Jehángírí of Mír Jamálu'd-Dín Husain Anjú Shírází, completed in A.H. 1017. 'Abdu'r-Rashíd Husainí Mediní ut-Tataví's translation of the Arabic Ḳámúsu'l-Lughat (of Majdu'-d-Dín Abú Táhir Md. B Ya'ḳúb Fírúzábádí ush-Shírází, who died A.H. 817), the same author's edition and correction of the Farhang Jahángírí, styled Farhang Rashídí (completed in A.H. 1064). The Burhán Ḳáta', compiled for Sultán 'Abdullah B Kutb Sháh by Muhammad Husain B Khalaf Tabrízí. Takh. Burhán; completed in A.H. 1062. From this Rizá Ḳulí Khán proceeds to give some of his authorities, which are, besides the above: Uḳiánús. The Ḳámús of al-Fírúzábádí (above mentioned). The Saháh (of Abú Nasr Ismá'íl B. Hammad ul-Jauharí, d. A.H. 393). The Suráh (ul Lughah of Abú 'l-Fazl Md. B'Umar B Khálid, better known as Jamálí. This work is a Persian version of the Saháh of Jauharí). The Majma'u-l-Bahrain (fí'l-Lughah; compiled by Hasan B. Md. us-Saghání, d. A.H. 650). The Naháyatu'l-Lughah. The Kashfu'l-Lughah (probably the Kashfu'l-Lughát va'l-

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Istaláhát, compiled by 'Abdu'r-Rahím B Ahmad Súr). Kanzu'l-Lughát (of Md. B 'Abdu'l-Kháliḳ B Ma'rúf). Muntakhibu'l-Lughah (there are several, but the work here referred to is no doubt the one compiled in A.H. 1046, by the author of the Farhang Rashídí). Tibyán. Misbáhu'l-Munví (of Ahmad B Md. B'Alí al-Fayyúmí, composed A.H. 734). Táju'l-Masádir (of Abú Ja'far Ahmad B 'Alí Baihaḳí; died A.H. 544. Hájí Khalfa makes Rudakí, the blind poet of Bukhárá, who died A.H. 304, to be the author of a glossary with this same title). The Sámí fí'l-Asámí (of Abí'l-Fazl Ahmad B Md. ul-Maidání un-Níshápúrí; died A.H. 518). Muhazzabu'l-Asmá (by Mahmúd B'Umar us-Sanjárí ush-Shaibání). Mirkátu'l-Lughah (probably by Ahmadí Kirmání; died A.H. 815). Lahjatu'l-Lughah. Tuhfatul-Ahbáb (the author of which is Háfiz Aubahí; completed in A.H. 936). Burhán Jáma'-Farhang-i-Farhang. Farhang Ní'mat-Ullah. The Risálah Khúíshtáb, a translation of the Karzan Dánish, a work composed in the reign of Khusrau Parvíz by the Múbid Húsh (or Havash). The Risálah Zardast Afshár, composed by Dád Búyah B Húsh Ayín, in the days of Hurmuz B Anushirván. The Chashmah Zandahgí and Zandah Rúd, a philosophical work composed by Farzánahzand Arzam Sipáhání. The Sad Dar (of Iránsháh B Malakshán, composed in A.H. 900). The Lughat Díván Kháḳání. The Lughat i Sháh Námah (edited by Muhammad Túsí 'Alaví, who collected it at Isfahán over three hundred years ago from a copy of the Sháh Námah containing 60,000 distichs, in the margins of which were glosses to the difficult words). The Farhang Makhzanu'l Adviyah (a ponderous alphabetical dictionary of medicaments, compiled by Mír Muhammad Husain Khán B Md. Hádí Aghílí ul-'Alaví ul-Khorásání, begun in Arabic in A.H. 1183, but finally changed into the present Persian text in A.H. 1185; lithographed at Tehrán, A.H. 1277). The Sháhad Sádiḳ (of Md. Sádiḳ B Md. Sálih Isfahání ul-Ázádání). The Majma'u-l-Buldán (of Abú Abdullah Ya'ḳút Hamaví). The Tuhfah Hakím Múmin (lithographed Isfahan, 1274). The Haft Iḳlím (of Amín Ahmad Rází). The Lughat i

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Vassaf; Lughat Baráhín ul 'Ajam; Lughat Dabistán, etc.[1] Before giving the text proper of his work, the author has further prefixed a Muḳaddimah on the discrimination of Persian and Arabic words; and twelve Áráíshes on words misunderstood by former lexicographers; on errors committed by them; and on the alphabet and grammar of the Persian language. The text proper is divided into twenty-four Anjuman, and arranged in alphabetical order. A Khátimah, in two Píráíshes, on idioms and locutions, closes this work, which has been lithographed at Tehrán, with a portrait of the author, A.H. 1288.[2]

(21) A Tazkarah of the Poets, called "Majma'ul-Fusahá." The current date, A.H. 1284, is mentioned in the conclusion of the preface. This work is divided into four Rukus as follows: Ruku I. Kings and Princes who have written poetry; II. Poets from A.H. 173 to A.H. 800; III. Poets of the Middle period; IV. Contemporary poets. After praises of the Amíru'l-Múminín 'Alí B Abí Tálib, the author discourses on the origin of poetry, and concludes with a list of his authorities, scarcely any of whom, however, does he supersede. Indeed, one would have expected more accuracy from so painstaking a scholar. As some of the works he mentions are extremely rare, it is worth while enumerating them, as by this means it will be seen that such works are still to be met with by diligent search for them. The Tazkarah Lubu'l-Lubab of Muhammad 'Aúfí (otherwise the very rare Lubábu'l-Albáb, described by N. Bland in this Journal, Vol. IX. p. 112; and Fr. Sprenger, Oude Catalogue,

[1] From the enumeration of these works, it will become evident that, notwithstanding all his advantages, the Lalah Báshí has not exhausted the field of glossography; indeed, unless we are to take the "Lughat Díván Kháḳání" as a work by that author, it would appear that one of the most important glossographers has been overlooked by Rizá Ḳulí Khán. I refer to Muhammad B Dáúd B Md. B Mahmúd Shádíábádí, author of a similar work to the Farhang Anjuman Aráí called: "Miftáh ul-Fuzalá," composed in A.H. 873; and other works.—S.C.

[2] The Muḳaddimah and Khátimah may be accepted as the introductory and concluding remarks respectively. Áráish and Píráish really imply ornament and embellishment, but are here regarded as indicative of divisions and subdivisions of a work. Anjuman—*lit.* a 'collection'—may be translated by Book or Chapter. The terms are somewhat fanciful, and their application is probably left to the discretion of authors rather than subjected to any strict rule of composition.—[ED.]

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p. 1). The Majálisu'n-Nafáis of Mír 'Alí Shír (a biography of Jaghatái Turkish poets; has been translated into Persian and amplified under the title of "Latáif Námah" by Fakhrí B Md. Amírí). The Tuhfah Sámí (of Sám Mírzá Safaví). The Tazkarah of Táhir Nasírábádí. The Tazkarah of Daulatshah Samarḳandí. The Tazkarah of Sádiḳ Kitábdár Safaviyah. The Tazkarah Khair ul-Bayan. The Haft Iḳlím. The Tazkarah of Taḳí ud-Dín Auhadí Farsí. Mír Md. Taḳi Máshání's Tazkarah (called Khulásatu-l-Ash'ár, a most valuable work, rare, complete, and yet unsuperseded). The Ka'bah 'Irfán (of Taḳí Auhadí Isfahání, and an abridgment of the next work by the same author). The 'Urfát (va Ghirfát Ashiḳín). The rare Majma'u-n-Navádir (or Chahár Maḳálah of Nizámí ul-'Arúzí us-Samarḳandí). The Múnisu 'l-Ahráh, a biography by Muhammad B Badr Jájarmí. The Tazkarah of Abú Hayán-i-Tabíb. The Tazkarah of 'Alí Ḳulí Khán, Válih (called Ríáz ush-Shu'ará). The Tazkarah of Abú Tálib Khán Isfahání (called Khulásatu'l-Afkár) Atashkadah. Tazkarah Isháḳ Beg (an anthology by the brother of the author of the Atashkadah). Rashhát Saháb Isfahání (Mírzá Sayyid Md. B Ahmad. d. 1222 or 1233. This work was written for Fath 'Alí Sháh). Ríáz us-Síáhah of Sayyáh Shírváni. Zinatu'l-Madáyah of Humáí Marví (Md. Sádiḳ. There is a recension of this work by its author). Anjuman-i-Kháḳán by Fázil Khán, Garúsí, Ráví. The Majmú'ah of Ahmad Beg, Akhtar Gurjí. The Majmú'ah of Md. Báḳar Beg, Nishátí. The Dilkushái of Bismil Shírází (Hájí 'Alí Akbar, styled Navvab). The Safinatu'l-Mahmúd (rather, the Gulshan-i-Mahmúd of Mahmúd Mírza Ḳájár, author of the Táríkh Sáhibkrání, etc.). The Majmu'ah of Haidar Ḳulí Mírzá, Khávar. Md. Súfí Mazandaráni's Maikhánah va But-Khánah. The Tazkarah of Darvish Navái Káshání. The Tazkarah of 'Abdu-r-Razzáḳ Bay Dumbulí, author of the Táríkh Másir Sultániyah; Takh Naftúm. Tazkarah Muhammadsháhí of Bahman Mírzá Ḳájár, etc.

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EDITOR'S ADDENDUM (see footnote 2, page 199).

Two paragraphs in the "Literary Gossip" of the *Athenæum* of the 27th March, 1885, give an interesting account of a recently-discovered work by Hamd-Ullah Mustaufí Ḳazvíní, one of the writers named in the foregoing paper. This production, although foreshadowed in the preface to the same author's "Tárikh Guzídah," has hitherto remained unknown in substance to European scholars; and it is to Mr. Sidney Churchill of Tehrán (who now describes the literary labours of Riẓá Ḳulí) that the credit of securing it for the British Museum belongs. Under the somewhat hackneyed title of "Zafr Námah," it is explained to be a "rhymed chronicle of the Muslim world" in 75,000 verses, and "so rare that its existence might have been doubted." Its bulk is partly accounted for by the fact that it contains the whole of Firdausi's "Shah-námah" written in the margins—a circumstance which enhances its value by supplying Orientalists with a new and carefully-collated text of that celebrated Epic. Referring to it, however, as a closely-written quarto, richly ornamented with frontispiece and gilt headings, and dated Shiráz 807, or 1405 of our era," the writer in the *Athenæum* thus apportions the numerous verses:

"The first 25,000 are devoted to the Arabs, *i.e.* to Muhammad and his successors down to the fall of the Khalifat of Baghdad; the next 20,000 to the Persians, or to the dynasties of Irán from the Saffáris to the Karakhitais of Karmán; and the last 30,000 to the Mughals. This last section, the largest and most valuable, beginning with the House of Jenghiz Khán, treats very fully of the foundation of the Mughal Empire, of Hulaku, and of his successors in Persia down to Abu Sa'íd Bahádur Khán, the last of the dynasty under whom the author lived. The history is brought down to the time of composition, Ann. Hij. 735, or Ann. Dom. 1334, just one year before Abu Sa'íd's death."

In a future Number of the Journal it is proposed to give further information on this most valuable discovery. Meanwhile it may be noted that Mr. Rieu's printed Catalogues

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show two other of Hamd-Ullah's works among the Persian Manuscripts of the British Museum: one, the above-mentioned "Tarikh Guzídah," a general history from the earliest times to the period of writing—a sort of prose scaffolding to the versified history then in progress, and now displayed to the ken of Western scholars: the other, the "Nuzhatu-l-Ḳulub," described as "a cosmographical work, treating more especially of the geography of Persia and some adjacent counties." The last-named book, though mainly a compilation, has attained considerable repute: there are no less than nine copies noted in the Museum Catalogues.

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ART. XII.—*Some Bhoj'pūrī Folk-Songs.* Edited and translated by G. A. GRIERSON, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service.

ENCOURAGED by the reception of my former paper on Bihārī Folk-Songs,[1] I now lay before the Society a further set of similar ones, in the same dialect of the Bihārī language,—the Bhoj'pūrī.

Since the last paper was printed, the acquirement of this dialect of Bihārī has been facilitated by the publication of a Bhoj'pūrī grammar,[2] and it is hoped that when the set of dialect grammars of which that forms a part is all printed, and when the Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language,[3] now being published, is completed, the requirements of the student will in some measure be fulfilled.

The great want of Bihārī is a printed literature. At present, owing to the Government preference for the exotic Hindī, all works of any importance published in Bihār are written in that language, though a few popular books are sometimes issued in Bihārī.[4] These latter are, however, few in number, and, though much admired, they hardly pay; for, practically, the only books that pay in Bihār are those patronized by the Government Education Department, which steadily refuses to have anything to do with works written in the national language. This is a great pity, for Hindī is only understood by the educated classes, and, even amongst them, is a

[1] Some Bihārī Folk-Songs, J.R.A.S. Vol. XVI. p. 196.

[2] Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Bihārī Language, by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S. Part I. General Introduction. Part II. The Bhoj'pūrī Dialect. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press; London, Trübner. Five parts in all have been published up to date, and two others are in the press.

[3] London, Trübner.

[4] *e.g.*, the Sudhābund, by Kumāra Lāla Khaḍga Bahādūr Mall, published by Sāhib Prasād Siṉgh in Bākīpūr (Bankipore).

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foreign tongue which they have to learn in addition to their native language.

Before the English rulers undertook to foster the vernaculars, practically the only two of them in North-Eastern India which had acquired any considerable literary cultivation were the Bais'wāṛī of Audh and the Baṇgālī. The latter does not concern us now, and it will suffice here to refer to the line of famous poets in that language, commencing with Chaṇḍī Dāsa, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D.

Bais'wāṛī, the border dialect between Braj Bhāshā (the parent of modern Hindī) on the west, and Bihārī on the east, and partaking of the peculiarities of both these languages, was admirably adapted to serve the purposes of a poet, who could be read, understood, and loved over the whole of Hindūstān, and such a poet arose in the famous Tul'sī Dās, who wrote almost entirely in that dialect.[1] He was followed by a host of imitators, down to the present day, and hence it follows that Bais'wāṛī has a literature which, if collected together, would fill a good-sized library.

At the same time, Braj Bhāshā, the language to the west of Bais'wāṛī, and not falling within North-East Hindūstān, developed a literature of its own, founded, while the language was almost yet a Prākṛit, by Chand Bardāī, who was followed, *longo intervallo*, by Sūr Dās and his imitators.

Hindī, i.e. the book Hindī of the present day, did not exist till the English conquest. Early in the present century it was manufactured by order of Government, out of Ūrdū, by the substitution of Sanskṛit for Arabic and Persian words.

[1] The only poem of Tul'sī Dās, with which I am acquainted, and which is not written in Bais'wāṛī, is the Krish'nābalī, which he wrote, as the subject and fashion required, in Braj Bhāshā. Sūr Dās, who wrote only about Kṛiṣṇa, wrote in Braj Bhāshā, and Tul'sī Dās, the bard of Rām, in Bais'wāṛī, and it seems to have been a recognized rule, even as far back as the time of the latter poet, that poems concerning the former hero must therefore be written in Braj, and those concerning the latter hero in Bais'wāṛī. So prevalent and fixed has this idea become, that Bidyāpati, the Maithilī poet, who wrote only about Kṛiṣṇa, in the Maithilī dialect, is declared by Baṇgālī historians to have written in Braj, a language as different from Maithilī as German is from English!! The argument seems to have been something like this. Any poems about Kṛiṣṇa must be in Braj; Bidyāpati's poems are about Kṛiṣṇa; therefore (although they admittedly do not possess a single Braj inflection) they are in Braj.

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A number of books were concocted in this language, and it has ever since remained the officially-recognized literary language of Hindūstān. Nowhere is it a vernacular, and it is radically different from the language of Bihār. At the same time, it is closely connected, through its parent Ūrdū, with Braj Bhāshā, and hence is well suited to be the literary language, as it has really become, of North-Western India.

Bihārī, the language to the east of Bais'wāṛī,[1] was not so fortunate as Braj Bhāshā. It is true it had one great poet, Bidyāpatī, who flourished at the end of the fourteenth century, but he wrote in Maithilī, the extreme eastern dialect of Bihārī, and had not many followers in his own country. Curiously enough, his principal imitators were Baŋgālīs who, under the influence of Chāitānya, a great admirer of the old master-singer, wrote a number of works in the spurious Maithilī found in the Vāiṣṇava-pada-kalpa-taru, a Baŋgālī compilation of Vāiṣṇava litanies.[2]

Hence Bihārī literature, though old, is small in extent, for neither of the other dialects (Magahī and Bhoj'pūrī) developed a great poet strong enough to found a school of literature. If a people, however, has not poems by great masters, it must have songs, and so we find abundant stores of songs of all kinds, some original, and some translated from other languages, in these last two dialects. The peculiarity of all these songs is that the fetters of metre lie upon them very loosely indeed. Bidyāpatī and Tul'sī Dās wrote according to the strictest rules of Piŋgala, measuring the quantity of every syllable, but in these other songs the melody to which they are sung is the only guide, and so long as the accent or musical ictus is provided for, the author cared little whether his syllables were long or short. Their measure was founded on some well-known metre, as was necessary, for all North Indian melodies are written to suit such; but in reading the songs given here, it will often be necessary to

[1] Bais'wāṛī may be considered as a dialect of Bihārī, but it is really, as already stated, rather a border dialect, though nearer related to Bihārī than to Braj.

[2] The edition of this work which is usually quoted is published by Bēṇī Mādhab Dē & Co., A.D. 1866.

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read long syllables as short, and sometimes even the contrary, in order to read them as the poet would have them read.

Many of these songs are of considerable length. For instance, the cycle of ballads concerning the heroes Ālhā and Rūdal extends over many thousand lines, and again the Song of Bijāī Mall, or of Nāīkā Banijar'wā, though shorter, still takes some hours to sing through. These longer songs, however, are the property of professional singers. It is a business to sing one, and a treat, equivalent in Europe to going to the opera, to hear one. The professional singer or *naṭ* sits in the dusk of an Indian cold weather, by the straw fire, and is well plied with spirits as he sings his song to the circle of hearers sitting silently round him smoking their hubble-bubbles.

If these longer songs can be compared to the opera, the shorter ones can be equally well likened to the drawing-room piece. Every stout young fellow with good lungs has a *repertoire* of them, out of which he sings whenever he has nothing better to do, whether alone or in company. He has probably only one tune, to which he fits all his words; and as the tune wanders about through all keys, and generally has a cadenza of twenty or thirty notes every second or third syllable, it is difficult for the European, uneducated to native tastes, to catch what he sings. This paucity of melodies has often struck me. In the country districts[1] I never heard of a new tune being invented. There seems to be a certain stock of tunes ready made, to which the words of every new song must be fitted. Thus, every mill-song must be sung to the melody called '*jāt'sār*,' and such songs are classed as *jāt'sārs*. So certain songs sung in the month of Chāīt are classed as *ghāṭōs*, because they are sung to the tune called *ghāṭō*, and the class of songs sung in the rainy season is called *kaj'rī*, which is the name of the air to which they are sung. Some castes have melodies peculiar to them. For instance, only cowherds (*ahīrs* or *goārs*) sing the songs

[1] I do not know what is being done in Calcutta, where Bābū Surēndra Mōhan Tagore has started a revival of Hindū music.

classed as *chãchars* and *bir'hās*, which are sung to the tunes called *chãchar* and *bir'hā* respectively.

Of this last class I have collected forty-two in the Bhoj'pūrī dialect alone, all sung to the same melody. They form a portion of the present collection. I cannot say that they possess much literary excellence; on the contrary, some of them are the merest doggerel; but they are valuable as being one of the few trustworthy exponents which we have of the inner thoughts and desires of the people. The Bir'hā is essentially a wild flower. To use the language of one of them, "it is not cultivated in the field, nor is it borne upon the branches of the fruit-tree. It dwells in the heart, and when a man's heart overflows, he sings it." Contrary to what might have been expected, it deals much oftener with the warrior god Rāma, than with the cowherd god Kṛiṣṇa. Six of the following relate to the former, and only one to the latter. This is the consequence of the singers' surroundings. Shāhābād, the district in which they dwell, might almost be called a second Rāj'putānā in its heroic legends and songs. It is the land made holy by the blood of Bhag'batī the Rāj'pūtin, who drowned herself to save her brother from the hands of the Musalmāns, and it is the birth-land of Ālhā and Rūdal, the heroes of Mahōbā. In later times, too, tough-hearted old Kũar Siŋgh led the Shāhābād Rāj'pūts against the English in the mutiny. It is a country of fighting-men, and as such Rāma of Ayōdhyā and not Kṛiṣṇa of Mathurā is the god of the land. The Bir'hās also deal with other deities, *e.g.* with the special incarnation of Durgā, which is the tutelary deity of the singer's village. At one time he invokes her presence, offering her the best thing that a cowherd can offer her—a river of milk; at another he complains of the rapacity of his goddess, who demands milk when his cows are far away; shall he, he asks sarcastically, milk the Banyan tree, or would she prefer him to milk the wild fig? Again, the singer dwells on the iniquities of the *kali*- or iron-age. He complains how men of the very lowest castes are allowed to become pious (quite a subversion of orthodox Hindū con-

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servatism), and how even spirit-sellers may be seen counting their beads on a rosary. Many are the Bir'hās which describe the charms which adorn and the temptations which beset the pretty young village maidens whose forms are developing from childhood into womanhood. As in India girls are married in their infancy, these girls are all wives, though their husbands have not yet taken them home. Hence we find girls complaining of the non-arrival of their husband, and a number of not very delicate jokes which the village elders (men and women) launch at a girl when she first becomes *apta viro*. Sometimes, too, we find the girl, half-pleased, half-angry, relating the attentions paid to her by some village swain who met her as she walked through the forest. Again, we have songs referring to a woman's married life. She is now living in her husband's house, and she hyperbolically describes the slimness of her form, as reminding him of the string by which he lowers his drinking vessel into the well. Or, perhaps, as often happens, the husband is away on service and sends his earnings home, which are not always put to legitimate uses.

Even when away from home on service, the cowherd longs for his congenial occupations, and looks back to the happy days when he wandered free over the rich pastures on the Kāimūr Hills.[1] Or he looks contemptuously at the elaborate preparations of wrestlers and gymnasts, and tells how the young Ahīr would only need to tuck up his waist cloth, and could do just as much. There are many other kinds of Bir'hās in the present collection than those now described, but the above will serve to show their infinite variety, and how each one is a miniature picture of some phase of village life.

Regarding external form, a Bir'hā consists of two pairs of two lines each, each pair being founded on the following scheme

6+4+4+2, 4+4+3 instants,
or else 6+4+4+2, 4+4+4 instants.

[1] The principal pasture land of Shāhābād. They are to the south of the district, and are a branch of the Vindhya range.

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In reading them, however, they will rarely be found to agree with this, unless we remember, as already noted, that many long syllables (*i.e.* two instants) must be read as short (*i.e.* one instant). Sometimes, too, there are superfluous words which do not form part of the metre.[1] In regular poetry such superfluous words are technically known as *jōṛ*.[2]

As regards the dialect of the following songs, it is tolerably pure Bhoj'pūrī, such as is exhibited in the Bhoj'pūrī grammar already referred to. There are, however, a few old survivals, or vulgarisms (whichever one may choose to call them), which may here be noted.

The first and most important is the constant use of the genitives of pronouns in their original construction as possessive adjectives. The originals of these genitives were certainly possessive adjectives in Apabhraṁça Prākṛit, e.g. *tohār* 'of you,' which is the same as the Ap. Pr. *tuhār*, is translated by Hēmachandra as *tvadīyaḥ*, and not as *tava*.[3] That is to say, they were possessive adjectives, and liable to inflection for gender, and were not substantival genitives. These words, in modern Bhoj'pūrī, as spoken by the educated classes, have now become substantival genitives, and are not liable to inflection for gender.[4] Amongst the lower orders however, the old adjectival construction has survived, and hence we find many feminine genitive forms.[5]

Another survival is the old Prākṛit Present Indicative. This tense has indeed survived over almost all Hindūstān, but has in the modern tongues generally become (as in Bihārī) the Present Subjunctive. This was specially the case in Bhoj'pūri, which possesses another special Present Indicative formed with the suffix *lā*.[6] In these songs, however, this old tense is frequently used in its original

[1] *e.g.* जेसे in line 2, and ले in line 3 of No. 4.

[2] For an example, see J.A.S.B. Part i. No. 1, 1885, p. 36.

[3] See Hēm. iv. 434.

[4] They still, however, retain an adjectival oblique form. See Bh. Gr. § 34.

[5] The instances are *mōri*, 9, 4; 21, 4; 43, 18, 19. *hamari*, 44, 5; 45, 10. *hamariyū* (lg. f.), 9, 1. *āpani*, 4, 3. *jēkari*, 6, 3.

[6] See Bh. Grammar, §61*a*. *dēkhelō̃* 'I see,' *dēkhīlā* 'we see,' *dēkhelē* 'thou seest,' *dēkhelā* 'you see,' *dēkhelā* 'he sees,' *dēkhelan* 'they see.'

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sense of a Present Indicative, and every occurrence of this use will be found noted in the Index.

As in other Bihārī dialects, the rules of number and gender are very laxly observed. The singular is frequently used for the plural and *vice versâ*. As a rule the singular is used in a non-honorific or disrespectful sense, and the plural in an honorific or respectful sense. It should also be noted that the masculine is continually used for the feminine.

The rules for the shortening of the antepenultimate vowel are given at length in § 36 of the General Introduction to the seven grammars of the Bihār dialects, and in the introduction to the comparative dictionary of the Bihārī language, and need not be repeated here. It may nevertheless be noted, that while in Bhoj'pūrī a long आ *ā* is usually shortened to अ *a*, in these songs it is sometimes shortened to an older form आँ *ă*.[1] Examples are *ămawā*, from *ām* (18, 1), instead of *amawā*,[2] and *ăkhirō* instead of *akhirō*, from *ākhir* (12, 4).

Some masculine nouns, it may also be noted, are given feminine long forms in a diminutive sense. The instances of occurrence are given in the index. An example is *dehiyā* instead of *deh'wā* (22, 2; 26, 1).

In conclusion, I desire to record my obligations again to Babu Siv Nandan Lāl Rāy, Deputy Magistrate of Paṭ'nā, to whom I am indebted for much help in the collecting and translating of these songs.

॥ अथ विरहा के सङ्ग्रह ॥

I.

सुमिरी गाओँ राम, सुमिरी भैया लकुमन
सुमिरी गाओँ सकल जहान
सुमिरी गाओँ प्रहि माता ए पिता के
जिनि लरिका से कैली हां सेआन

[1] Regarding the two pairs of vowels आँ *ă* and अ *a*, and आ *ā* and आँ *ă*, see Introduction (Chap. IV.), and article अ *a* in the Bihārī Dictionary.

[2] But instr. *amawē* in 38, 3.

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I call to mind[1] Rām, as I sing; I call to mind his brother Lachhuman.[2] As I sing, I call the whole world[3] to mind. As I sing, I call to mind this mother and this[4] father, who[5] brought me up from childhood to the age of discretion.

[1] सुमिरी has its final vowel lengthened *metri gratia*. सुमिरि is first verbal noun of √सुमिर 'call to mind,' used instead of the conj. part.

[2] *i.e.* Lakshmaṇa.

[3] जहान is the Pers. جهان.

[4] ए is a contracted form of एहि, which is the adjectival obl. base of the pronoun ई 'this.'

[5] *Lit.* 'Who from a boy, made me become grown up.' जिन्हि or जिनि is an old form of जिन्हन, the nom. pl. of जे 'who.' See Bh. Gr. § 26. कैली हा is honorific 3rd pl. perf. In Bh. the most usual form of the perfect is made by adding the word हा 'is,' to any form of the preterite. कइलौं or कैलौं 'I did,' कैलौं हा 'I have done'; कैल° 'you did,' कैल° हा 'you have done,' and so on; see Bh. Gr. § 71. It will be seen that this mode of forming the perfect is radically different from that in vogue in the Western or Hindī group of dialects.

II.

राम जि के भैल जनमवा जनमवा
बाजेला अजोधा मैं ढोल
थर थर काँपेला गरभी रवनवा
जनमल मुदइया ना मोर

The birth, the birth of Rām has taken place, and the drums are being beaten in Ajodhyā. The proud[1] Rāwan quakes and trembles, saying, my enemy[2] has been born.

[1] गरभी is a corruption of गर्वी.

[2] मुदइया is long form of मुदई (مدعي), almost exclusively used to mean 'enemy,' except in the law courts, where it means 'plaintiff' or 'complainant.'

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III.

अच्छा काम नाही कैलू, ए केकइ
मारेलू करेजवा मैं बान
सगरे अजोधा के राम ए दुलरुआ
ते के दिहलू हां बन-वास

Das'rath is represented as addressing Kāikēyī, who procured Rām's banishment.

A good deed hast thou not done, O Kēkaï. Thou hast shot an arrow into my heart. Rām was the beloved of all[1] Ajodhyā, and him hast thou made an exile in the forest.

[1] सगरे is emphatic for सगरा.

IV.

राम त° राम त° रघुनन्दन पुकारेले
जैसे गोखुला मैं गोपी काँध
आपनि महलिया ले सीता जि पुकारेली
कहाँ लछुमन गैले राम

The departure of Rām into exile.

Raghunandan[1] calls out 'Rām, Rām,' as urgently as the cowherdesses in Gōkula called for Kānh.[2] From her own little palace[3] Sītā cries out, 'O Lachhuman, whither is Rām gone?'

[1] Raghunandan is, of course, a synonym of Rām. The poet has, apparently, forgotten this. Perhaps he meant to say Bharat.

[2] *i.e.* Kṛiṣṇa. काँध = कान्ह, according to a law of Bihārī spelling that when *anunāsik* is followed by the third or fourth consonant of any class, the two together may be represented by the nasal of the class or nasal of the class aspirated respectively. Thus, आँग or आङ 'a limb,' नींद or नीन 'sleep,' कोंढ़ or कोएह 'a pumpkin,' काँध or कान्ह 'Kṛiṣṇa.'

[3] महलिया is long form of महाल (محال), made feminine, to give a diminutive sense. See note on देहिया in No. 26.

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V.

राम लछुमन दूनो बनवा चलले
सीता चललि हां सङ्ग-लोरि
राम लछुमन के त° लागलि पिअसिया
सीता देलि अमिरित घोरि

Rām and Lachhuman both departed to the forest, and Sītā has accompanied[1] them. When Rām and Lachhuman felt thirsty, Sītā mixed ambrosia,[2] and gave it them (to drink).

[1] *Lit.* 'Went with them on a Lorry.' लोरि or लोरी is a curious instance of the adoption of an English word. With the introduction of railways into India the Lorry or Trolly became a familiar sight, and its name has been extended to mean a railway train. Hence, सङ्ग-लोरी 'a railway companion,' and hence, again, 'a companion in general.'

[2] Ambrosia is here a drink = nectar.

VI.

कहेलि मन्दोदरी सुनं°, पिया रावन
तूँ तँ लङ्कवा के हंवं° वीर
जेकरि तिरियवा तुँऊँ हरि ले ऐले
से ह तँ बसे सरजू के तीर

Saith Mandōdarī, 'Hear, dear Rāwan. You are the hero of Laṇkā. He whose dear little wife[1] you have carried off, dwells on the banks of the Sar'jū.'

[1] तिरियवा is a redundant form of तिरी 'a woman,' used in a diminutive sense, with the genitive of the relative pronoun, also feminine. Cf. No. 9 and No. 45, v. 10.

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VII.

पुरैन विनँवेले एकल राम के
दहवा मेँ परखूँ अकेलि
पतवा तूर तूर जाला भोज-सरवा
फूल चढ़े तेकर महादेव

The efficacy of prayer.

The lotus plant prays to Rām and no one else, saying, 'I am here alone in the pond.'[1]

So its leaves are broken off and go to the feasting-chamber, while its flowers mount upon Shiv himself.

[1] This beautiful legend shows how prayers are answered by the ever-pitying Rām. At a feast the dishes are made of lotus leaves, and hence the lotus plant now gets admission to the tables of the great. Its flowers, too, are offered to Mahādēb (Çiva), by being thrown upon his image; and what greater glory can there be than to be borne upon the head of the upholder of the Heavenly Ganges itself? पतवा is long form of पात (= Skr. पत्त्र) 'a leaf.' जाला is 3 pres. of √जा. सरवा is long form of सार (= Skr. शाल) 'a hall.'

VIII.

मने मन झाँखेला फेड़वा सिमरवा।
के कांहे फुलवा मोर लाल॥
कांहे फुलवा ना चढ़े इसरी देवतवा
के कांहे मलिया ना गुहे हार

In his heart, in his heart, mourns the silk-cotton tree,[1] saying, 'Why are my flowers red? Why are my flowers not offered to Durgā,[2] and the gods? Why does the gardener not string garlands of them?'

[1] This tree is noted for its glorious red blossoms. It is a stock simile-subject in Hindū poetry; for while it is fair to look upon, it is worthless, for it has no scent. फेड़वा is long form of फेड़ 'a tree' = the Hīndī पेड़.

[2] इसरी = Skr. ईश्वरी.

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IX.

हमरिया देविया भुखिली, रे भैया
माँगेलि पियनवा के दूध
बरवा दूहौं कि बरोहिया, रे यरवा
मोरि बैना गैलि हो बड़ि दूर

My dear little tutelary goddess[1] has become hungry,[2] and she asks for milk to drink. Shall I milk the Banyan tree (*Ficus Indica*) or the wild fig,[3] for my cattle have gone a long way off?[4]

[1] **देविया** is long form of **देवी**, in a diminutive sense. This is emphasized by the personal pronoun, which is the genitive, thrown into the form of an adjective, made feminine, and given a long form (**हमरिया**).

[2] **भुखिलि** is 3 pret. fem. potential passive of **भूख** 'be hungry'; as against **भुखौलि**, which would be causal. See Bh. Gr. § 101.

[3] I do not know the botanical name of the Barōhī tree. It is one of the fig tribe. **यरवा** is long form of **यार** (یار).

[4] The meaning of this song is well illustrated in the proverb 'One can't get milk out of a stone.' The man from whom milk is demanded says, 'I suppose I am expected to milk the fig trees, for I have no other source from which to get any milk.'

X.

देविया देविया पुकारे देवी सारधा
देवी सरगे मैं मेड़राइ
तोहरा के देवौं देवी दुधवा के धारवा
सरगे ले ना उतरि ना आऊ

'O dear little goddess, dear little goddess,' he calls, 'O goddess Sär'dhā.[1] The goddess is hovering above in the sky. I will give you, O goddess, a whole river of milk. Only come now down from heaven.'[2]

[1] This is a corruption of **शारदा**, a name (here) of Durgā.

[2] **सरगे ले**. Here **ले** is sign of the abl. (Cf. No. 21 and No. 43, v. 2),

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and सरगे is obl. of सरग. *i.e.* सरग has taken the Ap. Pr. term. हि, and contracted it into ए. हि in Ap. Pr. was originally a loc. termination, but rapidly became a general termination for all oblique cases. See Essays on the Bihārī Declension, J.A.S.B. p. 13, vol. lii. part I, 1883.

XI.

डिहवा डिहवा पुकारे डिहवरवा
डीह सुतले हां निरभेद
तोहरा गरभ चढ़ि ऐली रे डिहवा
पहिल बोलिया ना राखे मोर

The village god cries out, 'O village, village,' but the village sleeps soundly (and answers not), 'I came hither riding on your womb, O village, and you do not answer my first call.'[1]

[1] The *Ḍih'wār* is the tutelary deity of the village. There is a separate one to each township. He is said often to be heard calling out over the fields at night, especially when worshippers are lax in their attentions to him. The creation of a new township creates, of course, a new Ḍih'wār, which explains the latter half of the song.

XII.

बने बने गैया चरावेले कन्हैया
घरे घरे जोरेले पिरीति
अनका भोगि के सान मारि ऐले
आंखिरो त° जात अहीर

From wood to wood doth Kanhāiyā[1] tend the cattle, and from house to house doth he make love. He winks[2] at others'[3] wives; but what can one expect? Is he not after all but an Ahīr by caste?

[1] *i.e.* Kṛiṣṇa. The song deals with the amours of Kṛiṣṇa. Some one

complains of these, and says, 'but what can be expected of a mere ahīr, or cowherd?' not recognising his divinity. बने and घरे are locatives = the Ap. Pr. वनहि and घरहि. See No. 10.

[2] सान is Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सण्णा.

[3] अनका is an oblique form. It is obl. of आनक 'of another,' gen. of आन 'another.' आखिरो is emphatic for आखिर (آخر).

XIII.

एक समे हरि घोरा भैले
बरह्मा भैले लगाम
चान सुरुज दूनो पायक भैले
केऊ चढ़ि ना गैले चतुर सुजान

One time Hari became a horse, and Brahmā became the bridle. The moon and the sun became wheels, and some clever and wise man mounted him.[1]

[1] I have never met this legend elsewhere, nor can any one whom I have asked explain it to me. This song exists, and that is all I can find out on the subject.

XIV.

जाए के रहलीँ तीरथ दुआरिका
बसुला सान धरवाइ
सीता हथवा ना गढ़ीँ चौकी बेलनवा
राम के धनुखवा बान

I had a mind to go on a pilgrimage to Dwārikā, after sharpening my axe. I make with it a paste-board and rolling-pin for the hands of Sitā, and a bow and arrows for Rām.[1]

[1] This song is simply nonsense. Dwārikā (the capital of Kṛiṣṇa) does not exist nowadays, being said to have been submerged under the sea.

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XV.

सुअरी ना गङ्गा जुठारलि, ए रामा
भगत भेले चमार
राम जि का हथवा का तुलसि के मलवा
कलऊ जपेला कलवार

What happens in the Kali Yuga.

O Rāmā, pigs drink in the holy Ganges and pollute it,[1] and Chamārs (the lowest caste, are allowed to become) pious men.[2] O, yea, a spirit-seller counts the beads on a rosary of Rām's own hand in this Kali[3] age.

[1] √जुठार = Hindī √झुठाल 'to pollute vessels by touching them.' Another form of the same root is √जुठिआव, see No. 47, l. 2.

[2] भगत is a technical term, meaning a pious and learned man devoted to the worship and literature of Rām.

[3] कलऊ is an irregular long form of कल or कलि, as if for Ap. Pr. कलिकू, or कलिऊ.

XVI.

गोरि गोरि बँहियाँ गोरि गोदना गोदावेले
सुइया साले अल्हर करेज
ऐसन गोदना गोदू गोदनरिया
जैसे चूँदरि रङ्गेला रँगरेज

Her arms are fair, are fair, and the fair one is getting herself tattooed. The needle pierces her tender heart. 'O thou woman who art tattooing me, tattoo such a tattoo-pattern on me as the dyer dyes on a bordered veil.'[1]

[1] This is an obscure song. It seems to mean that the pain of tattooing is only comparatively slight, even if a pattern as intricate as that on a bordered veil is tattooed on a person. The real pain which the girl feels is the thorn (or needle) in her heart caused by separation from her lover. Compare No. 5 of an unpublished set of Bir'hās in the Magahī dialect which are in my possession,

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गोरी गातन माँ गोदना गोदैबे, गे, सुइया चूभि चूभि जाय,
देस देस के दिल-बैदा, गे, बोलैबे, गे, पियवा बिनु दरद कैसे जाय,
'If you will have tattooing done on your fair body, the needle will prick you as it goes along. You may summon heart-doctors of all lands, but without your beloved, how will the pain depart?'

XVII.

पिसना के परिकल मुसरिया तुसरिया
दुधवा के परिकल बिलारि
आपन आपन जोवना सम्हारिहे बेटिउआ
रहरि मेँ लागल बा झेँड़ार

Rats and the like[1] are accustomed[2] to (eating) flour, and the cat to milk. O ye girls,[3] be careful of your bosoms, for there is a wolf[4] lurking in the Rahar.

[1] तुसरिया is a rhyming repetition of मुसरिया, which is long form of मुसरी 'a rat.'

[2] परिकल = 'accustomed to.'

[3] बेटिउआ is for बेटिओआ, which is a contraction of बेटिअवा, redundant form of बेटी.

[4] *i.e.* a gallant. The Rahari or Rahar (*Cytisus Cajan*) is a tall shrub, bearing a kind of pea. It is grown in large fields, and offers rare opportunities for concealment. Nearly every highway robbery in Bihār, and other crimes involving an unexpected attack, take place near a *Rahar* field.

XVIII.

आंमवा के लागेले टिकोरवा, रे सँगिया,
गुछरि फरेले हड़-फोर
गोरिया कां उठले हां छाती के जोबनवा
पिया के खेलवना रे होई

The young mangos[1] are forming on the mango tree, my friend, and the wild-fig is laden with abundant[2] fruit (*i.e.* it is spring-time). The fair damsel's budding bosom[3] is developing on her breast,—to be the toy of her beloved.

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[1] टिकोरवा is long form of टिकोरा 'an immature mango.'

[2] हड़-फोड़ means 'abundant, full.' Natives connect it with the phrase हठ फोड़ बोअल, which means to sow with a drill-plough in a field which has been previously ploughed. This is said to give an abundant crop.

[3] जोबन, of which जोबनवा is the long form, means specially the budding bosom of a young maiden.

XIX.

गोरि के छतिया पर उठेला जोबनवा
हसेला सहरिया के लोग
लेबू गोरि दमवा देबू, ही, जोबनवा
तोरा से जतनवा ना होई

The budding bosom is developing on the breast of the fair one,[1] and the people of the village[2] smile (as they watch her). 'Will you take their price, and give me your bosom, for you will never be able to take care of it yourself?'[3]

[1] See No. 18.

[2] सहर (شہر) is masculine. Here it takes a feminine long form in a diminutive sense.

[3] A specimen of the not very delicate jokes which villagers bandy amongst each other. The last verse is literally 'by you, efforts (जतनवा, lg. f. of जतन = यत्न) it will not be (successful).'

XX.

एक बने डहरेला इउँटी चिउँटी
एक बने डहरेले गाइ
एक बने डहरेलि अहीरिनि बेटिया
दूनो चूचे घुघुरा लगाइ

In one forest wander the ants and the like,[1] and in another the kine. In another wanders the cowherd damsel, with bells fastened on each bosom.[2]

[1] इउँटी is simply a rhyming repetition of चिउँटी. This comparison

of the gait of ants, of cattle, and of a pretty girl is common in these songs. Thus, in the Magahī songs (No. 8) already quoted, occurs the passage—

आजु कहवाँ से निकले चूँटी, कहवाँ से धेनु गाय
कहवाँ से निकले मालिन बेटिया, गे, बटिया घुँघुटवा देले जाय,

'Wherefrom has the ant issued to-day, and wherefrom the milch-cow; and wherefrom issues the gardener's daughter, who goes along the road veiling her face?'

[3] चूचे is loc. of चूच or चूची 'the nipple of the bosom.'

XXI.

बघसर ले गोरिया अकसर चलली
भरि माँग मोतिया गुहाई
कवना चेलिकवा के नजरी परली
मोरि मोतिया गिरेले भहराई

From Bagh'sar [1] started the fair [2] one alone,[3] having strung [4] the whole parting of her hair [5] with pearls. 'Who [6] was the gallant swain whose gaze fell upon me, so that (in my agitation) my pearls are falling crashing [7] to the ground.'

[1] Bagh'sar (or the Tiger-pond) = *vulgo* Buxar, the capital of the Par'gana of Bhoj'pūr, where the Bhoj'pūrī dialect is spoken in its purest. ले is a common ablative postposition in Bh. Cf. No. 10.

[2] गोरिया is long form of गोरी.

[3] सर in अकसर or एकसर is the ordinal termination, which also appears in दोसर 'second,' तेसर 'third,' etc.; see art. अकसर in Comp. Dic. of Bih. Language.

[4] In गुहाई, and in भहराई in the fourth line, the final ई is lengthened for the sake of metre. मोतिया is long form of मोती.

[5] माँग is the parting of a woman's hair, which is covered with vermilion, and otherwise adorned as long as her husband is alive.

[6] कवना is obl. form of कवन or कौन, the adjectival form of the Interrogative Pronoun के.

[7] Bate's Hindī Dictionary gives the verb भहराना as meaning 'to totter, to stagger.' In Bhoj'pūrī the corresponding root भहरा means rather 'to fall with a crash,' or 'in a heap.'

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XXII.

वहे पुरुवैया ऐली जम्हऐया
ठाढ़ि देहिया रे महियाए
कवना चेलिकवा के नजरी परली
मोरा घरवा वनवा एको ना सोहाए

The east wind blows, and yawning[1] has come upon me. As I stand, my poor little body[2] is filled with lassitude. Who was the gallant swain whose gaze fell upon me[3]? Neither[4] my home nor the forest pleases me.

[1] **पुरुवैया** and **जम्हऐया** are long forms of **पुरुवाइ** and **जम्हआइ** respectively.

[2] See note on **देहिया** in No. 26.

[3] See No. 21.

[4] **एको** is emphatic for **एक** 'not even one.'

XXIII.

रसवा के भेजली भँवरवा के सँगिया
रसवा ले ऐले हां थोर
अतिनाइ रसवा मैं केकरा के बँटबौं
सगरी नगरी हित मोर

O friend, I sent the bee for (sugar cane) juice, and little juice has he brought me. With so little juice, to whom can I distribute any of it, for all the people of the village are (equally) my friends?[1]

[1] This song contains a *double-entendre*. **भँवर** (of which **भँवरवा** is long form) is continually used to mean 'a lover,' as well as 'a bee.' So also **रस** (of which **रसवा** is the long form) means 'love' as well as 'juice.' Hence the girl means that she has only enough love for one person.

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XXIV.

पातरि रहऊँ पातरि होइ गेऊँ
गेऊँ लोटवा के डोर
अपना सामिया जि के पनिया पियवऊँ
बिनु लोटवा ना बिनु डोर

I was slender, and more slender I became. I became as slender as a drinking vessel's string.[1] I gave my husband water to drink,[2] without a vessel and without a string (*i.e.* I served for such myself).

[1] This comparison of a slender maiden to the string by which a *lōṭā* or drinking vessel is let down into a well, is very common in poems of this class; *e.g.* in the set of Bir'hās in the Magahī dialect already quoted from, the following passage occurs: कहवाँ से चल॰ हे, तूँ गोरी, अङ्ग-पतरी जैसे कुँइयाँ में देखों डोर, अपने बलमुआ के पनियाँ पिलाओं, गे, बिनु लोटवें, बिनु डोर 'Whence do you come, O fair one? I see you slender in form, like the string in a well.' '(I am so slender) that I can give my beloved to drink, even when he has no drinking vessel, and no string.' This piece of ridiculous hyperbole is repeated in the present song.

[2] पियवऊँ is poet. for the more usual contracted form पियोऊँ.

XXV.

बैठलि साजेले बटलोहिया गोरिया
तूरेले गेड़ुअवा पर तान
जेतिनाँ के सैंयाँ हमार करेले नोकरिया
हम ओतिनाँ के कचरीला पान

The fair one sits as she cleans the saucepan,[1] and sings a song (to the music she makes) on the cup.[2]

(She sings) 'All that my husband makes by his service, so much eat I in betel alone.'

[1] The बटलोही is a vessel (generally made of alloy) used for cooking pulse or meat. It is smaller than the बटुआ. See Bihār Peasant Life (London, Trübner), § 664.

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[2] *i.e.* as she cleans the cup, she sings to it. तान तूरब, *lit.* 'to break a measure' means 'to sing.'

[3] जेतिनाँ is a bye-form of the more common जतिनाँ, see Bh. Gr. § 32. √कचर means to 'stuff' or 'gorge oneself.' नोकरिया is long form of नोकरी. The song alludes to the custom of the males of the family going out on service and sending their earnings home, where they are not always put to their legitimate uses. Or it may mean that the husband sends so little money home that she has only enough to buy betel with.

XXVI.

पिया पिया कहत पोअरि भेलि देहिया
लोगवा कहेला पिँड़-रोग
गीँआ के लोगवा मरमिओ ना जानेले
भेले गँवनवाँ ना मोर

As I constantly call[1] 'Beloved, beloved,' my poor little body[2] has turned pale. The neighbours say I have got consumption.[3] But the village neighbours know not the secret[4] cause,—it is that my husband has not come to take me to his home.[5]

[1] कहत is pres. part.

[2] देह 'a body,' is masculine. Here, however, it is used as a feminine, and given a feminine long form, to give it a diminutive sense, 'my poor little body.'

[3] I do not know what doctors would call the disease here called पिँड़-रोग. Natives describe it to me as a wasting disease, in which the body turns pale. लोगवा is long form of लोग.

[4] मरम = a secret (Skr. मर्म). The termination इओ adds emphasis, 'they have not an idea of the secret.' It is really an emphasized fem. long form, like देहिया, मरमिया + ओ.

[5] गँवनवाँ is long form of गँवन or गमन. This is the ceremony performed when a bride becomes *apta viro*, and her husband (to whom she has been married years previously) comes to her parents' house to take her to his home. Here the girl complains that though she is ready for the ceremony, her husband does not come for her.

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XXVII.

गैया के छूटलि गएरिया गएरिया
गङ्गा जि के छुटले नहान
पकड़ी तर के छुटले उठका बैठका
तीनो ना छोडवले भगवान

Song of a homeless cowherd.

The watching, the watching of my cows is no more; no more is the bathing in the holy Ganges. No more is the evening talk [1] at the foot of the citron fig,—these three hath God taken from me.

[1] 'The getting up and sitting down.' The phrase commonly means the meeting of friends every evening for a smoke and talk.

XXVIII.

धुरिया लगावे धुरियाहावा कहाले
गिरही मारेले फरिवाह
उलटा दोकछवा मारे अहिरा बलकवा
जिनकर बटुरि नँवेले करिहाव

They who are called [1] wrestlers apply dust to their bodies (before wrestling), and the gymnast wields his loaded stick [2] (before performing). But the young cowherd [3] just tucks up his waistcloth, by which his ribs are tightly bound up.[4]

[1] कहाले is 3rd pres. potential passive, as against कहावेले, which is causal. See Bh. Gr. § 89.

[2] फरी is a long stick, loaded at each end, which is flourished by gymnasts.

[3] बलकवा is long form of बालक. अहिरा is strong form of अहीर. दोकछवा is long form of दोकाछ 'a tight double waist-cloth.' Cf. Bihār Peasant Life, § 726.

[4] *Lit.* 'By (*or* of) which the body above the waist (करिहाव) having contracted (बटुरि) bends (नँवेले).'

XXIX.

बड़ निक लागेले गैया के गप्रिया
जैँ त॰ भुँइयाँ परती होए
बड़ निक लागेले मेहरी के गोद्वा
जब ले लरिकवा नाँ होए

It is very pleasant [1] to tend [2] the kine, if there is plenty of pasture.[3] A wife's lap is very pleasant, as long as no children come.

[1] **निक** or **नीक** is the regular Bihārī word for 'good,' 'pleasant' = the Hindī **अच्छा**. Cf. Rāmāyan Bā. do. 35, **राम निकाई रावरी है सबही को नीक। जो यह साँची है तौ नीको तुलसी क** 'O Rām, your goodness is good to all, and if that is true, then good to Tul'sī also.' **लागेले**, with long antepenultimate, is the present indicative, as against **लगले** with shortened antepenult., which is the pret. ind. See Bihārī Grammar, Introd. § 36, 3, and Bh. Gr. § 61a, and § 61b.

[2] **गप्रिया** or **गेरिया** is the act of tending cattle, as it were for **गोआरी**, Skr. **गोपालिका**.

[3] *Lit.* 'If the land is fallow,' *i.e.* 'produces no crop.' Cattle in India are always pastured on fallow or *par'tī* lands. The simile here is to a barren wife.

XXX.

ककुई बियेलि हां ककुआ, प्र रामा
गङ्गा जि बियेलि हां रेत
छोटि छोटि बेटिया तैं बेटवा बियेलि हां
बजर परी ना प्रहि पेट

O Rāmā, the she-tortoise has borne [1] a he-tortoise, and the Ganges has borne a sand-bank. Little, little girls [2] have brought forth boys. May a thunderbolt fall on all these wombs.

[1] All these are perfects with **हां**, see No. 1.

[2] Not necessarily young girls, but rather, 'All the pretty young women in the neighbourhood.' The song alludes to those epidemics of births which occasionally occur everywhere.

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XXXI.

तलवा झरेले कँवल कुम्हलेले,
हन्स रोए विरह वियोग,
रोअत बाड़ी सरवन के माता
के कावर टोइहे मोर

The pond is dried up, the lotus is withered,[1] and the swan bewails his separation from his beloved. Sar'wan's[2] mother weeps, saying who will carry[3] my *kāwar* now.

[1] झरेले and कुम्हलेले are potential passives.

[2] The hero of a great many poems, principally in the Magahī and Bhoj'pūrī dialects.

[3] √टो 'carry.' The कावर or कामरू is the Hindū name for the stick carried across the shoulder, from each end of which baskets or other burdens are suspended. The Ūrdū name for it is *bahangī*.

XXXII.

हथवा मेँ डारले वरेउआ रम-रेखवा
गरवा मेँ डारले उदराछ
ललकी पगरिया बान्ह के यरवा
जानी के उढ़रले वा जात

Rām-Rēkhā has put bangles[1] on his arm, and on his neck an Ud'rāchh. The lover has tied on a red turban, and is carrying off his sweetheart.[2]

[1] वरेउआ or वरेखी is a kind of bracelet peculiar to the Goālā caste. Ud'rāchh is the रुद्राच or necklace worn by Çaīva mendicants (see Bihār Peasant Life, §§ 767, 781).

[2] The last line is literally 'he has carried off (उढ़रले वा) his sweetheart (जानी के) and is going.' यरवा is long form of यार (يار). जानी = جاني.

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XXXIII.

कैसे चिन्हले हां आपन गुरू, ए गायन
कैसे चिन्हले हां गुरु-भाइ
कैसे चिन्हले हां आपन पिता, ए गायन
कैसे चिन्हले हां बुढ़ि-माइ

O singer, how did you recognize your spiritual preceptor, and how your brother disciple?

O singer, how did you recognize your father, and how your old[1] mother?

[1] बुढ़ि-माइ is a compound of बूढ़ि, fem. of बूढ़ old, and माइ. Hence the बू of बूढ़ि is shortened, as it comes before the penultimate.

XXXIV.

कनवा फूँकत हम गुरु कैं चिन्हलीं
सँगवा साथ गुरु-भाइ
अँघिया बैठल पिता कैं चिन्हलीं
दुधवा पीयत बुढ़ि-माइ

Answer to the last.

I recognized my spiritual preceptor, at the time of whispering in the ear,[1] and the brother disciple through association.[2] When I sat upon his thigh, I recognized my father, and, when I drank her milk, my old mother.

[1] कनवा is long form of कान. The allusion is to the communication of the स्वमन्त्र by the *Guru* to his disciple. Every follower of the Çaiva religion must have a *Guru* or spiritual preceptor, to whom he is *chēlā*, or disciple. The *Guru* communicates to each disciple a peculiar charm, consisting principally of meaningless words, such as *hūṁ*, *hrīṁ*, etc. This is communicated in a whisper, and is never divulged. The charm is called the *chēlā's swa-mantra*, and the ceremony of communication creates the relationship of *Guru* and *Chēlā*. See my forthcoming edition of the Yōgīnī Tantra in the *Bibliotheca Indica* for further particulars.

[2] सँगवा is long form of सङ्ग, अँघिया of जाँघ, दुधवा of दूध.

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XXXV.

का भेले तोर गुरू, ए गायन
का भेले गुरू-भाइ
का भेले तोर पिता, ए गायन
का भेली बुढ़ि-माइ

O singer, what[1] has become of your preceptor, and what of your brother disciple?

O singer, what has become of your father, and what of your old mother?

[1] का is the regular Bhoj'pūrī form for the neuter interrogative pronoun 'what.' It is used, also, in Western Magahī, and corresponds to the Hindī क्या. In Eastern Magahī, and in Maithilī, we first come upon the true Eastern form, की; cf. Baŋgālī कि.

XXXVI.

मरि गेले हमार गुरू, ए गायन
मरि गेले गुरू-भाइ
मरि गेले हमार पिता, ए गायन
मरि गेली बुढ़ि-माइ

Answer to the last.

O singer, my preceptor is dead, and so is my brother disciple.

O singer, my father is dead, and so is my old mother.

XXXVII.

कवना लकरिया तूँ गुरू कें जारले॰
कवना लकरिया गुरू-भाइ
कवना लकरिया तूँ पिता कें जारले॰
कवना लकरिया बुढ़ि-माइ

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[1] Of what did you make the funeral pile of your preceptor, and of what that of your brother disciple?

Of what did you make the funeral pile of your father, and of what that of your old mother?

[1] *Lit.* With what wood did you burn your preceptor, etc.? कवना is the obl. adj. form of the interrog. pron. के.

XXXVIII.

चनन लकरिया हम गुरू कैँ जारलीँ

बबुर लकरिया गुरू-भाइ

अमवैँ लकरिया हम पिता कैँ जारलीँ

कुसुमैँ लकरिया बुढ़ि-माइ

Answer to the last.

Of sandal did I make the pile of my preceptor, and of mimosa that of my brother disciple.

Of mango-wood[1] did I make the pile of my father, and of saffron that of my old mother.

[1] अमवैँ is instr. of अमवा, long form of आम. कुसुमैँ is instrumental of कुसुम.

XXXIX.

कई कोसवा मैँ गङ्गा चाकर बहले

कई कोसवा मैँ हंवे लाम

कई कोसवा मैँ हंवे लङ्का, ए रामा

कौन बिरवा ना फानि जाए

How many *kōs* is the Ganges wide, and how many *kōs* is it long? How many *kōs* (high) was Laṅkā, O Rāmā, and what hero crossed (its walls) in a leap?

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XL.

दस कोसवा मैं गङ्गा चाकर बहल बाड़ी
ओरि अँतवा ले गङ्गा लाम
लाख कोस के गढ़ लङ्कवा, ए रामा
बीर हलिवन्त फानि आए

Answer to the last.

The Ganges flows ten *kōs* wide, and is as long as it is from beginning to end. O Rāmā, the fort of Laṇkā was a hundred thousand *kōs* high, and the hero Haliwant (*i.e.* Hanumān) crossed (its walls) in a leap.

XLI.

गङ्गा जि हंवीं मर-खोकी, ए रामा
काँचे पकले मर खाईं
गङ्गा जि के हंवीं ना निरमल जलवा
राति दिनवा बहि आईं

O Rāmā, the Ganges is an eater of dead bodies; she eats carcases both raw and roast.[1] Yet the water of the Ganges is [2] pure, for it flows on night and day.[3]

[1] काँचे and पकले are both emphatic of काँच and पाकल respectively. The allusion, of course, is to persons drowned in its waters, and those burnt on its banks.

[2] ना in this line is a mere expletive.

[3] This is a common argument in favour of a wandering existence; especially that of a mendicant devotee.

XLII.

गाहिं बिरहा कर खेती भैया
गाहिं बिरहा फरे डाड़
बिरहा बसेले हिरिदया मैं, ए रामा
अब उमगेले तब गाव
॥ इति बिरहा के सङ्ग्रह समाप्त ॥

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In praise of the Bir'hā, or song so called, of which the foregoing are specimens.

There is no cultivation of the *Bir'hā*, nor is it borne like fruit upon the branches of the trees.

O Rāmā, the *Bir'hā* dwells in the heart, and when the heart overflows, then does a man sing it.

This concludes the collection of Bir'hâs.

XLIII.

The following song purports to be by the celebrated Maithil poet, Bidyāpati Ṭhākur. I would draw attention to it, as contradicting a theory put forward with some confidence in the *Calcutta Review* by Bābū Shyāma Charaṇa Gāṅgulī, to the effect that the songs of this poet are not known in the Bhoj'pūrī area. This song was written for me by a lady whose home is in Shāhābād, in the heart of Bhoj'pūr. I am indebted to the kindness of her husband (a gentleman of position in Government service) for the copy. It describes how a cowherdess of Brindāban (Vṛindāvana) addresses Ūdhō (Uddhava), who has come to her with a message from Krish'n (Kṛiṣṇa), who had left her and gone to Mathurā at the invitation of Kans (Kaṁça). The metre is very irregular, probably owing to the fact that the song was originally written in Maithilī, and transformed in the course of centuries into Bhoj'pūrī, without regard to the quantities of the resultant syllables. The metre seems to have originally been 6+4+2 instants, four times repeated; but in order to get this metre now a great many long syllables must be read as short ones. In one case, in order to scan, a whole word (रामा in verse 9) must be left out, and this can be done without spoiling the sense, as the word is a mere expletive. Some words bear their Maithilī origin on their face, *e.g.* भनहिँ in verse 20, and धरऊ in verse 21. So also सुनू in verse 20, which is Bhoj'pūrī 2 imper. fem., must, as the metre shows, originally have been सुनु, which is the regular Maithilī imperat. for both genders.

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बसहर घरवा प ऊधो
रामा मिलि-मिलि बाती ॥ १ ॥
पिया ले मैं सुतलों प ऊधो
रामा अँचरा डसाई ॥ २ ॥
जौं हम जनितों प ऊधो
रामा पिया जैहें चोरी ॥ ३ ॥
रेशम के डोरिया प ऊधो
रामा घोँचि बाँध बाँधितों ॥ ४ ॥
रेशम के डोरिया प उधो
रामा टूटि फाटि जैहें ॥ ५ ॥
बचन के बाग्हल पियवा
रामा से हो कहाँ पैबों ॥ ६ ॥
जोनि डहरिया प ऊधो
रामा पिया गैल चोरी ॥ ७ ॥
तोनि डहरिया प ऊधो
रामा बगिया लगाओं ॥ ८ ॥
बगिया का ओते रे ओते
रामा केरा नरदर लाई ॥ ९ ॥
अँगना ससुर प ऊधो
रामा दुअरा भसुरा ॥ १० ॥
कैसे के बहर रे होखूँ
रामा बाजेला नेपुर ॥ ११ ।
गोर के नेपुरवा प ऊधो
रामा फाँड़ बाँधि लेहु ॥ १२ ॥
अलपा जोवनवो प ऊधो
रामा हिर्दये लगाई ॥ १३ ॥

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पत्र मधे पान प्र ऊधो
रामा फर मधे नरियर ॥ १४ ॥
चिया मधे राधा प्र ऊधो
रामा पुरुख मधे कान्हा ॥ १५ ॥
कत ले पहिरौं प्र ऊधो
रामा कत समुझौं गूना ॥ १६ ॥
सोन के सिँधोरवा प्र ऊधो
रामा लागि गेले घूना ॥ १७ ॥
मोरि लेखे, आहो, प्र ऊधो
रामा दिन भेले राती ॥ १८ ॥
मोरि लेखे, आहो, प्र ऊधो
रामा जमुना भेयावन ॥ १९ ॥
भनहिँ विदापति प्र ऊधो
रामा सुनू ब्रिज-नारी ॥ २० ॥
धिरजा धरऊ प्र राधा
रामा मिलिहैं मुरारी ॥ २१ ॥

Translation.

1. 'The house, O Ūdhō, was of bamboos, and the lamp was flickering.[1] I spread[2] the border of my garment for a bed and slept[3] with my husband.

3. 'If I had known, O Ūdhō, that my husband would desert me secretly, I would have tightly bound him to me with a silken cord.

5. 'A silken cord will break and snap, O Ūdhō, but where shall I find a beloved bound to me with (kind) words?

7. 'Along the path by which[4] my husband deserted me secretly, would I plant an orchard.

9. 'On each side of the orchard would I plant plantain and cocoa-nut trees.[5]

10. 'In the courtyard[6] is my father-in-law, O Ūdhō, and

at the gate[7] my husband's elder brother. How can I go[8] outside? for my anklets ring forth a (tell-tale) sound.'

12. 'Tie up the anklet of your leg in your cloth,[9] and conceal your young bosom (in the garment) over your heart.'

14. 'Of all leaves, O Ūdhō, *pān* is the best, and of all fruits, the cocoa-nut.[10] Of all women, Rādhā is the best, and of all men, Kānh.

16. 'How much shall I wear, O Ūdhō, and how much shall I consider his virtues. The wood-worm has eaten up the golden vermilion box.[11]

18. 'To me, alas, O Ūdhō, day has become night. To me, alas, O Ūdhō, the river Jamunā has become terrible.'

20. Saith Bidyāpati, 'O Ūdhō, hear ye women of Braj. Be patient, O Rādhā, and Murāri will meet ye.'

[1] Cf. H. झिलमिलाना 'to undulate (as the flame of a candle).'

[2] √डसाव 'to make a bed.'

[3] ले, in Bhoj'pūrī, often means 'with' or even 'from,' cf. Nos. 10 and 21.

[4] जौनि is feminine of अवन, the long form of the relative pronoun जे. डहरिया is another form of डगर, डगहर, or डघर. बगिया, feminine long form of बाग 'a garden,' is generally specialized to mean 'an orchard.'

[5] नरइर = नारिकेल.

[6] अँगना is obl. of आँगन.

[7] दुअरा is obl. of दुआर.

[8] होखूँ is 1 sg. pres. fem. of √होख, the strong form of √हो 'be.'

[9] फाँड़, see note to No. 49, v. 2.

[10] नरियर = नरइर above.

[11] This is a very obscure line. It appears to mean that the speaker is considering the best way to induce Kṛiṣṇa's return. Will it be by adorning her person, and thereby enticing the man, or by meditating on his excellence, and thereby propitiating the deity? The first idea she abandons, for the wood-worm (of separation) has devoured the vermilion box (of her charms). It is hardly necessary to point out that a vermilion box is a portion of every married woman's toilet apparatus, and that she only puts it aside (and then for ever) when she becomes a widow. Here, either her beauty is compared to a vermilion box, or else she hints that she has become as good as a widow through Kṛiṣṇa's prolonged absence.

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XLIV.

The following song is interesting as showing the occupations of a married woman in her husband's house. It narrates how a brother visits his married sister, and returns with news of her to his mother.

The metre in this also is obscure. It is founded on 6+4+4+2+4 instants in each half line, but in order to get this, many long syllables must be read as short ones. Sometimes, *e.g.* in verses 7, 8, 9 and 10, there is even then an instant too many in the half line. Also, in the second halves of verses 3 and 7, the word **भैया** is superfluous according to the metre.

बैठऊ ए भैया चनन पिढ़ैया रे ना।
भैया तिरिया धनुहिया गजोवर रे ना ॥ १ ॥
बैठऊ ए भैया मालिन का अवसवा रे ना।
भैया मोर दुख जानेले मलिनिया रे ना ॥ २ ॥
बिगहा नापल भुँइयाँ लोपन रे ना।
भैया औंआ भरल बरतन माँजीले रे ना ॥ ३ ॥
मन भरि भैया कूटन पीसन रे ना।
भैया मन भरि सोझेले रसोइया रे ना ॥ ४ ॥
पहिलि ठिकरिया हमरि भोजनिया रे ना।
भैया ओऊ मेँ कुकुर बिलरिया रे ना ॥ ५ ॥
भैया ओऊ मेँ चेरिया लँउड़िया रे ना।
भैया ओऊ मेँ लऊरि ननदिया रे ना ॥ ६ ॥
इहे इहे दुख भैया अमवा से जनि कहिह° रे ना।
भैया मचिया बैठल अमवा रोइहे रे ना ॥ ७ ॥
इहे इहे दुख भैया बाबा से जनि कहिह° रे ना।
भैया सभवा बैठल बाबा रोइहे रे ना ॥ ८ ॥
इहे इहे दुख भैया भौजि से जनि कहिह° रे ना।
भैया ऐले गेले भौजि उघाटिहे रे ना ॥ ९ ॥

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रहे रहे दुख भैया चाचा से अनि कहिह[8] रे ना।
भैया जिन चाचा कैले अगुऐया रे ना ॥ १० ॥
बहिनि का रोअबेँ रे भौँजल चुनरिया रे ना।
भैया का रोअबेँ रे भौँजल पटुकवा रे ना ॥ ११ ॥
बैठऽ प पूता चनन पिढ़ैया रे ना।
पूता कहं० ना बहिनि कुसलैया रे ना ॥ १२ ॥
जैसहिँ प अमवा बेइलि फुलैली रे ना।
बैसहिँ प अमवा फूलेले बहिनिया रे ना ॥ १३ ॥
जैसहिँ प अमवा गङ्गा छछैली रे ना।
बैसहिँ प अमवा रोएलि बहिनिया रे ना ॥ १४ ॥
धनि तोर प पूता कठिन करेजवा रे ना।
पूता रोअति बहिनि छोड़ि ऐलं० रे ना ॥ १५ ॥

Translation.

1. 'Seat[1] yourself, my brother, on a sandal stool, and put your arrows and bow[2] in the house.

2. 'Seat yourself, my brother, in the verandah of the garland maker, for she knows my sorrows.

3. 'I have to plaster a piece of ground measuring a *big'hā* each (morning), and clean enough plates to fill a potter's kiln.[3]

4. 'There is the pounding and the grinding of a maund of grain (for me to do), and a whole maund of grain is cooked[4] (daily by me).

5. 'My[5] wretched little meal is the first(-cooked) small pieces of inferior bread, and out of that the dog and the cat (must have their share).

6. 'Out of that, also, the maid-servant and slave-girls and my husband's younger sister (must have their shares).

7. 'Brother, tell not these sorrows to my mother, or she will seat herself upon her stool and weep.

8. 'Tell them not to my father, or, seated in the circle of his friends, will he weep.

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9. 'Tell them not to your wife, or she will taunt me with it when I visit my home.[6]

10. 'Tell them not to my uncle, who got me married.'[7]

11. With the weeping of the sister her bordered veil became wet. With the weeping of the brother, his sheet was wet.

12. 'Seat yourself, O son, on a sandal stool, and tell[8] me news of your sister.'

13. 'Just as, O mother, the jasmine bloomed,[9] so blooms my sister.

14. 'Just as, O mother, the Ganges rose and overflowed (its banks), so weeps my sister.'

15. 'Thank you, my son, for your hard heart,[10] (you) who could leave your sister weeping behind you.'

[1] बैठऊ is an old form of बैठंह, 2nd imperat. of √बैठ 'sit.'

[2] तिरिया is long form of तीर 'an arrow.'

[3] आँआ 'a potter's kiln.' Cf. Hindī आवा.

[4] √सीझ 'to be cooked.' A maund is about 80 pounds.

[5] हमरि is a feminine genitive. भोजनिया is a feminine long form of the masculine भोजन.

[6] A wife's visit to her parents' house is called आइल गेल, of which the locative is ऐले गैले.

[7] The person who brings a marriage about, or match-maker, is called अगुआ, and his office अगुआइ, of which अगुऐया is long form.

[8] ना is a common expletive, used specially with the imperative, and in asking questions.

[9] √फुला or √फूल 'to bloom.'

[10] *Lit.* liver.

XLV.

The death of Bas'tī Siŋgh—*a Mill-Song*

The following is another *jat'sār* or mill-song, of which some examples were given in my former paper, one of which —the song of Bhag'batī and the Mir'zā Sāheb—has had the honour of being presented in a poetical dress to English readers by Mr. Edwin Arnold. The song of the death of Bas'tī is a great favourite, and is widely known in Bihār.

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I have heard it sung in many places, and under many versions, but the present version is, I believe, both the original and the most spirited one. Unlike the song of Bhag'batī, it only hints at the main facts of a story, the particulars of which are supposed be to well known to its hearers. The legend tells how Bas'tī Siŋgh's wife refused to listen to the criminal advances of her husband's elder brother; how the latter took out her husband under pretence of hunting and murdered him in the forest; how, in order to find his dead body and give it due funeral rites, she pretended to agree to the murderer's proposals; and how, finally, when the latter showed her the body, the fire of her chastity and love was so great that it set fire to her husband's funeral pile, and burnt her as a *satī* together with the corpse upon it.

As in the former songs, the metre is irregular. It is founded on 6+4+4+2, 4+4+4+6, but in many of the lines there are superfluous words (*e.g.*, one छेवड़ि is superfluous in the very first), and many long vowels will have to be read as short ones.

॥ जतसार ॥

पनवा छेवड़ि छेवड़ि भजिया वनौलौं ।
लौंगन दिहलौं धुँअरवा ह्न रे जी ॥ १ ॥
सठिया कूटि कूटि भतवा रिँधौलौं ।
उपरा मुँगौआ केरि दलिया ह्न रे जी ॥ २ ॥
मचिया वैठलि तुँऊँ सासु वढ़ैतिन
भसुरू जेँवना कैसे टारव ह्न रे जी ॥ ३ ॥
आठो अङ्ग मोरि, हे वऊआ, नेतेवँ ओहारिहं० ।
लुलुहा सरिखवे जेँवना टारिहं० ह्न रे जी ॥ ४ ॥
जेँवहिँ वैठल भसुरू वढ़ैता ।
हेठ से उपरवा निहारेले ह्न रे जी ॥ ५ ॥
किअ तोर भसुरू जेँवना विगारली ।
किअ नुनवा लौली विसभोरे ह्न रे जी ॥ ६ ॥

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नाहिँ मोर भवही जेँवना बिगारलू।
नाहिँ नुनवा लोलू बिसभोरे ह्न रे जी ॥ ७ ॥
होत भिनुसरा भसुरू डगवा देखौले।
छोट बड़ चलसु अहेर खेले ह्न रे जी ॥ ८ ॥
सभ केह्न मारेला हरिना सांवजवा।
भसुरू मारेले आपन भैया ह्न रे जी ॥ ९ ॥
मचिया बैठलि तुँइँ सासु बड़ैतिन।
हमरि टिकुलिया भुँइयाँ गिरेला ह्न रे जी ॥ १० ॥
ऐसनि बोली जन बोलू बड़रिया।
मोर बसती गैल बाड़े अहेरिया खेले ह्न रे जी ॥ ११ ॥
सभ कर घोरवा औरत दौरत।
बसती के घोरवा बिसमाधल ह्न रे जी ॥ १२ ॥
सभ कर तरवरिया अलकत झलकत।
बसती तरवरिया रकेतँ बूड़ल ह्न रे जी ॥ १३ ॥
घरी राति गैलि पहर राति गैल।
भसुरू केवड़िया भड़कावे ह्न रे जी ॥ १४ ॥
दुर तुँइँ कुकुरा दुर रे बिलरिया।
दुर रे सहर सभ लोगवा ह्न रे जी ॥ १५ ॥
नाहिँ हम कुकुरा नाहिँ रे बिलरिया।
नाहिँ रे सहर सभ लोगवा ह्न रे जी ॥ १६ ॥
हम ऊँ तँ बसती सिङ्घ रजवा ह्न रे जी।
मोर बसती जुझले लड़िया ह्न रे जी ॥ १७ ॥
कहवाँ मारले कहवाँ लड़ौले।
कौना बिरिछिया ओठँघौले ह्न रे जी ॥ १८ ॥
बनही मरले बनहीँ लड़ौले।
चनन बिरिछिया ओठँघौलोँ ह्न रे जी ॥ १९ ॥

तोहरा छोड़ि भसुरू अनकर ना होइबों ।
इचि एक लोथिया देखावं॰ हू रे जी ॥ २० ॥
अगिया ले आवं॰ हू रे जी ॥ २१ ॥
जब लक भसुरू आगि आने गैले ।
फुफुनी से निकले अँगरवा हू रे जी ॥ २२ ॥
सङ्गहिँ भैली जरि छरवा हू रे जी ॥ २३ ॥

Translation.

Cutting, cutting the leaves of betel, I made a savoury mess,[1] and added cloves,[2] and fragrant scents to it.

Husking, husking *sāṭhi*,[3] I cooked boiled rice, and over it (poured I) brose of *mũg*.[4]

'O venerable[5] mother-in-law, seated on your stool, how am I to serve dinner to my husband's elder brother?'[6]

'Daughter-in-law, modestly[7] cover your form with your cloth, and serve your dinner with one hand.'[8]

5. The venerable elder brother of my husband sat down to eat, and looked hard at me from head to foot.[9]

'O elder brother of my husband, have I spoiled your dinner? Or have I inconsiderately[10] put in (too much) salt?'[11]

'No, my younger brother's wife, you have not spoiled my dinner, nor have you inconsiderately put in too much salt.'

As dawn broke my husband's elder brother had the drum beaten, (crying,) 'Let every one small and great come out to hunt.'

(So they go out to hunt, and) all the others kill deer and game, but, alas! alas! he kills his own brother.[12]

10. 'O venerable mother-in-law, seated on your stool, my forehead spangle is falling to the ground.'[13]

'Daughter-in-law, say not such words. My Bas'tī has gone out to hunt.'

Every one else's horse (returns) prancing[14] and running, but Bas'tī's horse (returns) mourning.

Every one else's sword (comes back) gleaming and flashing, but Bas'tī's sword (comes back) drowned in blood.

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When an hour of the night, yea, when a watch of the night has passed, my husband's elder brother knocks at my door.

15. 'Away with you, if you are a dog; away with you, if you are a cat; away with you, if you are the people of the town.' [15]

'I am not a dog, nor am I cat, nor am I of the people of the city. I am Bas'tī Siŋgh the Răj'pūt.'

'('Tis false.) My Bas'tī has been killed [16] in battle. Where did you kill him? Where did you fight with him? Against what tree have you left his body lying?'

'In the forest died he. In the forest fought he with me. Against a sandal tree did I leave his body lying.'

20. 'Of no other save thee, O elder brother of my husband, will I become (the leman); only show me his dead body.'

(So he took her to the forest where her dead husband lay).[17] 'Bring fire (so that I light his funeral life).'

But while her husband's elder brother went to fetch the fire, lo, from the bosom of her dress [18] issued flames, and together with (her lord) was she burnt to ashes.

[1] **भजिया** (lg. f. of **भाजी**) is a kind of vegetable curry.

[2] **लौँगन** is pl. of **लौँग**. **धुँअरवा** is long form of **धुँआर**.

[3] *Sāṭhī* is a peculiar kind of rice, which grows in sixty days. Hence its name. See Bihār Peasant Life, § 966.

[4] *Mūg* is *phaseolus mungo*, a kind of vetch. Out of it, and other similar pulses, is a kind of brose made. **दलिया** is long form of **दाल**. **मुँगोआ** is contracted from **मुँगववा**, which is redundant form of **मूँग**.

[5] **बढ़ैतिन** is fem. of **बढ़ैता**. See l. 5.

[6] It is a universal custom in Northern India, that while a wife may joke with her husband's younger brothers, she must always veil herself before, and may not speak even a word to, his elder brothers. The heroine of the song is proving her chastity and showing that she is not inviting the latter's criminal attentions. Hence she asks her natural protector, her husband's mother, to save her from the necessity of even appearing before him. The mother-in-law, however, does not understand, and insists on the girl serving the meal.

[7] *Lit.* 'Having twisted your eight limbs, cover them,' etc. The eight limbs (**अष्टाङ्गानि**) are well known to students of Sanskrit and need not be detailed here.

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[8] *i.e.* do not let your hand appear through the veil, as you serve the dishes. सरिखवे is long form of सरीखा 'like.' Secondarily it means, 'with' or 'by.' लुलुहा is the hand from the tips of the fingers to the wrist.

[9] *Lit.* from below upwards.

[10] बिसभोरे 'in forgetfulness.'

[11] नुनवा is long form of नून 'salt.'

[12] *i.e.* her husband. This verse is a good example of the very loose way in which the number of the Bhoj'pūrī verb is used. Here the plural subject has a singular verb after it, because it is non-honorific, while the singular subject has a plural verb because it is honorific. In this verse I have translated हू रे जी by 'alas, alas.'

[13] It is an evil omen when a woman's *ṭikulī*, or forehead spangle, falls off. If she is married, it is supposed to prognosticate the death of her husband. Note the peculiar use of हमरी, genitive of हम, with a feminine termination. The word has in fact reverted to its original sense as a pure possessive adjectival pronoun = Ap. Pr. अम्हार (मदीय: see Hem. iv. 434). Cf. introductory remarks, p. 213.

[14] औरत is only a rhyming repetition of दौरत. So also अलकत is the same of झलकत.

[15] This is one of the stock lines which appears continually in poems like these.

[16] √जूझ means 'to be killed in a fight.' The idea is that the brother-in-law, after having killed her husband, tries to gain admittance to her chamber, under pretence that he is the murdered man. The हीँ in बनहीँ is the Ap Pr. locative.

[17] Half a line is missing in the original here.

[18] फुफुनी is the end of a woman's sheet, where it is gathered up and tied in front. छरवा is long form of छार 'ashes.'

The following four songs are sung in the month of Chāīt (March–April), and are called *chāītār* or *ghāṭō*. They are all sung to the same melody. Bulākī Dās was a great writer of these songs.

XLVI.

The first of these alludes to the custom that it is not considered seemly for a husband to be seen entering or leaving his wife's apartment. He may only enter it or leave it by

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night, and stealthily. In the present case, the husband has overslept himself. The sun has already risen, and the wife fears that he will be disgraced. The metre is founded on 6+4+4+2 instants, with the word *rām* at the commencement of every second line, and the words *hō rāmā* at the end of every line.

॥ घाँटो ॥

राम साँझहिँ के सूतल, फूटलि किरिनिया ॥ हो रामा ॥
तबो नाहिँ जागेले हमरो बलमुआ ॥ हो रामा ॥ १ ॥
राम चुर-घीँची मारलीँ पइरिया-घीँची मारलीँ ॥ हो रामा ॥
तबो नाहिँ जागेले सैँयाँ अभागा ॥ हो रामा ॥ २ ॥
राम गोड़ तोरा लागीला ललुरि ननदिया ॥ हो रामा ॥
रचि एक आपन भैया देह ना जगाइ ॥ हो रामा ॥ ३ ॥
राम कैसे के भौजी भैया के जगैबी ॥ हो रामा ॥
हमरो भैया निँदिया के मातल ॥ हो रामा ॥ ४ ॥
राम तोरा लेखे ननदी तोर भैया निनिया के मातल ॥ हो रामा ॥
मोरा लेखे चान सुरुज दूनो छपित भैले ॥ हो रामा ॥ ५ ॥
राम चढ़ले चैत घाँटो गावे ॥ हो रामा ॥
गाइ गाइ बिरहिन सखि समुझावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ६ ॥

Translation.

Refrain.—Rām. Hō Rāmā.

1. Ah Rām, he went to sleep at even, and now the day has dawned,[1] but still my husband does not wake.

2. I thrust him with my bracelets, I thrust him with my anklets, but still my luckless lord does not wake.

3. 'I fall before your feet, O young sister-in-law. Kindly[2] awake your brother.'

4. 'Wife of my brother, how shall I awake him? My brother is drunk with sleep.'

5. Sister-in-law, in your opinion, your brother may be

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drunk with sleep,[3] to me it seems as if both sun and moon were hidden from me.

6. Chāit has commenced, and people sing the *Ghāṭō*, and, as they sing, they console desolate maidens.

[1] *Lit.* 'the rays have burst forth.'

[2] *Lit.* 'having contrived a (means).'

[3] निँदिया and निनिया are different forms of the same word. See No. 4, note 2.

XLVII.

The next *Ghāṭō* is very similar to a rhyme familiar to every Anglo-Indian, '*Hili mili paniyā*' (vulgo '*Hilly milly punniow.*') It is current in many versions. One has been given in my Bhoj'pūrī Grammar, p. 146. Metre as in the last.

घाँटो

रामा ननदी भोजिया दुनु पनिहारिन ॥ हो रामा ॥
मिलि जूलि सागर पानि भरे चलली ॥ हो रामा ॥ १ ॥
रामा भरि घूठि पनिया घरिलवो ना डूबे ॥ हो रामा ॥
कौने रसिकेँ घरिल जुठिऔले ॥ हो रामा ॥ २ ॥
रामा घरिला भरि भरि अररा चढ़ौली ॥ हो रामा ॥
केहु नाहिँ घरिला मोर अलगावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ३ ॥
रामा घोरवा चढ़ल आवे हन्सराज ॥ हो रामा ॥
रचि प्रक घरिला मोर अलगावं° ॥ हो रामा ॥ ४ ॥
रामा प्रक हाथ हन्सराज घरिला अलगौले ॥ हो रामा ॥
दूजा रे हाथेँ आँचर धै बेलमावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ५ ॥
रामा छोड़ं° छोड़ं° हन्सराज मोर अँचरवा ॥ हो रामा ॥
मोरा घरे सासु ननदि बाड़ी दारुन ॥ हो रामा ॥ ६ ॥
रामा जौँ तोर सुन्दरी, सासु ननदि घरवा दारुन ॥ हो रामा ॥
काहे लागि सागर पनिया के ऐलू ॥ हो रामा ॥ ७ ॥

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रामा देवरा भुखाइल आरे भैया पाऊन ॥ हो रामा ॥
ओहि लागि सागर पनिया के ऐली ॥ हो रामा ॥ ८ ॥
रामा चढ़ले चेतवा चैत-धाँटो गावे ॥ हो रामा ॥
गाइ गाइ विरहिन सखि समुझावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ९ ॥

Translation.

Refrain.—Rāmā. Hō Rāmā.

1. The husband's sister, and her sister-in-law (*i.e.* his wife), each with a water-jar on her head,[1] went together to fetch water from the tank.

2. The water is only up to our ankles, even the jar will not sink (enough for me to fill it), who is the swain that has polluted my vessel by drinking out of it?[2]

3. As I filled my jar, I lay it on the bank,[3] and no one sets it on my head.

4. But Hans'rāj comes mounted on his horse, (and I say to him) 'Kindly[4] place my jar upon my head.'

5. With one hand[5] Hans'rāj placed the jar upon my head, and with the other he (catches me by) the border of my garment, and detains me.

6. 'Let go, let go, O Hans'rāj, the border of my garment; at home[6] my mother-in-law and sister-in-law are my enemies.'[7]

7. 'If, fair one, your mother-in-law and sister-in-law are your enemies at home, why did you come to the tank for water?'

8. 'My husband's younger brother was hungry,[8] and my brother (has come) as a guest. Therefore did I come to the tank for water.'

9. Chāit has commenced, and (people) sing the *ghāṭō* peculiar to that month, and, as they sing, console desolate maidens.

[1] *Lit.* 'both water carriers.' दुनु is shortened from दूनू for the sake of metre.

[2] √जुठिआव 'to pollute a vessel by touching it' = √जुठार, see Bir'hā, No. 15. रसिकवेँ is a bye-form of रसिकवा, long form of रसिक, see Bh. Gr. § 4.

[3] अररा is oblique form of अरार or अरारि 'a bank.'

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[4] See note to v. 3 of the last song.

[5] दूजा is obl. of दूज 'second,' and हाथेँ is instr. of हाथ 'a hand.'

[6] घरे is loc. of घर 'a house.'

[7] A common dialectic use of the word दारुन.

[8] भुखाइल is potential passive.

XLVIII.

The next *ghāṭō* is very popular, and is sung almost everywhere in Bihār, in various versions. A somewhat different version is given on p. 121 of my Bhoj'pūrī Grammar. It refers to the amours of young Kṛiṣṇa with the milkmaids of Vṛindāvana. Metre as in the last.

घाँटो

रामा छोटि मुटि ग्वालिनि सिर ले मटुकिया ॥ हो रामा ॥
चलि भेलि मथुरा नगर दहि बेँचन ॥ हो रामा ॥ १ ॥
रामा जहाँ जहाँ ग्वालिनि धरेले मटुकिया ॥ हो रामा ॥
तहाँ तहाँ कुँअर तमुआ तनावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ २ ॥
रामा आगू होखं॰ आगू होखं॰ राजा के कुँअरवा ॥ हो रामा ॥
परि जैहे दहि के छिटकवा ॥ हो रामा ॥ ३ ॥
रामा तोरा लेखे ग्वालिनि दहि के छिटकवा ॥ हो रामा ॥
मोरा लेखे अगर चनन देव बरिसे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ४ ॥
रामा चढ़ले चैतवा, चैत-घाँटो गावे ॥ हो रामा ॥
गाइ गाइ बिरहिन सखि समुझावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ५ ॥

Translation.

Refrain.—Rāmā. Hō Rāmā.

A darling little[1] milkmaid, with a milkpail on her head, started for Mathurā town to sell curds.

2. Wherever the milkmaid lays down her pot, there the prince pitches his tent.

3. 'Go on before,[2] go on before, my prince (and do not stop me), or drops of curd will fall upon you.'

4. 'My milkmaid, you may consider[3] them as drops of curds, but they seem to me as if the gods were raining down fragrant aloe and sandal.'

5. Chāit has commenced, and (people) sing the *ghāṭō* peculiar to that month, and, as they sing, they console desolate maidens.

[1] मुटि is simply a rhyming repetition of छोटि, in an endearing sense.
[2] होखं० is 2nd imperat. of √होख, a strengthened form of √हो. See Bh. Gr. § 58b.
[3] लेखे is loc. of लेख 'opinion.'

XLIX.

The next *ghāṭō* bears the name of Bulākī Dās as the author. Metre as in the last.

घाँटो

रामा नदिया किनरवा मुँगिया बोअवली ॥ हो रामा ॥
से ह मुँगिया फरेले घवधवा ॥ हो रामा ॥ १ ॥
रामा एक फाँड़ तुरली दोसर फाँड़ तुरली ॥ हो रामा ॥
आइ गैले खेत रखवरवा ॥ हो रामा ॥ २ ॥
रामा एक छड़ी मारले दोसर छड़ी मारले ॥ हो रामा ॥
लूटि लेले हन्स परेउआ दूनो जोवन ॥ हो रामा ॥ ३ ॥
रामा दास बुलाकी चैत-घाँटो गावे ॥ हो रामा ॥
गाइ गाइ विरहिन सखि समुझावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ४ ॥

Translation.

Refrain.—Rāmā. Hō Rāmā.

1. I caused *mũg*[1] pulse to be sown on the bank of the river, and that very *mũg* bare bunches (of pulse).

2. I filled[2] one bundle[3] (with the pulse), and filled another, when the keeper of the field arrived.

3. One blow he struck me with his stick, and another did he strike me, and ravished the swan and the dove, my bosom.

4. Bulākī Dās sings the *ghāṭō* peculiar to Chāit, and as he sings it, consoles desolate maidens.

[1] See note to No. 45, v. 2.

[2] √तूर is here used to mean 'to complete, finish,' (Anglo-American) 'to get through with.' Cf. No. 25, Note 2.

[3] फाँड़ is a bundle made up of anything contained in one's loin-cloth, carried the way things are carried in an apron. It is specially used for the knot in the loin-cloth for holding money, etc.

Index.

The following index contains all the words occurring in the foregoing songs. The words are shown as they are pronounced in prose, and not as in poetry. Hence the imperfect vowel[1] in the middle of a word is indicated by an apostrophe. I have not thought it necessary to show specially when *i* and *u* at the end of a word are imperfect, as every final short *i* and *u* occurring in this index is imperfect, and to use special signs would have been unnecessary.

Singular and plural forms of verbs are not distinguished. In ordinary Bihārī, the plural is often used for the singular, and *vice versa*; the difference being rather one of honour than of number. Gender is distinguished, when a feminine form occurs, but as a rule the masculine forms, whether of adjectives or verbs, are used for the feminine as well; see Bhoj'pūrī Grammar, § 35.

Derivative forms are given under the original ones, with, when necessary, cross-references. Thus, long and redundant forms of substantives and adjectives are given under the short forms, and causal and potential passive forms of verbs under the simple root.

The system of transliteration adopted is that followed in the Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language. Anunāsika is shown by the sign ˜ over a vowel; thus अँ=ã, आँ=ã̄, and so on.

The vowel अ[2] has two sounds, a short (flatter than *ŏ* in 'hot'), and a long (flatter than *ough* in 'ought'). These are

[1] See Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language, Introduction.
[2] See Introduction to Bihārī Dictionary.

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represented in Nāgarī by अ and अं, and in transliteration by *a* and *å* respectively.

So also the vowel आ has two sounds, a short (like *a* in Italian 'ballo'), and a long (like *a* in Italian 'baco'). These are represented in Nāgarī by आ and आ, and in transliteration by *ă* and *ā* respectively.

The following letters are transliterated as shown opposite them.

ङ ŋ, च ch, छ chh, ञ ñ, व w, श sh, ष ṣ.

श is represented by sh, and not by ç or ś, because in Bihārī it almost invariably represents the Persian letter ش, and not the Sanskṛit श, which becomes in Bihārī स. In transliterating Sanskṛit words श is represented by ç.

The following contractions are used:

acc. = accusative.
adj. = adjective.
adv. = adverb.
caus. = causal.
cond. = conditional.
conj. = conjunctive or conjunction.
dat. = dative.
dir. = direct.
emph. = emphatic.
explet. = expletive.
fem. = feminine.
gen. = genitive.
imperat. = imperative.
instr. = instrumental.
interj. = interjection.
interrog. = interrogative.
lg. f. = long form.
loc. = locative.
masc. = masculine.
m.c. = metri causâ.
neut. = neuter.
nom. = nominative.
O. = old.
obl. = oblique.
part. = participle.
pass. = passive.
perf. = perfect.
periphr. = periphrastic.
poten. = potential.
pres. = present.
pret. = preterite.
pron. = pronoun.
red. f. = redundant form.
rel. = relative.
resp. = respectful.
str. f. = strong form.
subst. = substantive.

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a.

ak'sar, **21**, 1.
akēl ; *fem.*, akēli, **7**, 2.
āg'nā, *see* āgan.
agar, **48**, 4.
āgār ; *lg. f.*, āgar'wā, **45**, 22.
agiyā, *see* āgi.
aguāi ; *lg. f.*, aguāiyā, **44**, 10.
aŋg, **45**, 4.
āch'rā, āchar'wā, *see* āchar.
achchhā, **3**, 1.
ajodhyā, **2**, 2 ; **3**, 3.
āt'wā, *see* āt.
atinā, **25**, 4 ; *emph.*, atināï, **23**, 3.
an'kar, an'kā, *see* ān.
ap'ne ; *gen. dir.*, āpan, **17**, 3 (āpan āpan); **33**, 1, 3; **45**, 9 ; **46**, 3; *gen. fem.*, āpani, **4**, 3 ; *gen. obl.*, ap'nā, **24**, 2.
abhāg ; *m.c.*, °gū, **46**, 2.
am'wē, *see* ām.
amirit, **5**, 3.
ammā ; *lg. f.*, am'wā, **44**, 7 (*bis*), 13 (*bis*), 14 (*bis*).
arāri ; *obl.*, ar'rā, **47**, 3.
al'kat jhal'kat, **45**, 13.
√al'gāw ; *O pres.* 3, °gāwē, **47**, 3 ; *pret.* 3, °gāūlē, **47**, 5 ; *imperat.* 2, °gāwâ, **47**, 4.
al'pā, **43**, 13.
alhar, **16**, 2.
awasā ; *lg. f.*, awas'wā, **44**, 2.
ahīr, **12**, 4; *str. f.*, ahirā, **28**, 4; *fem.*, ahīrini, **20**, 3.
ahēr, **45**, 8 ; *lg. f.*, aheriyā, **45**, 11.

ă, ā.

āil gāil, *see* √āw.
ākhir ; *emph.*, ăkhirō, **12**, 4,
āgan ; *obl.*, āg'nā, **43**, 10.
āgi, **45**, 2 ; *lg. f.*, agiyā, **45**, 21.
āgū, **48**, 3 (*bis*).
āchar, **47**, 5 ; *str. f.*, āch'rū, **43**, 2 ; *lg. f.*, āchar'wā, **47**, 6.
āṭh ; *emph.*, āṭhō, **45**, 4.
āt ; *lg. f.*, āt'wā, **40**, 2.
ān ; *gen. dir.*, an'kar, **45**, 20 ; *gen. obl.*, an'kā, **12**, 3.
√ān ; 1 *v.n.*, *obl.*, āne, **45**, 2.
ām ; *lg. f.*, ăm'wā, **18**, 1 ; *lg. f.*, *instr.*, am'wē, **38**, 3.
√āw ; *O. pres.* 3, āwē, **47**, 4 ; *pret.* 1, āīlī, **11**, 3 ; **47**, 8 ; 2, āīlē, **6**, 3 ; āīlâ, **44**, 15 ; 2 *fem.*, āīlū, **47**, 7 ; 3 āīlē, **12**, 3 ; 3 *fem.*, āīlī, **22**, 1 ; *imperat.*, 2, āwâ, **45**, 21 ; 2, *fem.*, āū, **10**, 4 ; *perf.*, 3, āīlē hă, **23**, 2 ; 1 *v.n.*, āi (gāil), **49**, 2 ; 2 *v.n.*, *loc.*, āīlē (gāile), *(from* āil (gāil)*)*, **44**, 9.
ăre, **47**, 8.
āho, **43**, 18, 19.

i.

iūṭī chiūṭī, **20**, 1.
ichi, **45**, 20. *See Addenda.*
is'rī, **8**, 7.
ihe, *see* ī.

ī.

ī (*emph. particle*), **23**, 3 ; **41**, 2 (*bis*).
ī (*pron.*) ; *adj. dir.*, ihe, **44**, 7 (*bis*), 8 (*bis*), 9 (*bis*), 10 (*bis*) ; *adj. obl.*, ehi, **1**, 3 ; **30**, 4 ; ē, **1**, 3.

u.

√ughāṭ ; *fut.*, 3, ughăṭihē, **44**, 9.
√uṭh ; *pres.*, 3, uṭhelā, **19**, 1 ; *perf.*, 3, uṭh'lē hă, **18**, 3.
uṭh'kā, **27**, 3.
√uṛhar ; *perf.*, 3, uṛhar'le bā, **32**, 4.
√utar ; 1 *v.n.*, utari (āū), **10**, 4.
ud'rāchh, **32**, 2.
upar ; *obl.*, up'rā, **45**, 2 ; *lg. f.*, upar'wā, **45**, 5.
√umag ; *pres.*, 3, umagelē, **42**, 4.
ul'ṭū, **27**, 3.

ū.

ū (*pron.*) ; *subst. obl.*, ohi (lūgi), **47** 8 ; oh, **44**, 5, 6 (*bis*).
ūdhō, **43**, 1, 2, 3, etc.

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e.

e (*interj.*), **3**, 1, 3; **15**, 1; **30**, 1; **33**, 1, 3; **35**, 1, 3; **36**, 1, 3; **39**, 3; **40**, 3; **41**, 1; **42**, 3; **43**, 1, 2, 3, etc.; **44**, 1, 2, 12, 13 (*bis*), 14 (*bis*), 15.
ek, **13**, 1; **20**, 1, 2, 3; **45**, 20; **46**, 3; **47**, 4, 5; **49**, 2, 3; *emph.*, ēkō, **22**, 4.
ehi, *see* ī.

ē.

ē, *see* ī.
ēkal, **7**, 1.
ēkō, *see* ek.

āī.

āīlâ, āīli, āīlī, āīlū, āīlē, āīlē hă, āīlē gāīlē, *see* √āw.
āīsan, **16**, 3; *fem.*, āīsani, **45**, 11.

o.

√oṭhāghāw; *pret.*, 1, °ghāūlō, **45**, 19; 2 °ghāūlē, **45**, 18.
oh, *see* ū.
√ohār; *resp. imperat.*, 2, ohărihâ, **45**, 4.
ohi, *see* ū.

ō.

ō (*emph. particle*), **12**, 4; **22**, 4; **26**, 3; **45**, 4; **46**, 1, 2; **47**, 2.
ōt; *loc.*, ōtē, **43**, 9 (*bis*).
ōri, **40**, 2.

āū.

ãūa, **44**, 3.
āūrat dāūrat, **45**, 12.

k.

kaī, **39**, 1, 2, 3.
√kachar; *pres.*, 1, °rīlā, **25**, 4.
kachchū; *lg. f.*, *masc.*, kachuā, **30**, 1; *fem.*, °uī, **30**, 1.
kaṭhin, **44**, 15.
kat, **43**, 16 (*bis*).
kan'wā, *see* kān.
kanhāīyā, *see* kānh.
kar (*sign of gen.*), **28**, 4; **42**, 1; **45**, 12, 13.
√kar; *pres.*, 3, karelō, **25**, 3; *pret.*, 2, *fem.*, kāīlū, **3**, 1; 3, kāīlē, **44**, 10; *perf.*, 3 *resp.*, kāīlī hă, **1**, 4.
karihāw, **28**, 4.
karēj, **16**, 2; *lg. f.*, karej'wā, **3**, 2; **44**, 15.
kal; *lg. f.*, kalaū, **15**, 4 (*see note, l.c.*).
kal'wār, **15**, 4.
kawanā, *see* kē.
kāwal, **31**, 1.
√kah; *pres.*, 3, kahelū, **26**, 2; *fem.*, kaheli, **6**, 1; *imperat.*, 2, kahâ, **44**, 12; *imperat.*, 2, *resp.*, kahihâ, **44**, 7, 8, 9, 10; *pres. part.*, **26**, 1; *poten. pass.*, *pres.*, 3, kahālē, **28**, 1.
kahā, **4**, 4; **43**, 6; *lg. f.*, kah'wā, **45**, 18 (*bis*).
kă, *see* ke.
kā (*neut. interrog. pron.*); *subst. dir.*, kā, **35**, 1, 2, 3, 4; *obl.* (*'why?'*), kăhe, **8**, 2, 3, 4; (k° lāgi), **47**, 7.
kāch; *emph.*, kāchē, **41**, 2.
kādh, *see* kānh.
kān; *lg. f.*, kan'wā, **34**, 1.
kānh; kādh, **4**, 2; *str. f.*, kānhā, **43**, 15; kanhāī; *lg. f.*, kanhāīyā, **12**, 1.
√kāp; *pres.*, 3, kāpelā, **2**, 3.
kām, **3**, 1.
kāwar, **31**, 4.
ki ('*or*'), **9**, 3; kia (*interrog. particle*), **45**, 6 (*bis*).
kinār; *lg. f.*, kinar'wā, **49**, 1.
kirin; *lg. f.*, kiriniyā, **46**, 1.
kūar, **48**, 2; *lg. f.*, kūar'wā, **48**, 3.
kukur, **44**, 6; *str. f.*, kukurā, **45**, 15, 16.
kumh'lāīlē, *see* √kūmhal.
kus'lāī; *lg. f.*, °lāīyā, **44**, 12.
kusum; *instr.*, °mē, **38**, 4.
√kūṭ; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), kūti kūṭi, **45**, 2.
kūṭan, **44**, 4.
√kūmhal; *poten. pass.*, *pret.*, 3, kumh'lāīlē, **31**, 1.

ke (*sign of gen.*), **2**, 1; **3**, 3; **6**, 2, 4; **10**, 3; **15**, 3; **18**, 3, 4; **19**, 1, 2; **21**, 3; **22**, 3; **24**, 2; **26**, 3; **27**, 1, 2, 3; **29**, 1, 3; **31**, 3; **40**, 3; **41**, 2; **43**, 4, 5, 6, 12, 17; **45**, 12; **46**, 4, 5; **48**, 3 (*bis*), 4; *obl.*, kă, **15**, 3 (*bis*); **18**, 3; **43**, 9; **44**, 2, 11 (*bis*).
ke ('*having done*'), **43**, 11; **46**, 4 (*used to form conj. part. with* 1 *v.n.*); **32**, 3.
ke (*conj.*), **8**, 2, 4.
keū; *adj.*, *dir.*, **3**, 4; *subst.*, *dir.*, kehū, **45**, 9; **47**, 3.
kek'rā, *see* kē.
kewāṛ; *lg. f.*, kewaṛiyā, **45**, 14.
kehū, *see* keū.
kē (*sign of acc.*), **23**, 1; **24**, 3; **25**, 3, 4; **32**, 4; **46**, 1, 4; kĕ, **34**, 1, 3; **37**, 1, 3; **38**, 1, 3.
kē (*sign of dat.*), **3**, 4; **5**, 3; **7**, 1; **9**, 2; **10**, 3; **12**, 3; **14**, 1, 4; **17**, 1, 2; **18**, 1; **23**, 1, 3; **47**, 7, 8.
kē (*interrog. pron.*); *subst.*, *dir.*, kē, **31**, 4; *obl.*, kek'rā, **23**, 3; *adj.*, *dir.*, kāūn, **39**, 4; kāūne, **47**, 2; *obl.*, kawanā, **21**, 3; **22**, 3; **37**, 1, 2, 3, 4; kāūnā, **45**, 18.
kēkaï, **3**, 1.
kērā, **43**, 9.
kāīs; *loc. used as adv.*, kāīsē, **33**, 1, 2, 3, 4; **43**, 11; **45**, 3; **46**, 4.
kōs, **40**, 3; *lg. f.*, kos'wā, **39**, 1, 2, 3; **40**, 1.
kāūn, kāūnā, kāūne, *see* kē.

kh.

√khā; *O. pres.* 3, *resp.*, khāī, **41**, 2.
khelaw'nā, **18**, 4.
khēt, **49**, 2.
khētī, **42**, 1.
√khēl; 1 *v.n.*, *obl.*, khēle, **45**, 8, 11.
khāūkī, **41**, 1.

g.

gaëriyā, **29**, 1; **37**, 1 (*bis*).
gaŋgā, **15**, 1; **27**, 1; **30**, 2; **39**, 1; **40**, 1, 2; **41**, 1, 3; **44**, 14.
gajōbar, **44**, 1.
√gaṛh; *O. pres.*, 1, gaṛhŏ, **14**, 3.
gaṛh, **40**, 3.
gar; *lg. f.*, gar'wā, **32**, 1.
gar'bh, **11**, 3.
gar'bhī, **2**, 3.
gāwan; *lg. f.*, gāwan'wā, **26**, 4.
gāï, **20**, 2; *lg. f.*, gāïyā, **12**, 1; **27**, 1; **29**, 1.
gāyan, **33**, 1, 3; **36**, 1, 3.
√gāw; *O. pres.*, 1, gāŏ, **1**, 1, 2, 3; 3, gāw, **42**, 4; gāwē, **46**, 6; **47**, 9; **48**, 5; **49**, 4; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), gāï gāï, **46**, 6; **47**, 9; **48**, 5; **49**, 4.
gāw; *lg. f.*, gāūā, **26**, 3.
√gir; *pres.*, 3, girelā, **45**, 10; girelē, **21**, 4.
gir'hī, **27**, 2.
guru, **33**, 1; **34**, 1; **35**, 1; **36**, 1; **37**, 1; **38**, 1; guru-bhāï, **33**, 2; **34**, 2; **35**, 2; **36**, 2; **37**, 2; **38**, 2.
gullari, **18**, 2.
√guh; 6, *pres.* 3, guhē, **8**, 4; *caus.*, *conj. part.* (*with final vowel lengthened m.c.*), guhāī, **21**, 2.
geṛuā; *lg. f.*, geṛuawā, **25**, 2.
gāïyā, *see* gāï.
gāīl, gāīli, gāīlī, gāīlē, gāīlyā, *see* √jā.
god'nā, **16**, 1, 3.
god'nārī; *lg. f.*, °nariyā, **16**, 3.
gōkhul; *obl.*, gokhulā, **4**, 2.
gōṛ, **46**, 3; gōr, **43**, 12.
√gōd; *imperat.*, 2, *fem.*, gŏdū, **16**, 3; *caus.*, *pres.*, 3, godāwelē, **16**, 1.
gōd; *lg. f.*, god'wā, **29**, 3.
gōpī, **4**, 2.
gōr ('*a leg*'), *see* gōṛ.
gōr ('*fair*'); *fem.*, gōri, **19**, 1, 3; **16**, 1 (3 *times*); *lg. f.*, *fem.*, goriyā, **18**, 3; **21**, 1; **25**, 1.
gāūā, *see* gāw.
gwāl; *fem.*, gwālini, **48**, 1, 2, 4.

gh.

gharī, **45**, 4.
ghar; *loc.*, gharē gharē, **12**, 2; **47**, 6; *lg. f.*, ghar'wā, **22**, 4; **43**, 1; **47**, 7.

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gharil, **47**, 2; *str. f.*, gharilā, **47**, 3 (*bis*), 4, 5; *lg. f., emph.*, gharil'bō, **47**, 2.
ghawad; *lg. f.*, ghawad'wā, **49**, 1.
ghāṭō, *Title of* **46-49**; **46**, 6; **47**, 9; **48**, 5; **49**, 4.
√ghīch; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), ghīchi, **43**, 4.
ghīchī, **46**, 2 (*bis*).
ghughurā, **20**, 4.
ghūṭhi, **47**, 2.
ghūn; *m.c.*, ghūnā, **43**, 17.
√ghōr; 1 *v.n.*, ghōri (dēli), **5**, 3.
ghōr; *str. f.*, ghōrā, **13**, 1; *lg. f.*, ghor'wā, **45**, 12 (*bis*); **47**, 4.

ch.

√chaṛh; *O. pres.*, 3, chaṛhē, **7**, 4; **8**, 3; *pret.*, 3, chaṛh'lē, **46**, 6; **47**, 9; **48**, 5; 1 *v.n.* chaṛhi (āilē), **11**, 3; (gāilē), **13**, 4; *past part.*, chaṛhal, **47**, 4; *caus., pret.*, 1, chaṛhāūlī, **47**, 3.
chatur, **13**, 4.
chanan, **38**, 1; **44**, 1, 12; **45**, 19; **48**, 4.
chamār, **15**, 2.
√char; *caus., pres.*, 3, charāwelē, **12**, 1.
√chal; *pret.*, 3, chal'lē, **5**, 1; *fem.*, chal'lī, **21**, 1; **47**, 1; *perf.*, 3, *fem.*, chalali hă, **5**, 2; *imperat.*, 2, chalasu, **45**, 8; 1 *v.n.*, chali (bhāili), **48**, 1.
chākar, **39**, 1; **40**, 1.
chūchā, **44**, 10 (*bis*).
chān, **13**, 3; **46**, 5.
chiūṭi, **20**, 1.
√chinh; *pret.*, 1, chinh'lī, **34**, 1, 3; *perf.*, 2, chinh'lē hă, **33**, 1, 2, 3, 4.
chur-ghīchī, **46**, 2.
chūch; *loc.*, chūchē, **20**, 4.
chūdari, **16**, 4; chūnari; *lg. f.*, chunariyā, **44**, 11.
chelikā; *lg. f.*, °k'wā, **21**, 3; **22**, 3.
chērī; *lg. f.*, cheriyā, **44**, 6.
chāit, **46**, 6; *lg. f.*, chait'wā, **47**, 9; **48**, 5; chāit-ghāṭō, **47**, 9; **48**, 5; **49**, 4.
√chōr; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part., with final vowel lengthened m.c.*), chōri, **43**, 3, 7.
chāūkī, **14**, 3.

chh.

√chhachā; *pret.*, 3, *fem.*, chhachāilī, **44**, 14. *See Addenda.*
chhaṛī, **49**, 3 (*bis*).
chhatiyā, *see* chhātī.
chhapit, **46**, 5.
chhar'wā, *see* chhār.
chhātī, **18**, 3; *lg. f.*, chhatiyā, **19**, 1.
chhār; *lg. f.*, chhar'wā, **45**, 23.
chhiṭ'kā; *lg. f.*, °ṭak'wā, **48**, 3, 4.
√chhūṭ; *pret.*, 3, chhuṭ'lē, **27**, 2, 3; *fem.*, chhūṭali, **27**, 1; *caus., imperat.*, 2, chhōṛâ, **47**, 6 (*bis*); 1 *v.n.*, chhōṛi (āilâ), **44**, 15; chhōṛi (*used as a preposition meaning 'except,' cf. German 'ausgenommen'*), **45**, 20; *double caus., pret.*, 3, choṛawalē (*for* chhoṛāūlē), **27**, 4.
√chhēwaṛ; 1 *v.n.*, chhēwaṛi chhēwaṛi, **45**, 1.
chhoṛawalē, *see* √chhūṭ.
chhōṭ, **45**, 8; *fem.*, chhōṭi, **30**, 3; **48**, 1.
chhōṛâ, chhōṛi, *see* √chhūṭ.

j.

jagāï, jagāibī, *see* √jāg.
jāghiyā, *see* jāgh.
jat'sār, *title of* **45**.
jatan; *lg. f.*, °n'wā, **19**, 4.
jan, *see* jani.
janam; *lg. f.*, °m'wā, **2**, 1 (*bis*).
√janam; *pret.* 3, jan'mal, **2**, 4.
jani (*neg. part.*), **44**, 7, 8, 9, 10; jan, **45**, 11.
janitō, *see* √jān.
√jap; *pres.*, 3, japelā, **15**, 4.
jab, **42**, 4; **45**, 22; jab lō, **29**, 4.
jamunā, **43**, 19.
jamhuāï; *lg. f.*, jamhuāiyā, **22**, 1.
√jar; 1 *v.n.*, jari, **45**, 23; *caus., pret.*, 1, jăr'lī, **38**, 1, 3; 2 jăr'lâ, **37**, 1, 3.

jal; *lg. f.*, jal'wā, **41**, 3.
jahā, **48**, 2 (*bis*).
jahān, **1**, 2.
√jā; *O. pres.*, 3, jāē, **39**, 4; **40**, 4; 3, *resp.*, jāī, **41**, 4; *pres.*, 3, jālā, **7**, 3; *pret.*, 1, *fem.*, gāilyī, **24**, 1, 2; 3, gāil, **43**, 7; **45**, 14; gāilē, **4**, 4; **13**, 4; **36**, 1, 2, 3; **43**, 17; **45**, 22; **49**, 2; *fem.*, gāili, **45**, 14; gāilī, **36**, 4; *fut.*, 3, jāihē, **48**, 3; jāihē, **43**, 3, 5; *perf.*, 3, gāil bāṛē, **45**, 11; *fem.*, gāili hă, **9**, 4; *pres. part.*, jāt, **32**, 4; 1 *v.n.*, *obl.*, jāe, **14**, 1; 2 *v.n.*, *loc.*, gāilē, **44**, 9.
√jāg; *pres.* 3, jāgelē, **46**, 1, 2; *caus.*, *fut.*, 1, jagāibī, **46**, 4; 1 *v.n.*, jagāï (dēhū), **46**, 3.
jāgh; *lg. f.* jāghiyā, **34**, 3.
jāt ('*a caste*'), **12**, 4.
jāt ('*going*'), *see* √jā.
√jān; *pres.*, 3, jānelē, **26**, 3; **44**, 2; *cond.*, *pret.*, 1, janitŏ, **43**, 3.
jānī, **32**, 4.
jăr'lā, jăr'lī, *see* √jar.
jālā, *see* √jā.
ji, **2**, 1; **4**, 3; **15**, 3; **24**, 3; **27**, 2; **30**, 2; **41**, 1, 3; jī, **45**, 1-23.
jin, jin'kar, jini, *see* jē.
jujh'lē, *see* √jūjh.
√juṭhār; *pret.*, 3, *fem.*, juṭhārali, **15**, 1.
√juṭhiāw; *pret.*, 3, juṭhiāūlē, **47**, 2.
√jūjh; *pret.*, 3, jujh'lē, **45**, 17.
√jūl; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part*), jūli, **47**, 1.
jek'rī, *see* jē.
jetinā, **25**, 3.
jēw'nā, **45**, 3, 4, 6, 7.
jē (*rel. pron.*); *subst.*, *nom. pl.*, jini, **1**, 4; *adj.*, *fem.*, jāūni, **43**, 7; *adj.*, *dir.*, *resp.*, jin, **44**, 10; *gen.*, *fem.* (*used as possessive adj.*), jēkari, **6**, 3; *gen. pl.*, *dir*, jin'kar, **28**, 4.
√jēw; 1 *v.n.*, *obl.*, jēwahī (*old form*), **45**, 5.
jāis; *loc.* (*used as adv.*), jāisahī, **44**, 13, 14; jāisē, **4**, 2; **16**, 4.
jāihē, jāihĕ, *see* √jā.
jōban, **49**, 3; *str. f.*, job'nā, **17**, 3; *lg. f.* joban'wā, **18**, 3; **19**, 1, 3; **43**, 13.
√jōr; *pres.*, 3, jōrelē, **12**, 2.
jāū, **29**, 2; **43**, 3; **47**, 7.
jāūni, *see* jē.

jh.

√jhar; *poten. pass.*, *pret.* 3, jharāīlē, **31**, 1.
√jhalak; *pres. part.* (*used for periphr. pres.*), jhal'kat, **45**, 13.
√jhākh; *pres.*, 3, jhākhelā, **8**, 1.
jhili-mili, **43**, 1.

ṭ.

√ṭār; *fut.*, 1, ṭārab, **45**, 3; *imperat.*, 2, *resp.*, ṭărihā, **45**, 4.
ṭikulī; *lg. f.*, °liyā, **45**, 10.
ṭikōr; *lg. f.* ṭikor'wā, **18**, 1.
√ṭūṭ; 1 *v.n.*, ṭūṭi (jāihē), **43**, 5; *caus.*, *pres.*, 3, tūrelē, **25**, 2; *pret.*, 1, tur'lī, **49**, 2 (*bis*); 1 *v.n.*, tur tur, **71**, 3.
√ṭo; *fut.*, 3, tōïhē, **31**, 4.

ṭh.

√ṭhāṛh; 1 *v.n.*, ṭhāṛhi, **22**, 2.
ṭhik'rī; *l.g. f.*, ṭhikariyā, **44**, 5.

ḍ

ḍagā; *lg. f.*, ḍag'wā, **45**, 8.
√ḍasāw; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*, *with final vowel lengthened m.c.*), dasāī, **43**, 2.
ḍahar; *lg. f.*, ḍahariyā, **43**, 7, 8.
√ḍahar; *pres.*, 3, ḍaharelā, **20**, 1; ḍaharelē, **20**, 2; *fem.*, ḍahareli, **20**, 3.
ḍāṛ; **42**, 2.
√ḍār; *pret.*, 3, dăr'lē, **32**, 1, 2.
ḍih'wār; *lg. f.*, °war'wā, **11**, 1.
ḍīh, **11**, 2; *lg. f.*, ḍih'wā, **11**, 1 (*bis*), 3.
√ḍūb; *O. pres.*, ḍūbē, **47**, 2.
ḍōr, **24**, 2, 4; *lg. f.*, doriyā, **43**, 4, 5.

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ḍh.

ḍhōl, **2**, 2.

t.

ta (*explet.*), **4**, 1; **5**, 3; **12**, 4; **29**, 2; tā, **6**, 2, 4; **30**, 3; **45**, 17.
tanāwē, *see* √tān.
tab, **42**, 4; *emph.*, tabō, **46**, 1, 2.
tamuā, *see* tābū.
tar, **27**, 3.
tar'wāri; *lg. f.*, °wariyū, **45**, 13 (*bis*).
tal'wā, *see* tāl.
tahā, **48**, 2 (*bis*).
tān, **25**, 2.
√tān; *caus.*, *O. pres.*, 3, tanāwē, **48**, 2.
tābū; *lg. f.*, tamuā, **48**, 2.
tāl; *lg. f.*, tal'wā, **31**, 1.
tiriyā, *see* tirī, tīr.
tirī; *lg. f.*, tiriyā, **6**, 3; *cf.* triyā.
tīn; *emph.*, tīnō, **27**, 4.
tīr ('*bank*'), **6**, 4.
tīr ('*arrow*'); *lg. f.*, tiriyā, **44**, 1.
tīrath, **14**, 1.
tur, tur'lī, *see* √ṭūṭ.
tul'sī, **15**, 3.
tus'rī; *lg. f.*, tusariyā, **17**, 1.
tū; *nom.*, tū, **6**, 2; **37**, 1, 3; tūhū, **6**, 3; *voc.*, tūhū, **45**, 3, 10, 15; *gen. dir.*, tōr, **35**, 1, 3; **44**, 15; **45**, 6; **46**, 5; **47**, 7; tōrā, **46**, 3, 5; **48**, 4; toh'rā, **11**, 3; *obl. base*, tōrā, **19**, 4; toh'rā, **10**, 3; **45**, 20.
tūrelē, *see*, √ṭūṭ.
tē, tēkar, tāūni, *see* sē.
triyā, **43**, 15; *cf.* tirī.

th.

√thar; 1 *v.n.*, thar thar, **2**, 3.
thōr, **23**, 2.

d.

dam'wā, *see* dām.
daliyā, *see* dāl.
das, **40**, 1.
dah; *lg. f.*, dah'wā, **7**, 2.
dahi, **48**, 1, 3, 4.
dām; *lg. f.*, dam'wā, **19**, 3.
dārun, **47**, 6, 7.
dāl; *lg. f.*, daliyā, **45**, 2.
dās, **49**, 4.
diāūlē, *see* √dē.
din, **43**, 18; *lg. f.*, din'wā, **41**, 4.
dih'lū, dih'lō, *see* √dē.
duārikā, **14**, 1.
duār; *obl.*, duarā, **43**, 10.
dukh, **44**, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10.
dunu, *see* dū.
dur, **45**, 15 (3 *times*).
dulārū; *lg. f.*, dularuā, **3**, 3.
dū; *emph.*, dūnō, **10**, 1; **13**, 3; **20**, 3; **46**, 5; **49**, 3; *m.c.*, dunu, **47**, 2.
dūj; *obl.*, dūjā, **47**, 5.
dūdh, **9**, 2; *lg. f.*, dudh'wā, **10**, 3; **17**, 2; **34**, 4.
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dūr, **9**, 4.
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lāgi, **47**, 7, 8.
lām, **39**, 2; **40**, 2.
lāl, **48**, 2; *lg. f.*, *fem.*, lal'kī, **32**, 3.
√lāw; *pret.*, 1, lāūlī, **45**, 6; 2 *fem.*, lāūlū, **45**, 7; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), lāī, **43**, 9.
līpan, **44**, 3.
luluhā, **45**, 4.
√lūṭ; 1 *v.n.*, lūṭi (lēlē), **49**, 3.
√lē; *pret.*, 3, lēlē, **49**, 3; *fut.*, 2, *fem.*, lēbū, **19**, 3; *imperat.*, 2, *fem.*, lēhū, **43**, 12; 1 *v.n.*, lē (āīlē), **6**, 3; (āīlē hă), **23**, 2; (āwâ), **45**, 21 (*used as conj. part.*), **43**, 2, 16; **48**, 1.
lē (*sign of abl.*), **4**, 3; **10**, 4; **40**, 2; **45**, 5.
lē ('*with*'), **43**, 2.
lē; jāb lē, **29**, 4.
lēkh; *loc.*, lēkhē, **43**, 18 (*fem.*), 19 (*fem.*); **46**, 5 (*bis*) (*masc.*); **48**, 4 (*bis*) (*masc.*).
lōg, **19**, 2; log'wā, **45**, 15, 16; **26**, 2, 3.
lōṭā; *lg. f.*, loṭ'wā, **24**, 2, 4.
lōth; *lg. f.*, lothiyā, **45**, 20.
lōri, **5**, 2.
lāūg; *pl.*, lāūgan, **45**, 1.
lāūṛī; *lg. f.*, lāüṛiyā, **44**, 6.
lāūlī, lāūlū, *see* √lāw.

w.

wāīs; *loc.*, wāīsahī, **44**, 13, 14.

s.

sakal, **1**, 2.
sakhi, **46**, 6; **47**, 9; **48**, 5; **49**, 4.
sag'rā; *fem.*, sag'rī, **23**, 4; *emph.*, sag'rē, **3**, 3.

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saŋg ; *loc.*, saŋgahī, **45**, 23 ; *lg. f.*, sāg'wā, **34**, 2 ; saŋg-lōri, **5**, 2.
saŋgī ; *lg. f.*, sāgiyā, **18**, 1 ; **23**, 1.
saṭhiyā, *see* sāṭhī.
sabh, **45**, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16.
sabhā ; *lg. f.*, sabh'wā, **44**, 8.
√samujh ; *O. pres.*, 1, samujhŏ, **43**, 16 ; *caus.*, *O. pres.*, 3, samujhāwē, **46**, 6 ; **47**, 9 ; **48**, 5 ; **49**, 4.
same, **13**, 1.
√samhār ; *imperat.*, 2, *resp.*, samhărihē, **17**, 3.
sar'g ; *O. obl.*, sar'gē, **10**, 2, 4.
sar'jū, **6**, 4.
sar'wan, **31**, 3.
sar'wā, *see* sār.
sarīkhā ; *lg. f.*, sarikh'wē, **45**, 4.
sasur, **43**, 10.
sahar, **45**, 15, 16 ; *lg. f.* (*see note*), sahariyā, **19**, 2.
sāī *lg. f.*, sāĩyā, **25**, 3 ; **46**, 2.
sāgar, **47**, 1, 7, 8.
√sāj ; *pres.* 3, sājelē, **25**, 1.
sājh ; *loc.* sājhahī, **46**, 1.
sāṭhī ; *lg. f.*, saṭhiyā, **45**, 2.
sāth, **34**, 2.
sān (*Skr.*, sajña), **12**, 3.
sān, **14**, 2.
sāmī ; *lg. f.*, sămiyā, **24**, 3.
sār ; *lg. f.*, sar'wā, **7**, 3.
sār'dhā, **10**, 1.
√sāl ; *pres.*, 3, sālē, **16**, 2.
sāwaj ; *lg. f.*, săwaj'wā, **45**, 9.
sāsu, **45**, 3, 10 ; **47**, 6, 7.
siŋgh, **45**, 17.
sīdhōrā ; *lg. f.*, sīdhor'wā, **43**, 17.
simar'wā, *see* sīmar.
sir, **48**, 1.
√sījh ; *pres.* 3, sījhelē, **44**, 4.
sītā, **4**, 3 ; **5**, 2, 4 ; **14**, 3.
sīmar ; *lg. f.*, simar'wā, **8**, 1.
suarī, **15**, 1.
suīyā, *see* sūī.
sujān, **14**, 4.
√sun ; *imperat.*, 2, sunâ, **6**, 1 ; *fem.*, sunū, **43**, 20.
sundarī, **47**, 7.
suruj, **13**, 3 ; **46**, 5.
√sumir, 1 *v.n.* (*used instead of conj. part.*) (*m.c.*), sumirī, 1 (*bis*), 2, 3.
√sūt ; *pret.*, 1, sut'lŏ, **43**, 2 ; 3, sūtal, **46**, 1 ; *perf.*, 3, sut'lē hă, **11**, 2.
sūī ; *lg. f.*, suīyā, **16**, 2.
seān, **1**, 4.
sē ; *nom.*, *emph.*, sē hū, **6**, 4 ; **49**, 1 ; sê hō, **43**, 6 ; *subst.*, *obl.*, tē, **3**, 3 ; *adj. fem.*, tāūni, **43**, 8 ; *gen. dir.*, tēkar, **7**, 4.
sē (*sign of abl.*), **1**, 4 ; **44**, 7, 8, 9, 10 ; **45**, 22.
sāĩyā, *see* sāī.
√sohāw ; *O. pres.*, 3, sohāē, **22**, 4.
sōn, **43**, 17.

h.

haŗ-phōr, **18**, 2.
hath'wā, *see* hāth.
hans, **31**, 2 ; **49**, 3 ; hans-rāj, **48**, 4, 5, 6.
ham ; *nom.*, ham, **25**, 4 ; **34**, 1 ; **38**, 1, 3 ; **43**, 3 ; **45**, 16 ; *emph.*, ham hū, **45**, 17 ; *gen.*, *dir.*, hamār, **25**, 3 ; **36**, 1, 3 ; *emph.*, ham'rō, **46**, 4 ; *fem.*, hamari, **44**, 5 ; **45**, 10 ; *fem.*, *lg. f.*, hamariyā, **9**, 1.
√har ; 1 *v.n.*, hari (le ūile), **6**, 3.
hari, **13**, 1.
harin ; *str. f.*, harinā, **45**, 9.
haliwant, **40**, 4.
√hâw ; *pres.*, 2, hâwâ, **6**, 2 ; 3 hâwē, **39**, 2, 3 ; 3 *hon.*, hâwī, **41**, 1, 3 ; 3 (*forming perf.*), hă, **1**, 4 ; **3**, 4 ; **5**, 2 ; **9**, 4 ; **11**, 2 ; **18**, 3 ; **23**, 2 ; **30**, 1, 2, 3 ; **33**, 1, 2, 3, 4.
√has ; *pres.*, 3, haselā, **19**, 2.
hāth, **47**, 5 ; *lg. f.*, hath'wā, **14**, 3 ; **15**, 3 ; **32**, 1 ; *instr.*, hāthĕ, **47**, 5.
hār, **8**, 4.
hārin, **47**, 1.
hit, **23**, 4.
hiridayā, **42**, 3 ; hirday ; *loc.*, °yē, **43**, 13.
hū (*emph. particle*) ; **45**, 17.
hūŗār, **17**, 4.

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hū (*emph. particle*), **6**, 4; **46**, 1–23.
hē, **45**, 4.
hēṭh, **45**. 5.
√hō; *pres. conj.*, 3, hōē, **29**, 2, 4; *pret.* 3, bhāil, **2**, 1; bhāilē, **13**, 1, 2, 3; **15**, 2; **26**, 4; **35**, 1, 2, 3; **43**, 18; **46**, 5; *fem.*, bhāili, **26**, 1; **48**, 1; bhāilī, **35**, 4; **45**, 20; *fut.*, 1, hōibō, **45**, 20; *fut.*, 3, hōī, **19**, 4; **19**, 4; 1 *v.n.*, hōï (gāilyū), **44**, 1; *pres. part.*, hōt, **45**, 8.
hō (*emph. part.*), **43**, 6; **46**, 1–6 (*bis*); **47**, 1–9 (*bis*); **48**, 1–5 (*bis*).
√hōkh; *pres.*, 1, *fem.*, hōkhyū, **43**, 11; *imperat.*, 2, hōkhâ, **48**, 3 (*bis*).
hāū, **19**, 3.

Addenda.

No. 13. This *bir'hā* refers to the legend of Tripura, the triple aerial city which was burnt in a war with the gods. It was inhabited by Dāityas, who had obtained a boon to the effect that they could not be destroyed until the Hindū Triad had assumed the shape of animals. They had a reservoir containing *amṛita*, and when any of them was killed in battle with the gods, his body was dipped in it, and he revived. Thereupon Çiva assumed the form of a calf, and drank the reservoir dry, while Viṣṇu became a horse, and Brahmā the bridle and whip. The sun and moon became the wheels of the chariot to which the horse was harnessed, and in which Çiva rode, and destroyed the demons. According to this legend, Çiva was the clever and wise man mentioned in the song.

No. 44, l. 14. The √**छछा** means literally, 'to be very eager' or 'hungry after anything'; hence, 'to run eagerly at a thing.' Thus, **ऊ बड़ छछाइल बाटे** 'he is very eager.' Then, secondarily, it is used as a synonym of √**फफा** 'to swell' of a river.

No. 45, l. 6. √**बिसभोर** is common in vulgar speech, and means 'to forget.' √**लाव** here means 'to put.'

No. 45, l. 20. **इचि**, **इचे**, or **अचि** are said to be corruptions of **रचि**. Cf. No. 46, note 2. **इचि एक**, **अचि एक**, or **रचि एक** (also **इचि का एक**, etc.), commonly mean like **तनि एक** or **तनि का एक** 'a little'; hence 'kindly,' or 'be good enough to' in a precative sense. This note must be taken as qualifying the note to No. 46 referred to above.

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ART. XIII.—*Observations on the various Texts and Translations of the so-called "Song of Meysūn"; an Inquiry into Meysūn's claim to its Authorship; and an Appendix on Arabic Transliteration and Pronunciation.*[1] By J. W. REDHOUSE, M.R.A.S., Litt.D., C.M.G., etc., etc.

DR. CARLYLE'S book, "Specimens of Arabic Poetry," may be somewhat scarce, and Captain, now Sir R., Burton's "Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah" gives only an English version, without the Arabic text, of the little piece of poetry attributed to Meysūn, the mother of the second Damascus Caliph of the house of ʾUmeyya, Yezīd son of Muʿāwiya son of ʾEbū-Sufyān Ṣakhr son of Ḥarb, etc.

Mr. Freeland has, therefore, rendered a real service to the many lovers of old Arabian literature by printing in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. XVIII. p. 90, a complete and fully-vowelled text of the ditty, as this allows them to compare it with the very free rhymed and metrical versions made by himself, by Sir R. Burton, and by Dr. Carlyle. Their talented, but somewhat florid productions disguise altogether the real form and the simplicity of the little poem. I have imagined, therefore, that a closer verbal prose translation of its distichs would not be a disservice to the cause of Arabic studies in England.

A valued and talented friend, one of the Members of our Society, Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, has kindly put my prose trans-

[1] As this paper may be considered illustrative of its author's method of Arabic transliteration, the native names are left precisely as spelt in the MS.; not modified to be in accordance with the orthography usually adopted in the Journal. The author, however, prefers a straight stroke under the letters *h t s*, instead of the dot (*ḥ ṭ ṣ*) as used throughout this article; see his reasons on p. 308.—ED.

lation into a metrical form, with the same kind of monotone rhyme that is used in the Arabic original,—a system of versification for which he expresses a great attachment, and in which he has had much experience.

To enable the readers of our Journal to compare these five versions with one another, I here copy those of Dr. Carlyle and Sir R. Burton, while Mr. Freeland's rendering, with his recension of the Arabic text, can be studied at p. 90-91 of the present volume.

Dr. Carlyle says (according to Mr. Clouston's "Arabic Poetry for English Readers"):

"The Song of Maisuna.

"The russet suit of camel's hair,
With spirits light and eye serene,
Is dearer to my bosom far,
Than all the trappings of a queen.

"The humble tent, and murmuring breeze,
That whistles through its fluttering walls,
My unaspiring fancy please,
Better than towers and splendid halls.

"Th' attendant colts, that bounding fly,
And frolic by the litter's side,
Are dearer in Maisuna's eye,
Than gorgeous mules in all their pride.

"The watch-dog's voice, that bays whene'er
A stranger seeks his master's cot,
Sounds sweeter in Maisuna's ear,
Than yonder trumpet's long-drawn note.

"The rustic youth, unspoiled by art,
Son of my kindred, poor but free,
Will ever to Maisuna's heart,
Be dearer, pampered fool, than thee."

Sir R. Burton's "Pilgrimage," vol. iii. p. 262, has:

"O take these purple robes away,
Give back my cloak of camel's hair,
And bear me from this tow'ring pile
To where the Black Tents flap i' the air.

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The camel's colt with falt'ring tread,
The dog that bays at all but me,
Delight me more than ambling mules—
Than every art of minstrelsy.
And any cousin, poor but free,
Might take me, fatted ass! from thee."

From a comparison of these two versions, it is evident that Dr. Carlyle and Sir R. Burton have used the same Arabic recension, in five distichs, for their renderings, however widely these two differ in form and in words. Sir R. Burton's is less diffuse than that of Dr. Carlyle. The latter uses the expression 'pampered fool' where Sir R. Burton has 'fatted ass.' I had imagined, with only Mr. Freeland's Arabic text to judge from, that these two offensive variants were perhaps either poetic licences, or that the text or texts they had used had the word عِجْل 'a *calf*,' in the last hemistich, where Mr. Freeland gives the anagram عِلْج. In that case, عِجْلٍ عَلِيفِ would have meant, correctly rendered, 'foddered calf,' easily turned by poetic licence into both 'pampered fool' and 'fatted ass.'

My friend Mr. Gibb has, however, latterly favoured me with a copy of Dr. Carlyle's Arabic original, from the second edition of his "Specimens," London, 1810; and this has the same word, علج, given by Mr. Freeland. Neither of their translations has, unfortunately, a trace of either of the two real meanings of the term عِلْج, viz. 1st, 'an ass, wild or domestic, strong and fat;' 2nd, 'a man, foreign and non-Muslim' (i.e. an outlandish barbarian). But, as its accompanying adjective, عَلِيف, means, 'home-fed, foddered, not pastured or pasturing,' the two words combined can only indicate 'a fodder-fed domestic ass,' the alternative signification, 'an outlandish barbarian,' being, consequently, out of the question. Neither Dr. Carlyle nor Sir F. Burton is quite right, therefore, in this respect, as Dr. Carlyle's 'pampered fool' and Sir R. Burton's 'fatted ass' are somewhat wide of the original expression, 'a fodder-fed ass.'

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I subjoin here Dr. Carlyle's Arabic text for comparison. It gives no vowel-points, and it contains some variants from Mr. Freeland's recension. Omitting the fifth and sixth distichs of the latter for the present, the two texts follow the same order of the verses.

قالت ميسون بنت بحدل

(1) للبس عبا و تقر عيني * احب الى من لبس الشفوف

(2) و بيت تختفق الارواح فيه * احب الى من قصر منيف

(3) و بكر يتبع الاظعان صعب * احب الى من بغل رفوف

(4) و كلب ينبح الاضياف دوني * احب الى من هز الدفوف

(5, 6)

(7) و خرق من بني عمي فقير * احب الى من علج عليف

In 1873, Mr. Gibb has again informed me, Messrs. Henry S. King and Co. published some part of an Arabic work, printed in Egypt, but translated and annotated by a lady, Mrs. Godfrey Clerk, in which the song of Meysūn is given in seven distichs, like that of Mr. Freeland; evidently the same in words, but arranged in a different order. Her translation runs thus:

1 (2). A hut that the winds make tremble
Is dearer to me than a noble palace;

2 (5). And a dish of crumbs on the floor of my home
Is dearer to me than a varied feast;

3 (6). And the soughing of the breeze through every crevice
Is dearer to me than the beating of drums;

4 (1). And a camel's wool abâh which gladdens my eye
Is dearer to me than filmy robes;

5 (4). And a dog barking around my path
Is dearer to me than a coaxing cat;

6 (3). And a restive young camel, following the litter,
Is dearer to me than a pacing mule;

7 (7). And a feeble boor from midst my cousinhood,
Is dearer to me than a rampant ass.

The numbers in parentheses show Mr. Freeland's order of the distichs, for the sake of comparison. The words of each distich are mainly, essentially, the same in the two versions. Mrs. Clerk's translation is much closer to the Arabic text than either Dr. Carlyle's, or Sir R. Burton's, as a whole; though several words are incorrectly rendered, and many of the ideas incorporated in the lady's imagery are taken from Western life, not redolent of the Desert.

Mrs. Clerk's notice of Meysūn is to the following effect: "Mîsûn, the daughter of Bahdal, was married to Mu'âwiyah, and he brought her from amongst the wandering Arabs into Damascus. But she sorrowed exceedingly for her people at the remembrance of her home; and one day, whilst he was listening to her, he heard her reciting and saying" the verses given above. "Upon hearing these lines, Mu'âwiyah exclaimed, 'The daughter of Bahdal was not satisfied until she had likened me to a rampant ass!' And he ordered her to be packed off again to her family in the desert."

In a note, Mrs. Clerk says further: "She had an excellent genius for poetry; and at Mu'âwiyah's command, took her son Yezid (Mu'âwiyah's successor) with her into the desert among her own relations, in order to inspire him with poetic sentiments."

A foot-note in Sir R. Burton's "Pilgrimage" informs us as follows: "The British reader will be shocked to hear that by the term 'fatted ass,' the intellectual lady alluded to her husband. The story is, that Muawiyah, overhearing the song, sent back the singer to her cousins and beloved wilds. Maysunah departed, with her son Yezid, and did not return to Damascus till the 'fatted ass' had joined his forefathers."

Dr. Carlyle (in Mr. Clouston's book) gives the same story, but in more reserved terms, ending thus: "As a punishment for her fault, he ordered her to retire from court. Maisuna immediately obeyed, and, taking her infant son Yezid with her, returned to Yemen; nor did she revisit Damascus till after the death of Mowiah, when Yezid ascended the throne."

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Mrs. Clerk writes "Mîsûn" instead of Meysūn. But, with Dr. Carlyle's ميسون, though he transliterates 'Maisuna,' we can see that Mr. Freeland's مَيْسُونُ, transliterated by him 'Maisun,' is the true name, as is confirmed in the Qāmūs lexicon under the root مَيَسَ, where it is said: وَ مَيْسُونُ آسْمُ بِنْتِ بَحْدَلٍ أُمِّ يَزِيدَ بْنِ مُعَوِيَةَ "and Meysūn is the name of the daughter of Baḥdel, the mother of Yezīd son of Mu'āwiya.' Sir R. Burton's 'Maysunah' is, therefore, quadruply erroneous, the first vowel being, correctly, the soft *e*, not the hard *a*; while the second vowel is long, *ū*; and the final 'ah' a double interpolation.

Referring now to Mr. Freeland's text, p. 90, any one may observe, even if entirely uninstructed in Arabic, that it presents on the right-hand side of the left-hand column of hemistichs, as he looks at the page, a perpendicular row of the words أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ seven times repeated, once in each distich. These words simply mean: (were) lovelier to me than . . . . This one reiterated expression, then, heads the second clause, the second hemistich, of each verse or distich, without the alteration of a single letter or vowel-point, and indelibly stamps the type of the whole poem in a most determinate, remarkable manner.

But let the reader next examine the versions of Dr. Carlyle, Sir R. Burton, and Mr. Freeland, comparing them with Mrs. Clerk's rendering. He will perceive that they have all three systematically shunned this sevenfold, characteristic series of words; they have striven to give a variety to what requires uniformity,—they have attempted "to gild refined gold, to paint the lily," and they have merely overlaid naïve Eastern simplicity with a series of Western embellishments.

The somewhat metrical prose translation offered below for further elucidation gives as close an approximation to the sense of the original as I have been able to compass, in about the same number of syllables; and my friend Mr. Gibb's versification which follows it, without losing sight of the Arabic text, will be found, I trust, by our readers, to exhale,

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like the sweet wood-violet, an aroma as delicately poetic as the very simple ideas, clothed in the artless words of the poem, can well be made to furnish.

Meysūn's Ditty.

To dress in camlet smock, with tearless, cheerful eye,
  Were lovelier to me than gauzy webs to wear.
A tent through which the winds should waft their fluttering breeze,
  Were lovelier to me than sumptuous princely bower.
A wayward camel-colt, behind the litter-train,
  Were lovelier to me than nimbly-pacing mule.
A dog that bayed the coming guests not yet at hand,
  Were lovelier to me than fondly-coaxing cat.
To eat a crumblet in a tent's retiring nook
  Were lovelier to me than eating breadcake bun.
The hoarse, loud roarings of the winds in every glen,
  Were lovelier to me than timbrels' clattering pulse.
A generous, slender youth, one of my uncle's sons,
  Were lovelier to me than any foddered ass.

Mr. Gibb's versified rendering is as follows:

Meysūn's Ditty.

To dress in camlet smock with cool and placid eyne,
  Were liefer far to me than robes of gauze to wear;
A tent, wherethrough the winds in gentle wafts should breathe,
  Were liefer far to me than palace haught and fair;
A wayward camel-colt behind the litter-train,
  Were liefer far to me than hinny debonair;
A dog that bayed the guests ere yet they came me nigh,
  Were liefer far to me than cat with fondling air;
To eat a scantling meal aside within the tent,
  Were liefer far to me than feast on dainties rare;
The soughing moan of winds that blow through every glen,
  Were liefer far to me than sounding tabors' blare;
A slim but generous youth from 'mong my uncle's sons,
  Were liefer far to me than foddered ass, I swear.

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The reader is now in a position to choose for himself which of the English versions given of this little Arabian song, ballad, or ditty he may think best adapted to convey its real meaning. The variants in Dr. Carlyle's text, as compared with that of Mr. Freeland, of عبا for عَبَآءَةٍ, of تخنتق for تَخْنِقُ, of رفوف for زَفُوف, are not of much consequence, the last, رفوف, being probably a printer's error. His هز الدفوف, however, indicates that the sixth line of Mr. Freeland's version was not altogether unknown to some copyist through whom Dr. Carlyle's text was derived, as that distich ends with نَقْرِ ٱلدُّفُوفِ, of which the نَقْرِ is a synonym with Dr. Carlyle's هز ; and this last, again, is apparently a clerical substitute for Mr. Freeland's هِرّ, two distichs having been thus erroneously fused into one. The substitution of نقير for نَحِيفٌ accounts for Dr. Carlyle's expression of 'poor,' where Mr. Freeland's text requires a rendering of 'slim,' 'thin,' 'slender,' or the like, though Mr. Freeland's free-and-easy rendering suggests nothing of the kind.

Taking the distichs of Mrs. Clerk's version in the order of Mr. Freeland's text, it may be remarked that she has misunderstood the expression in No. 1 about the eye. It is not the 'abâh' that is to gladden the eye; but it is 'a camlet smock' together with a cool, *i.e.* an unreddened, uninflamed, 'tearless, cheerful eye,' or, in other words, "a camlet with happiness of mind were lovelier, dearer to me . . . . ." In No. 2, again, it should not be that 'the winds make tremble' the tent; but that the winds flutter as they pass through the tent. In No. 3, 'litter' should be *litters*, i.e. a train of several or many litters. In No. 4, "around my path" is a thoroughly Western misconception of what really means *in front of me*, i.e. between them and me, "short of me." In No. 5, "varied feast" is too far from the sense as to both words; the comparison is between a dry, broken little morsel, "a crumblet," and a fresh-baked, soft

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cake of bread, usually eaten in Syria, etc., with other food at meals. In No. 6, "crevice" is not right; and in No. 7, the خِرِّق of the text is the very reverse of "a boor," and really means *a fine, noble fellow;* while "rampant" is wrong altogether, unless we are to read, as is given further on, in Ziyā Pasha's recension, عَنِيفِ for عَلِيفِ after عِلْجِ.

The text given by Ziyā Pasha (then Ziyā Bey) in a three-volume collection of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish poems, to which he gave the name of خَرَابَاتْ, is found in vol. ii. p. 442, of the collection. It does not agree in the sequence of the distichs with either of those of Mr. Freeland or Mrs. Clerk, except as to the last, and only important one. This occupies the same place in all three, as also in the versions of Dr. Carlyle and Sir R. Burton. Several variant words occur, too, in the distichs. No vowels are given. In the following copy Mr. Freeland's order of the distichs is again shown in the parentheses.

1 (2) لبيت تخفق الارياح منه * احب الى من قصر منيف

2 (1) ولبس عباءة وتقر عينى * احب الى من لبس الشفوف

3 (5) واكل كسيرة فى كسر بيتى * احب الى من اكل الرغيف

4 (6) واصوات الرياح بكل فج * احب الى من نقر الدفوف

5 (4) وكلب ينبح الطراق دونى * احب الى من قط الوف

6 (3) وبكر يتبع الاطلال صعب * احب الى من بغل ردوف

7 (7) وخرق من بنى عمى نحيف * احب الى من علج عنيف

The variant words are, in 1, الارياح منه for اَلْأَرْوَاحُ فِيهِ; in 3, بيتى for بَيْتِ; in 5, الطراق for اَلْأَضْيَافِ, and قط for هِرِّ; in 6, الاطلال for اَلْأَظْعَانَ, and ردوف for زَفُوفِ; and in 7, the last word, عنيف for عَلِيفِ.

Of these variants, اَلْأَرْوَاحُ and اَلْأَرْيَاحُ are both correct and synonymous plurals of اَلرِّيحِ *the wind*; فِيهِ means *in it*, while

مِنْهُ signifies *from it*; in 3, بَيْتِي *my tent*, is for بَيْتٍ *of a tent*; in 5, ٱلطُّرَّاقَ *the sudden, unexpected droppers-in by night*, takes place of ٱلْأَضْيَافَ *the guests*; while قَطٌّ and هِرٌّ are synonyms for *cat*; in 6, ٱلْأَطْلَالَ, pl. of طَلَلٌ, means *the erect forms, the figures* (of men), while ٱلْأَظْعَانَ, pl. of ظَعْنٌ, signifies *camel-litters in which women sit when travelling*; ردوف appears to be a misprint; and in 7, عِلْجٍ عَنِيفٍ *a coarse barbarian, a tiresome lout*, is a much more apposite converse of خِرْقٌ نَحِيفٌ *a slender, generous youth*, than is عِلْجٌ عَلِيفٌ *a foddered ass*. Were the poem to be edited anew, this word عَنِيفٍ should be adopted as the better and probably true reading. The distich could then be rendered:

"A slender, generous youth, one of my uncle's sons,
Were lovelier to me than any tiresome lout."

By further considering that, as none of the distichs except this last is composed of two rhyming hemistichs, it would be perhaps better if this distich also were deprived of its rhyme; a critic might feel inclined to prefer Dr. Carlyle's فَقِيرٌ at the end of the first hemistich, and the distich might stand thus in translation:

"A generous youth, though poor, one of my uncle's sons,
Were lovelier to me than rude, offensive lout."

But "poor" and "generous," again, are not very usual poetic concomitants; and a word such as شَفِيقٌ *tender-hearted*, حَلِيمٌ *considerate*, نَبِيلٌ *noble*, etc., if met with in any variant recension, would make a better antithesis to عَنِيفٍ, and would be a still more preferable alternative to نَحِيفٌ or فَقِيرٌ in the hemistich here treated of.

Of the whole, very artless poem, it may be said that the repetition of لَبَسْ in distich No. 1, and of اكْلٌ in distich No. 5, are doubtless blemishes. The repetition of بَيْتٌ in distichs 2 and 5, and the virtual repetition of أَرْوَاحٌ and أَرْيَاحٌ in

distichs 2 and 6, are still open to objection, though less so than the former. The variation of the rhyming long vowels, by the use of four letters, ,', and three letters, ـِـ, is at best a permissible licence in Arabic verse, is not tolerated in Persian or Turkish, and cannot be taken as adding beauty to the poem. The sevenfold repetition may be taken, perhaps, as a very effectual mark of individuality in the composition, which thus stands unparalleled, very likely, and can therefore be held to constitute a kind of beauty not advisable to imitate. We may, therefore, look upon "Meysūn's Poem" as a somewhat faulty, though striking, artless ballad, well adapted to captivate the rude, uncultivated children of the desert and villagers, so as to elicit their applause on being recited. We shall then have said as much in its praise as its subject admits of; and this preference for desert-life shown in its words may, it seems, have given to our own poet, Moore, the germ of the idea from which he evolved his charming little gem of "Fly to the desert, fly with me!" which is as untrue, in reality, as it is specious and captivating to young, ardent minds, unacquainted with the hard lot of incessant toil, frequent starvation, and ceaseless blood-feuds, of which the life of the desert is chiefly made up.

But a much more serious question arises with reference to the supposed authorship of this little Arabic ditty; more especially since it is known that Ziyā Pasha, himself a poet of high standing and research, avows himself ignorant of its composer. In a marginal note he has laconically marked the poem as being "by an author unknown." One would imagine that he must certainly have known that common rumour has for ages attributed it to Meysūn; and he may, therefore, in his judgment, have deliberately and definitively rejected this parentage. Before I had heard of his marginal note, I had myself felt inclined to doubt, urged by considerations of the status and known or probable precedents, respectively, of the *dramatis personæ* of the little burletta. Did, then, Meysūn

probably compose or even sing these verses? Did Mu'āwiya, on hearing her sing them on a chance occasion, dismiss her summarily from his home—from his mansion of governor, for he was not a sovereign until many years later? His son and successor, Yezīd, from his recorded age of 34 at his accession, must have been born not many years after Mu'āwiya became governor of Damascus for the second caliph 'Umer; and thus, to answer the two foregoing questions with any degree of probability, we must trace the history, not of Mu'āwiya only, but of the rise and early progress of Islām, as follows:

Mu'āwiya's father, 'Ebū-Sufyān Ṣakhr son of Ḥarb son of 'Umeyya (whence the name of the 'Umeyyid dynasty), was born B.H. 57 (A.D. 565), being Muḥammed's senior by about five years. He was a rich, travelling merchant, became head and captain of the Qureysh tribe (from a branch of which, the Hāshimids, Muḥammed also sprang), and a kind of Doge or Mayor, Sheykh of Mekka. He bravely, sternly opposed Muḥammed in the field for some years, but failed, ultimately, of success. When Muḥammed, in the eighth year of the emigration (Hijra) from Mekka to Medīna, and sixtieth year of his age, advanced at length with a resistless force, and received the submission of his native place, he was met at some distance from the holy city, first by his own paternal uncle, 'Abbās, slightly his superior in age (who had always been friendly to him, and whose descendants eventually became the 'Abbāsid caliphs), and then by his hitherto determined enemy, 'Ebū-Sufyān, aged sixty-five (and whom 'Umer would have killed, had not Muḥammed restrained him). These both at that time made their profession of 'Islām, were accepted by Muḥammed, and followed him into Mekka. There and then did the wife of 'Ebū-Sufyān, with her two sons, Yezīd (aged thirty-one) and Mu'āwiya (aged thirty), also avow their adhesion to 'Islām. Mu'āwiya even professed to have secretly embraced the faith two years earlier, when Muḥammed made the truce of Ḥudeybiyya with the Mekkans. 'Ebū-Sufyān's

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daughter, Mu'āwiya's sister, 'Ummu-Ḥabība Remla, had already been married in that sixth year of the Ḥijra (A.D. 628), as a widow, to Muḥammed, having, with her first husband, early adopted 'Islām, and with him joined the former emigration to Abyssinia. There he died, and there she was betrothed by proxy to Muḥammed, joining him later at Medīna. Mu'āwiya was therefore Muḥammed's brother-in-law.

'Ebū-Sufyān, with his two sons, Yezīd and Mu'āwiya, as well as 'Abbās, fought for 'Islām under Muḥammed in the battle of Ḥuneyn after the conquest of Mekka, in the same year, A.H. 8 (A.D. 630). They each received from Muḥammed, as a share of the spoil captured through the victory, one hundred camels and forty ounces of silver. 'Ebū-Sufyān was present, later in the same year, at the siege and capture of Tā'if, where he lost an eye by a wound.

Mu'āwiya, the younger of the two sons of 'Ebū-Sufyān, was henceforward employed by Muḥammed as one of his secretaries, scribes, or amanuenses; being one of twenty-three whose names are recorded as having served in that capacity, some more, some less. Zeyd son of Thābit was the most usual scribe, and Mu'āwiya stands next; having served so more than any of the remaining one-and-twenty, although the whole of the first four caliphs, 'Ebū-Bekr, 'Umer, 'Uthmān, and 'Aliyy, are included among them by history.

Muḥammed died in A.H. 11 (A.D. 632) at Medīna, and was succeeded by 'Ebū-Bekr, "the Most Faithful," as guide and ruler of young and orphaned 'Islām; spontaneously elected by his peers, the acknowledged leaders of the infant community. He took the title of Khalīfa (substitute; whence our "caliph"). He had first to recall to their faith and allegiance many of the tribes of Arabia. Then, in A.H. 12 (A.D. 633), he sent an army to oppose the Romans in southern trans-Jordanic Syria. He gave the chief command to Yezīd, Mu'āwiya's elder brother, son of 'Ebū-Sufyān. Yezīd re-

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peatedly broke the Roman levies opposed to him, and sent rich spoils to Medīna, the "City of the Prophet," where Muḥammed was buried; his grave, with those of his three immediate successors, being piously visited to this day. Mu'āwiya accompanied his brother Yezīd in this expedition, and never quitted him as long as they both lived. They never returned to Arabia from Syria.

Yezīd's successes paved the way to the further despatch of warriors from Medīna; and these were put under the command of 'Amr, son of 'Āṣi (written also 'Āṣ). In his younger days 'Amr had persecuted Muḥammed with insulting jeers and stinging lampoons. He now showed himself a zealous Muslim, a good general, and, later on, a no less skilful diplomatist.

When yet more numerous levies were gradually forwarded from Medīna, coming from all Arabia, 'Amr was directed to draw towards Palestine, while Yezīd advanced on the road towards Damascus, and other captains were sent to different quarters. The chief command was entrusted to 'Ebū-'Ubeyda, son of Jerrāḥ. Though eminently prudent, he lacked all military dash, celerity, and ability. Success now seemed to favour the Romans, conquest came to a standstill. 'Ebū-Bekr therefore recalled from Babylonia, where he had begun to make himself felt, the redoubtable Khālid, son of Welīd, Muḥammed's "Sword of God," to infuse new vigour into the Syrian campaign. In a short time Buṣrà (Bostra) fell to his arms; and next, Damascus was besieged.

The Roman emperor Heraclius, then holding his court at Antioch, thrice sent a large force to relieve Damascus. Thrice was the siege suspended to go and meet these reliefs. Thrice were the Roman succours defeated in the field, twice near Baalbek, the third time at 'Ejnādeyn (Aiznadin), near Anti-Lebanon. After this, Damascus did not long hold out against the Muslim hosts. But on the very day of its capture, the caliph 'Ebū-Bekr breathed his last at Medīna,

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when sixty-three years of age, in A.H. 13 (A.D. 634). He was succeeded by 'Umer, son of Khaṭṭāb, now fifty-three years old. This caliph reappointed 'Ebū-'Ubeyda to the chief command, and Baalbek was taken in A.H. 15 (A.D. 636). Emessa (Ḥimṣ) was next occupied, after Resten and Sheyzer had surrendered.

'Ebū-'Ubeyda now went southwards to meet a fourth Roman army under the emperor's son Constantine, who was at Cæsarea (Cæsarea Philippi, Banyās?) with fifty thousand men. They were met, however, by a still larger force of eighty thousand, under a general named Manuel, who had been further reinforced by sixty thousand Christian Arabians from the trans-Jordan regions, under Jebela, son of 'Eyhem, the last king of the line of Gassān, who later embraced 'Islām, but again apostatized. The two opposing forces met on the banks of the Yermūk river, the Hieromax of classical authors. A battle ensued and lasted several days, the Romans being at length utterly defeated, and Manuel killed in A.H. 15 (Nov. A.D. 636). The victors returned to Damascus.

The caliph 'Umer now ordered the siege of Jerusalem. Yezīd son of 'Ebū-Sufyān led the van from Damascus, and 'Ebū-'Ubeyda followed with the main force. After four months' siege, Jerusalem offered to capitulate on condition that the caliph should come from Medīna to take possession. He did so, and the surrender took place in A.H. 17 (A.D. 638).

Aleppo and Antioch next fell to the Muslim arms that same year, and from this latter city the Roman emperor Heraclius fled to Constantinople.

On the other hand, the caliph 'Umer, after the capture of Jerusalem, ordered 'Amr son of 'Āṣi to proceed to the conquest of Egypt. He first laid siege to Cæsarea, and sent Yezīd son of 'Ebū-Sufyān to attack Tyre, which was given up to him by treachery, as Tripoli of Syria had been delivered to the Muslims before. Constantine now left his

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camp, and retreated to Cæsarea Palæstinæ on the sea-coast; but he ultimately fled thence by sea, and this town was surrendered to 'Amr son of 'Āṣi. Other places fell in succession, and the conquest of Syria was completed in the fifth year of the caliph, and latter part of A.H. 17 (A.D. 639). A pestilence now broke out at Emmaus, and spread all over Syria, from which both 'Ebū-'Ubeyda and Yezīd son of 'Ebū-Sufyān died in A.H. 18 (A.D. 640), the latter leaving no issue, and appointing his younger brother Mu'āwiya to succeed him in his command over Damascus and Syria. He had earned the popular name of Yezīd the Good.

In the year A.H. 20 (A.D. 641) the caliph 'Umer made Mū'āwiya son of 'Ebū-Sufyān governor of Syria, as he had been *locum tenens* until then of his deceased brother. He was then about forty-two years of age, and continued governor for nineteen years during the caliphates of 'Umer, 'Uthmān, and 'Aliyy. He and 'Aliyy at first, and next he and 'Aliyy's eldest son Ḥasan, were rival caliphs during the last five or six years of that period; but 'Aliyy being murdered at Kūfa in Babylonia in A.H. 35 (A.D. 655), and Ḥasan resigning soon after, Mu'āwiya was at length universally acknowledged as the sole caliph of 'Islām in A.H. 41 (A.D. 661), being then sixty-three years old.

As Mu'āwiya son of 'Ebū-Sufyān died in A.H. 60 (A.D. 679), when his son and successor Yezīd was thirty-four years of age, the latter was, consequently, born in A.H. 26 (A.D. 646); and, as there is no mention made of his having had any brother or sister, his father most probably took Yezīd's mother Meysūn to wife in A.H. 25 (A.D. 645), the year after he was confirmed in his government by the third caliph 'Uthmān. She was, most likely, at that time from twelve to fourteen years of age, and Mu'āwiya was forty-seven.

Mu'āwiya had asked permission of the caliph 'Umer to fit out ships on the coast; but 'Umer was averse from the project. When he was murdered in A.H. 24 (A.D. 644), and 'Uthmān

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succeeded him, 'Uthmān gave the required sanction. In A.H. 26 (A.D. 646), then, the very year of his son Yezīd's birth, he sent his first ships to sea, and the firstfruits of the expedition was the capture of Aradus and Cyprus. The defeat of a Roman fleet was the next exploit. Then Crete and Malta were visited, and Rhodes captured. Old Phenician days had returned. Another Roman fleet was beaten on the coast of Asia Minor; every port in those parts was thrown into a state of alarm, and the harbour of Constantinople itself was the scene of naval hostilities. Such was Mu'āwiya at and about the time of Yezīd's birth.

The caliph 'Uthmān now dismissed the conqueror and governor of Egypt, the talented 'Amr, son of 'Āṣi. He appointed in 'Amr's stead his own foster-brother, 'Abdu-'llāh son of Sa'd. Troubles broke out in Medīna itself, ending in the assassination of the caliph in A.H. 35 (A.D. 655), and the proclamation of 'Aliyy, son of 'Ebū-Ṭālib, Muḥammed's cousin-german and son-in-law. He had married the youngest of the prophet's daughters, Fāṭima, and by her was the father of Ḥasan and Ḥuseyn, who were about seven and six years of age, respectively, when Muḥammed and also their mother died in one year. From these five, Muḥammed, Fāṭima, 'Aliyy, Ḥasan, and Ḥuseyn, are descended, through fathers or mothers, all the Seyyids and Sherīfs of 'Islām. The five are known as "*the holy mantle family*, 'ehlu 'l kisā'."

But Mu'āwiya accused 'Aliyy of being privy to, if not of covertly instigating, the murder of 'Uthmān. He proclaimed himself the avenger of the slaughtered ruler, and his party saluted him as caliph. He called to his councils the talented 'Amr son of 'Āṣi, promising to reinstate him in Egypt. Armies were levied on each side, and in A.H. 37 (A.D. 657) the two conflicting Muslim hosts, 'Aliyy's from Babylonia, and Mu'āwiya's from Syria, came in sight at Ṣiffīn, on the bank of the Euphrates, and fought several severe battles with balanced success. Negociations were set on foot; and it was

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arranged that, for the peace of 'Islām and avoidance of further bloodshed, the rivals should defer the question of the caliphate to umpires, and should meanwhile retire, each to his own capital. Mu'āwiya named as his umpire the astute and talented 'Amr son of 'Āṣi, and 'Aliyy another. These met, after some delay, at Dūmetu-'l-Jendel (the biblical Dumah, the modern Jewf, Palgrave's 'Djowf'), on the south border of the Syrian desert. By a stratagem, 'Aliyy was deposed by his own umpire, and 'Amr son of 'Āṣi proclaimed Mu'āwiya to be the sole and rightful caliph.

Each of the rivals, notwithstanding, kept possession of what he held, until, in A.H. 40 (A.D. 660), 'Aliyy was murdered in his own capital. His eldest son Ḥasan, then 36 years old, was set up in his place by his party. Difficulties arising, however, Ḥasan made terms with Mu'āwiya, abdicated, and retired to Medīna with his younger brother Ḥuseyn.

Mu'āwiya thus became at length, in A.H. 41 (A.D. 661), the undisputed caliph of 'Islām. His father 'Ebū-Sufyān had died ten years earlier, in A.H. 31, at the age of eighty-six. His son Yezīd was now fifteen years old. His dynasty, the house of 'Umeyya, the 'Umeyyids, vulgarly denominated by Europeans the Ommiads, ruled for ninety-one years, until A.H. 132 (A.D. 749), when they were exterminated by the descendants of 'Abbās, the 'Abbāsids. They conquered all north Africa, invaded Spain, and pushed on, in the east, to India and China.

Mu'āwiya surrounded himself with men of talent; and under his auspices Roman or Greek science began to be cultivated by the Arabian Muslims, in addition to their own native poetry and the various nascent branches of Muslim theology, philosophy, tradition, law, etc. This is not to be wondered at, when we reflect what numbers of Roman citizens and subjects embraced 'Islām, many of them persons of rank, culture, and learning. Faithful to his promise, Mu'āwiya reinstated immediately the able 'Amr son of 'Āṣi in his

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government of Egypt, where he died and was buried in A.H. 43 (A.D. 663).

Mu'āwiya now, A.H. 44 (A.D. 664), made an effort to obtain possession of the capital of the eastern empire of Rome, the city of Constantine the Great. His general was the veteran Sufyān son of 'Abdu-'llāh, who had under his command Mu'āwiya's only son Yezīd, aged 18, the younger son of the murdered caliph 'Aliyy, Ḥuseyn, aged 46, and the venerable 'Ebu-'Eyyūb Khālid son of Zeyd, who, forty-four years before, at Medīna, had been the host of Muḥammed for a month, on his first arrival as a fugitive from Mekka; besides other warriors of renown or promise. Six years were unavailingly consumed in this distant enterprise. 'Ebū-'Eyyūb was one of its victims. His death occurred about the year A.H. 50 (A.D. 670); and a mausoleum was built over his grave in later days, having by its side the cathedral mosque where the Ottoman Sultan-Caliphs now assume the sabre at their ceremonial accession.

Mu'āwiya's only son Yezīd, born, as before mentioned, in A.H. 26 (A.D. 646), had married, when only sixteen years of age, in A.H. 42 (A.D. 662), and had become a father the year following, A.H. 43 (A.D. 663), before he went to seek renown at the siege of Constantinople. After his return from thence, when Ḥasan, the eldest son of the former caliph 'Aliyy, was poisoned at Medīna, as was said, in A.H. 49 (A.D 680), Yezīd, then twenty-three years old, was accused or suspected, perhaps by sectarian or family enemies of his line, of having instigated Ḥasan's murder by one of the wives of the victim, so as to clear the way to his own succession. But the murdered man left a brother; and they both had several sons. Moreover, Yezīd did not succeed his father until eleven years later, A.H. 60 (A.D. 679), as Mu'āwiya lived to be eighty years old, or more. Yezīd was then thirty-four, reigned but five years, died in A.H. 65 (A.D. 684), and had for his successor his only son, Mu'āwiya II., aged twenty-two. He abdicated after a

reign of only six months, and died soon afterwards, the direct line of the great Mu'āwiya thus becoming extinct, and the sovereignty passing to collaterals.

From this cursory survey we see that history is silent respecting Yezīd son of Mu'āwiya and his mother Meysūn from the time of his birth until his father sent him to the siege of Constantinople when he was eighteen years old, and when Mu'āwiya was an undisputed and mighty monarch. It cannot, therefore, be directly disproved that Meysūn was sent away for singing her song, or that she took her son away with her. It may be remarked that the words said to have been addressed to her on the occasion by Mu'āwiya, "Rejoin thou thy people," do not constitute a full divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* in 'Islām, but are recallable.

If we suppose that she was dismissed to her own kin when Yezīd was about a year old, he may have been recalled by Mu'āwiya as soon as was deemed necessary for his education. This was, apparently, completed when he was allowed to marry at the age of sixteen, and was sent to the siege of Constantinople when eighteen. If he remained with his mother till he was eight or ten, he may have imbibed poetic notions from her kindred, sufficient to be improved by culture under teachers provided by his father, a man of mark in all the learning of the period. His training by such teachers from that time till he was sixteen, and even eighteen, was ample. He must by then have acquired enough of the vernacular purity of diction and poetic eloquence to warrant the reputation he has left of being an accomplished orator and a talented extemporiser of verse. The Arabian tribesmen, before Muḥammed's advent, as they are still, were, many of them, good scribes and first-rate oral poets, whose verses flew far and wide over the whole peninsula, to be repeated at social gatherings even to our day. Almost all the early generals of 'Islām were famed as poets also.

Such being the possibilities, what, on the other hand, are

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the probabilities that common sense may educe out of the meagre details that must serve as the premisses to any conclusion as to Meysūn and the poem attributed to her?

We learn, in short, from the historical fragments given above, that 'Ebū-Sufyān, and also his two sons, Yezīd the Good and Mu'āwiya, were men of talent and learning. Verses by the father have come down to us; Yezīd was a successful leader; and Mu'āwiya excelled in all the qualities that go to make up a great ruler. They all three went to Syria after Muḥammed's death, aided in the conquest of that country, and died there. Mu'āwiya, more especially, after he became governor of that province, made himself so beloved or feared that he ultimately became the greatest potentate of his time, as he was also a most generous patron of talent and learning.

Was he, then, the man, the prince, in the early years of his delegated governorship, when he must have been most prudent and circumspect, most careful of all his words and actions, when Meysūn was newly united to him, and his only son Yezīd was an infant, when all his powers of body and mind were at their prime, or in their early maturity; was he a man likely to take to himself, in the first place, as his wife, a raw, untutored child of the desert, and was the young lady he selected as his partner likely to have preserved in her mind so lively a preference for the desert life as to long for it in the midst of the splendour with which he doubtlessly surrounded her? Even had she been so, she was a mother as well as a wife and a great princess. Would she, then, be likely to look upon the grand, wise, brave, learned, generous, and generally beloved father of her infant son as a "foddered ass," or, taking Ziyā Pasha's version, as a "coarse barbarian," "outlandish miscreant," or "tiresome lout"? Spoiled, haughty, even enervated, he may have possibly grown in far later years; but at the time of his life in question he must have been in the constant habitual practice

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of all the noblest and most considerate punctilios natural to a rising prosperous statesman, trusted by his distant sovereign, loved by and relied on by those around and under him, respected or feared by his neighbours. "Ass," "barbarian," "boor," "clown," "lout" he certainly could not have been, save in the eyes of a sectarian or personal jealous enemy, and reckless vituperation.

Is there not then, even on these considerations alone, a certain weight, a preponderating importance, to be attached to Ziyā Pasha's marginal remark that the author of the verses attributed to Meysūn is unknown? He most likely was well aware that they commonly pass as the production of the fretting petulancy of Yezīd's talented but untamed mother, Mu'āwiya's Bedewiyy wife. But, weighing the crucial expression of the poem, "foddered ass" or "coarse barbarian," as has been done here, Ziyā Pasha may well have concluded in his own mind that the case was "not proven," as far as Meysūn and Mu'āwiya are concerned; and thereupon curtly recorded his conviction that the verses, though worth insertion in a miscellany, are the production of some unknown author. The words of the poem would far better suit the case of some recently captured and enslaved desert girl, held as his mistress by some "coarse," unfeeling, well-to-do citizen or petty governor.

A far more improbable detail in the story about the dismissal of Meysūn by Mu'āwiya when he chanced to overhear her singing her ditty, beyond the likelihood, even, that he should apply the offensive expression to himself, is that, on going away from him to join her own kin, she should be allowed by him to take his infant son Yezīd, the sole hope of his line, with her, according to Sir R. Burton, "to her cousins and beloved wilds," as Mrs. Clerk says, "into the desert," but, as Dr. Carlyle more definitely puts it, "to Yemen."

Now Yezīd appears, as has already been stated, to have

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been Mu'āwiya's first and only child. He may possibly have had other offspring before his union with Meysūn, and he may have begotten other children from other wives or concubines after her departure, if he really did dismiss her. But history makes no mention whatever of any such; and the first authentic notice of Yezīd in active life, after his birth, that I know of, is the account of his being sent with the fleet and army that fruitlessly besieged Constantinople, after Mu'āwiya had become sole caliph, and when Yezīd was already eighteen years old; for his marriage at the age of sixteen is a mere computation backwards from the age of his son and successor, Mu'āwiya II., at the date of his accession.

Let us now contemplate the complexion of the times at and after Yezīd's birth, in A.H. 26, until his father had become sole caliph, in A.H. 41, and his own marriage the year following, A.H. 42, at the age of sixteen, when he must have been at Damascus with his father.

At the very time of Yezīd's birth, Mu'āwiya was fitting out his first ships and personally conducting his maritime expeditions against Cyprus, the islands of Aradus, Rhodes, Malta, etc.; and it was nine years before the murder of 'Uthmān, in A.H. 35, called Mu'āwiya to declare against 'Aliyy, and to become his competitor for the caliphate. If Yezīd ever was allowed to leave Damascus with his mother, it must have been during a portion or the whole of the last seven or eight of those nine years.

But all the reported facts of Mu'āwiya's life, including his maritime expeditions, besides the character that history has recorded of him for moderation, generosity, perseverance, and astuteness, seem to make it in the highest degree improbable that he should have sent away for so frivolous a cause the mother of his only son; much less that he should have allowed her to take that only son of his into the desert, and least of all to distant Yemen, fifteen hundred miles from Damascus.

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The Arabian tribesmen are by no means all of them nomads. The great majority of them, on the contrary, are denizens of villages, towns and cities; agriculturists, manufacturers, tradesmen, merchants, soldiers, sailors, lawyers, professors of science, princes; and most of the members of all these classes are habitual warriors and natural poets. It is hardly possible, therefore, that Mu'āwiya, a chieftain among the Qureysh of Mekka, for five or six years an inhabitant of Medīna, a confidant of Muḥammed and of 'Ebū-Bekr, successor designate to his own elder brother, Yezīd the Good, and confirmed in the office of Governor-General of Syria by two caliphs, 'Umer and 'Uthmān, the patron of poets and of all kinds of learning, the organizer of armies and planner of fleets to be, should, after all these glories were his own, find no other partner in his greatness, no other mother for his anticipated line, than a nomad girl, still so little tamed, still so wildly wedded to desert life and its accompaniments, as to prefer its fancied freedom to the splendours and refinements of a great provincial court, and to the love and society of so eminent a man, so great a prince.

Meysūn, the daughter of Baḥdel the Kelbite, may have been, in reality, every way worthy of her distinguished husband. She may have been, for aught we know, the daughter of a wild nomad chieftain, or even of a Bedewiyy commoner, free or slave, in Damascus. The caliph 'Aliyy, after the death of Fātima, had married the captive Ḥanefiyya girl; and her son by 'Aliyy, Muḥammed son of the Ḥanefiyya, became as celebrated a man of learning and piety as either of his elder half-brothers. So may Meysūn have been, as nothing to the contrary is known, that I am aware of. But Mu'āwiya's character makes it far more likely that she was the beautiful child of a man of mark and cultivation, even if he were from Yemen.

Yemen was then, as it had been for many centuries, and as it continued for centuries afterwards, until ruined by

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European enterprise passing to India and China, Persia, etc., round the Cape of Good Hope, the commercial centre of Arabia, the emporium where the rich products of the East, together with its own native drugs and manufactures, were bartered for such articles as the Roman world, Syria, Egypt, and Africa could bring to its marts. When 'Islām roused the whole of the Arabian tribes, urban and rustic, to the conquest of half the known world, warriors from Yemen, Yemāma, and 'Umān, flocked to the standards, as well as the men of the Ḥijāz, as well as the desert nomads. They were accompanied by their wives, sisters, and daughters, in large numbers, as well as by their sons. History frequently testifies to this; and, as town after town, city after city, was captured from the Romans, garrisons and governors of Arabian blood were placed in them. These last would be the picked men of the nation, more generally townsfolk, men of learning and refinement, as well as brave warriors and subtle negociators. The rank and file would be peasantry; the nomads would generally be skirmishers, and avoid town life.

Colonies and families of the Kelbite race are met with in all parts, as conquest extended. Baḥdel, Meysūn's reported father, may have been an officer, a subordinate governor, a merchant, a man of letters, a functionary of the new worship, a professor in a college, etc., as these were quickly founded. He may have been established in Damascus, in any of these capacities, before Mu'āwiya returned there as governor-general. Meysūn may have been born in Damascus, or brought there an infant by her father and mother; for she married Mu'āwiya twelve years after Damascus was taken. Her mother may have been a Roman or Syrian captive. Girls are married young in those parts, and mothers of twelve and thirteen are not uncommon. Admitting, then, for argument's sake, that Meysūn composed, or only sang, the ditty; admitting that Mu'āwiya overheard her, applied the one offensive word to himself, grew angry in consequence, and

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instantly dismissed her to her own people; admitting that she went, then and there, to her own family, her father's kith and kin, taking her infant son with her under Mu'āwiya's sanction, and retaining him until he was of an age to do without her maternal care; it by no means follows that she went herself and took her child to the desert, still less to Yemen. She would most likely go to her father's house in Damascus; and Mu'āwiya could consent to this, as he was now frequently absent in his naval expeditions. The child would still be under the supervision of any one he might appoint. His father could assure himself that Yezīd was duly taken care of, properly tended in sickness (for he was attacked by smallpox at some unknown period of his life), properly schooled when of the requisite age, and recallable to his own guidance when he saw fit, or when danger loomed in the distance, as it did so soon as the tortuous policy of the caliph 'Uthmān raised troubles in Egypt first, and then at Medīna, ending in his assassination in A.H. 35 (A.D. 655), when Yezīd was nine years old. Now, if not before, Mu'āwiya would assume the personal supervision of his son's training.

It is true that Muḥammed himself, when a poor orphan-suckling after the death of his father, was given to a foster-mother of a stranger tribe, with whom he remained two years, until he was weaned; as most of the children of Mekka were so put out to nurse with rustic women of the neighbourhood, trusted by their parents. But the story of Meysūn's being allowed by Mu'āwiya to take Yezīd into the desert or to Yemen from Damascus, so recently captured and occupied, is utterly incredible, as it would always be difficult or impossible to recall him when old enough, and equally impossible to watch over him if allowed to remain longer with his mother. It may, therefore, almost with certainty, be concluded that Ziyā Pasha gave a true and correct judgment when he recorded his marginal note to this little poem: "By an unknown author." According as tastes vary, this

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simple ditty may be pronounced sublime or commonplace, but that it was not indited or sung by Meysūn the mother of Yezīd son of Mu'āwiya, is a moral certainty, though sectarian or dynastic rancour has succeeded in commonly coupling her name with it.

Appendix.

A study of the variously transliterated names connected with the so-called "Poem of Meysūn," coupled with long-continued former tentatives on my part to elaborate a satisfactory system for the rational rendering of Arabic names, words, and sentences in English letters, as far as possible, has revived in me a desire to lay before the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society a tolerably complete view of my present matured system, adapted to an approximatively correct scientific method of writing Arabic in our characters, so to say, as it is pronounced by professed reciters of the Qur'ān, on the basis of the special science called *'Ilmu-'t-Tejwīd* عِلْمُ ٱلتَّجْوِيدِ, which may be translated *Kalophonesis* 'good enunciation.'

This definition of the system naturally excludes any consideration of the ever-varying local, provincial modes of pronouncing vernacular Arabic, as practised by nations inhabiting different parts of the extensive regions, from Arabia to Morocco, where that language is the mother-tongue; and still more so, forbids any reference to the variously modified methods of pronouncing Arabic words and names by East Indians, Malays, Persians, Turks, etc. Of Ottoman pronunciation I have fully treated in my Ottoman Grammar recently published by Trübner and Co.

Each one of such provincial dialects of Arabic, and each one of such national adaptations of Arabian words and letters, would require a special treatise for its elucidation in a

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scientific manner, of which each would be perfectly capable in the hands of a competent master. But when to these we add the chaotic jumble resulting from attempts to transliterate the whole of these modes of pronunciation by one unvarying system, or by hap-hazard, one is apt to sink down in despair. As well might one essay to write all the languages of Europe with our unmethodical English mode of spelling.

But confusion worse confounded is created by writers who, not able to read the language, and casually visiting one or several of the Arabic-spoken countries, try their skill at portraying in English letters or books, and guided by their untutored ear alone, not only what they fancy the provincial natives utter, but also the vile composts that pass from mouth to mouth among ignorant *laquais-de-place*, self-styled interpreters or dragomans, of many a nationality; and when to this ear-guidance of their own, they add a medley of correct or erroneous Arabic words or names copied from other writers of some other nationality, the *ne plus ultra* is reached of puzzling empiricism. Our newspapers and periodicals, even our official correspondence, and our East-Indian compositions, afford ample proof of this, which need not here be further dwelt upon.

It was a singular aberration of a highly-gifted mind, when a rough and ready, though erroneous, rule had been enunciated for such transliterations, viz. "all consonants as in English, and all vowels as in Italian," that a great scholar should arise to teach English university men, and others, to forsake the horizontal straight stroke used over the long vowels of their school and college prosodial exercitations, and bid them adopt the right-to-left-downward sloping "*dash*" of the French *é* (*e aigu*), for the purpose of marking a long Arabic (or other eastern) vowel; informing them at the same time, forsooth, that this is the Italian method. The Italians have no such usage. They never mark their long vowels in any way whatever. What they really do is to

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mark with that accent, in dictionaries only, the vowel of that syllable of a word on which the stress falls; and never do they use it in ordinary books or in writing. But, when such vowel is final, with the stress on it, they mark it in print and in writing with a dash sloping down from left to right, the French *accent grave*; as in *facoltà, appiè, cio è, oggidì, verrò, virtù*, etc.

It amounts almost to a national sin, to a crime of *lèse majesté*, when English scholars, men of truly profound learning, condescend, in English publications, to adopt the French method of transliteration;—with its diphthongs, which do not exist in Arabic; with its *accent circonflexe*, ˆ, unknown in English, to mark the Arabic long vowels; with their erroneous *o* instead of the Italian *u*; and with their erroneous *e* in place of the Italian *i*. There is no vowel *o* in the whole Arabic language; though the consonant-ended combination ـَوْ, *aw* or *ew* (as the word or syllable is hard or soft) is vernacularly uttered by provincials in such a way that unaccustomed foreign ears take it for a vowel *o*. Still, this is a different thing to the systematic misrepresentation of the Arabic vowel *u*, which, short or long, is always pure, as in Italian. It must have been originally given to Jewish teachers of Arabic from Spain, whose pronunciation always has been abominable in every respect, to mislead Italian students in the middle ages, and make them sound the *dzamma* vowel as an *o*; and it is full time that so pernicious a practice were discontinued, both here and on the continent. The *e* instead of Italian *i*, above spoken of, has no basis whatever, except perversely erroneous and general French usage. The "accent circonflexe" of French orthography has a special history of its own, quite different from that of a true long vowel; but, as their writers have chosen to make this *accent* the sign of an Arabic long vowel, we need not complain, for we are under no compulsion to adopt their unscientific makeshift. To mark an Arabic long vowel in a

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thoroughly English and scholarlike manner, we have our well-known legitimate, prosodial symbol, ¯, straight and horizontal; though, unfortunately, I know of no technical name for it. How much more English and scholarly, how much better and more correct, to transliterate *Kātib*, than to pervert this into *Kâteb*, or into *Kátib*.

As was remarked above, there are no diphthongs whatever in the Arabic language (nor, indeed, truly, in any language). What are erroneously styled Arabic diphthongs, namely, a *fet-ḥa* vowel, ´, followed by a consonantal *w* وْ, or *y* يْ, final to the syllable, are no more diphthongs than are *ab*, *eb*, *ad*, *ed*, etc. The French, denying that final *y* is ever a consonant, and having no *w* in their alphabet, attempt to figure the words قَوْلٌ *qawl*, قَيْنٌ *qayn*, يَوْمٌ *yewm*, بَيْنٌ *beyn*, by the monstrosities *kaoul*, *kaïn*, *iaoum*, *beïn*, etc.

Another Arabic combination of an altogether different nature, but also, quite erroneously, denominated a diphthong by many, is where two vowels, belonging to two successive syllables in a word, are brought by transliteration into forced juxtaposition, through the incorrect elision, owing to our alphabetical deficiency, and lack of equivalents for the two Arabic consonants, *hemza* ء, and *'ayn* ع. These two letters, ء and ع, are as truly and as efficiently consonants, as are *all* the letters of the Arabic alphabet in their primary values. They both represent, to European ears, a kind of hiatus or gulp where they occur, the *hemza* being soft, something in the nature of our *diæresis* or *trema*, while the ع is very harsh and gulpy, totally unknown to us. They are, therefore, true, efficient consonants, though we may be unable to articulate them. They are, both of them, capable of reduplication in the pronunciation and grammar of a derived word, exactly like all other consonants; as in تَفَأَّلَ *tefe"ela*, تَفَعَّلَ *tefa"ala*; and they may be conveniently transliterated by two distinct modifications of our ordinary apostrophe reversed, one turned

to the left, the other to the right. The apostrophe is wanted in transliterating Arabic compound names and clauses, to represent a different incident that befalls some letters ا initial to words. Three signs of elision are therefore used in the present or proposed system, the ordinary apostrophe, ', indicating the omission of an initial letter in pronunciation; the inverted apostrophe turned to the left, ʾ, showing the place of a consonant which we do not possess in our alphabet, the *hemza;* and the inverted apostrophe turned to the right, ʿ, to represent the harsh consonant *ʿayn*, which also our alphabet does not contain. All three are perfectly distinct; each represents a distinct Arabic letter; and retransliteration back into Arabic characters is kept free from all doubt. For, any system of transliteration, to be considered perfect, must represent unmistakably to the eye of the scholar the original letters, while it enables a reader who is unacquainted with the written characters of the original text, to read the words with a fair approximation to correctness, with a little practice. It is a lamentable error, propagated in our Hebrew grammars to the effect that the Hebrew equivalents to the Arabic ء and ع, namely א and ע, have no value, and go for nothing, etc. In ordinary books and newspapers, the apostrophe might be used for all three purposes; though the two inverted forms of it would always be preferable, in their respective places.

As is well known, the three Arabic *short* vowels are usually omitted in ordinary print and handwriting, having to be supplied in reading and speaking by the person who reads or speaks. He must know what vowels are omitted, or he cannot read; and of course he cannot converse unless he knows the vowels of his words. But in books used by learners, and in copies of the Qur'ān, etc., the vowels are marked, in whole or in part. They are called collectively *ḥareka* حَرَكَةٌ 'movement, motion'; by us, "vowel-points." The three are, respectively, named *fet-ḥa* فَتْحَةٌ, *kesra* كَسْرَةٌ, and *dzamma* ضَمَّةٌ, which names mean, in their order, an

"opening," a "breaking," a "folding"; and their marks are the following: ´, ˎ, ʼ. Their values are, respectively, *a* or *e*, *i*, *u*, as is more fully explained further on; thus: مُتَحَرِّكٌ *mutaḥarrik*, مُتَصَوِّفٌ *mutaṣawwif*, مُتَبَرِّكٌ *muteberrik*, مُتَسَلِّمٌ *mutesellim*. The vowels that, in theoretic grammar, follow the final consonant of a word, whether they be the mark of a case in nouns, or of a result of conjugation in a verb, are generally omitted in the vernacular; and when the word stands alone, or is final in a sentence, they are omitted even in reading the Qur'ān, subject to rules that are beside our present subject.

The three Arabic "long" vowels that correspond with the three "short" ones mentioned above are the three letters (consonants in all other circumstances): ا, و, ى, then called "letters of prolongation," *ḥurūfu 'l-medd* حُرُوفُ ٱلْمَدِّ (sing., *ḥarfu 'l-medd* حَرْفُ ٱلْمَدِّ). They are also said to be "prolonged," *memdūd* مَمْدُودٌ; thus, long ا is called *'elif memdūda* أَلِفٌ مَمْدُودَةٌ; long ى is *yā memdūda*, يَآءٌ مَمْدُودَةٌ; and long و is *wāw memdūda*, وَاوٌ مَمْدُودَةٌ. To become a long vowel, however, each of these three letters, otherwise consonants, must immediately follow the homogeneous short vowel-points; ا must follow *fet-ḥa*, ى must follow *kesra*, and و must follow *dzamma*; as in بَابٌ *bāb*, بِيضٌ *bīḍz*, حُورٌ *ḥūr*.

Whenever letter ا is a consonant, it is usually marked in writing by a *hemza* sign being placed over it, أ. It is then named *hemza-'elif*, *hemz'-'elif*, or simply, for brevity, *hemza*. Consonantal *'elif* is really one and the same thing with *hemza*, and in certain cases is written as *hemza* alone, without a letter ا as its support, as in جَآءَ *jā'a*, شَآءَ *shā'a*, etc.

But this consonantal أ, this *hemza*, is capable, like every other consonant, of taking every one of the three vowels, short and long, after it in pronunciation; as it is also capable, like them, of being *quiescent* (as it is called); *i.e.* of being vowelless, and of thus ending a syllable. The subject of the

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various conditions of *hemza*, or consonantal *'elif*, is somewhat intricate, as is shown in the following paragraphs.

1. When *hemza* is initial to an ordinary word (*i.e.* when it is not a *hemza of junction*, which see further on), and is followed by any one of the three *short* vowels, it always keeps the one, unchanging written form, like every other consonant. Thus, أَرْضٌ *'ardz*, أَلَمٌ *'elem*, أِنْ *'in*, إِنْسَانٌ *'insān*, أُصُولٌ *'uṣūl*. With *kesra* vowel, the *hemza* sign is more generally placed, with the vowel-point, below the ا; as إِنْسَانٌ, etc.

2. When *hemza* is initial to an ordinary word, but is followed by a *long* vowel, it still follows the foregoing rule of no change in its written form, so long as the vowel is *heterogeneous* to the *hemza*; i.e. when the vowel is either *kesra* or *dzamma*, as in إِيرَادٌ *'īrād*, أُولَى *'ūlà*. But, with the *homogeneous* long vowel, the two letters, consonantal initial أ, and long-vowel ا, coalesce into one sole letter ا; and this one ا is then marked in writing with a special symbol, ~, called *medd* مَدٌّ, or *medda* مَدَّةٌ ("prolongation"); generally without, but sometimes, optionally, with the *hemza* sign; thus, آلٌ or أَالٌ stands for أَالٌ, and is transliterated *'āl*.

3. When أ is not initial to a word, other rules have to be observed. It may then be either movent or quiescen, i.e. followed or not, accompanied or not, by its own vowel in pronunciation; and this is tantamount to saying, in other words, that non-initial أ may either begin or end a non-initial syllable in a word (exactly like every other consonant). Its rules in these cases vary greatly.

4. When أ, non-initial to a word, is initial to a syllable, whether its own vowel be short or long, we have to take notice of the vowel that accompanies the consonant preceding the أ in the word, as well as its own vowel.

5. If that preceding vowel, as well as its own, be the homogeneous short *fet-ḥa* ´, then أ suffers no change in

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its written form. Thus, نَأَرَ *the'era*, جَأَشَ *je'esha*, رَأَسَ *re'esa*, etc. But if its own homogeneous vowel be long ا, after a preceding short *fet-ha*, then آ is written instead of اَ; thus, سَآفَةٌ *sa'āfa*, مَآلٌ *ma'āl*, etc.

6. If non-initial *hemza* be preceded in the word by a heterogeneous short vowel, *kesra* or *dzamma*, its own vowel still continuing homogeneous and short, the أ undergoes a corresponding change in its written form, and becomes ئ after *kesra*, and ؤ after *dzamma*; as, رِئَةٌ *ri'a*, طِئَةٌ *ṭi'a*, مِئَةٌ *m'ia*, ثُؤَبَاءٌ *thu'ebā'*, جُؤَرٌ *ju'er*, رُؤَسَاءُ *ru'esā'*, etc.

7. If, in such case, its own vowel be long, it then takes itself one or other of the two forms given in the preceding paragraph, but is followed by that one of the three long-vowel letters, ا, ى, و, which is homogeneous with its own long vowel; thus رِئَاسَةٌ *ri'āsa*, رِئِيٌّ *ri'iyy*, رِئِيسٌ *ri'īs*, رِئُونٌ *ri'ūn*, جُؤَارٌ *ju'ār*, ذُؤَابَةٌ *dhu'āba*, رُؤَآءٌ *ru'ā'*, ثُؤُورَةٌ *thu'ūra*, etc.; and ئَا is sometimes written آ; as, آرِتَآسٌ for آرِتِئَاسٌ *'irti'ās* (*'rti'ās*).

8. And if the *hemza's* vowel in such case be short, and the preceding vowel be short *fet-ha* َ, it still changes its written form as above; thus, بَئِسَ *be'isa*, بَؤُسَ *be'usa*, ذَئِبَ *dhe'iba*, ذَؤُبَ *dhe'uba*, رَئِفَ *re'ifa*, رَؤُفَ *re'ufa*, etc.

9. If the preceding vowel be short *fet-ha* َ, while its own vowel be long and heterogeneous, the change in written form occurs as above, but the long-vowel letter is added; as, تَئِيمٌ *te'īm*, رَئِيسٌ *re'īs*, ذَؤُوبٌ *de'ūb*, رَؤُوفٌ *re'ūf*, etc. The second ء is often, perhaps mistakenly, omitted in writing and printing such words as these last two, even in copies of the Qur'ān, from reverence for ancient use.

10. If the preceding vowel be long *fet-ha* اَ, and the *hemza's* vowel be short, it takes the written form of ء, ئِ or ؤُ, according to which vowel belongs to it; and the ا of the preceding long vowel is marked with the *medd* sign آ; thus, تَبَآءَسَ *tebā'esa*, تَفَآءَلَ *tefā'ela*, مُتَآءِمٌ *mutā'em*, مُتَبَآئِسٌ

mutebā'is, مُتَبَآئِسٌ *mutefā'il*, مُتَآئِمٌ *mutā'im*, مُرَآئِلٌ *murā'il* مُذَآئِرٌ *mudhā'ir*, ثَآئِرٌ *thā'ir*, رَآئِفٌ *rā'if*, زَآئِرٌ *zā'ir*, قَآئِلٌ *qā'il*, تَبَآؤُسٌ *tebā'us*, تَفَآؤُلٌ *tefā'ul*, etc. In this last case, وُ, the vowel is sometimes long, as in زَآؤُولٌ *zā'ūl*. In some of such words the *hemza* is radical, as in رَائِفٌ *rā'if*, etc.; in others it is servile and formative, as in بَهَآئِمٌ *bahā'im*, etc.; and in others again it is a commutative substitute for a radical consonant ى or و, as in زَآئِرٌ *zā'ir*, سَآئِرٌ, *sā'ir* قَآئِلٌ *qā'il*, etc. This is a very difficult part of Arabic grammar.

11. There are some, comparatively few, words in which أ is the second radical, and has short *kesra*, ـِ, for its vowel, while it is preceded by a short *dzamma* vowel ʼ. It does not then conform in writing to that preceding ʼ vowel, but is written ؤِ; thus, دُئِلٌ *du'il*, ذُئِبَ *dhu'iba*, سُئِلَ *su'ila*, etc.

12. Non-initial *hemza* in a word, when initial to a syllable, may be immediately preceded by a quiescent consonant, marked in writing, when necessary, with the *jezm* جَزْمٌ sign over it ـْ, which is also called *sukūn* سُكُونٌ; the quiescent consonant then ends the preceding syllable of the word. The *hemza*, in such case, figures, in writing, as أ, ئِ, or ؤ, according to its own vowel, if short: thus, جَيْأَلَةٌ *jey'ela*, مُتْئِمٌ *mut'im*, مُرْئِلَةٌ *mur'ila*; بَؤْرٌ *'eb'ur*, أَجْؤُمٌ *'ej'um*, أَدْؤُرٌ *'ed'ur*, etc.; or as آ, ئِي, ؤُو, if its own vowel be long; thus, مِئَامٌ *mit'ām*, تَرْئِيسٌ *ter'īs*, مَثْؤُوبٌ *meth'ūb*, etc. But مَسْئُولٌ and مَسْؤُلٌ are sometimes found written for مَسْؤُولٌ *mes'ūl*.

13. When medial (non-initial) *hemza*, being the second radical in a derivative word, is reduplicated, exactly in the same way with any other consonant of the alphabet, it ends one syllable, and also begins the next. It then still follows, in writing, the rules given above, whether its vowel in the second of those two syllables be short or long. Thus, تَفَأَّلَ *tefe"ela*, تَفَؤُّلٌ *tefe"ul*, مُتَفَئِّلٌ *mutefe"il*, مُذَئِّبٌ *mudhe"ib*, جَأَّبٌ *ja"āb*, جَأَّارٌ *ja"ār*, etc.

14. When medial *hemza*, not being reduplicated, ends a syllable, its written form depends entirely on the vowel of the syllable it ends, being written أَ after *fet-ḥa*, إِ after *kesra*, and ؤُ after *dzamma*. Thus, بَأْسٌ *be's*, دَأْبٌ *de'b*, ثَأْرٌ *the'r*, جَأْشٌ *je'sh*, ثَأْرَةٌ *the'ra*, رَأْفَةٌ *re'fa*; بِئْرٌ *bi'r*, بِئْسَ *bi'sa*, ذِئْبٌ *dhi'b*, ذِئْبَانٌ *dhi'bān*, رِئْلَانٌ *ri'lān*, زِئْبَقٌ *zi'baq*; بُؤْسٌ *bu's*, ثُؤْلُولٌ *thu'lūl*, رُؤْيَا *ru'yà*, لُؤْلُؤٌ *lu'lu'*, ذُؤْنُونٌ *dhu'nūn*, etc.

15. When *hemza* is final in a *word*, it *must* form a syllable by itself with its own short vowel (or case-ending nunnation, ٍ, ً, or ٌ). It may then follow, either a quiescent consonant, or a consonant accompanied by its following short or long vowel. Thus, بَدْءٌ *bed'*, دِفْءٌ *dif'*, جُزْءٌ *juz'*, دَفَأَ *defe'*, دَفِئٌ *defi'*, دَفُؤَ *defu'a*, جَزَاءٌ *jezā'*, دَفِيءٌ *defī'*, مَجْزُوءٌ *mejzū'*, etc. The transliterations here given, exclusive of the case-endings, show how the words are pronounced when they stand alone, or come before a full stop in a phrase or sentence. The oblique cases, بَدْءٍ *bed'in*, بَدْءٍ *bed'i*, بَدْءًا *bed'an*, بَدْءَ *bed'a*, need but to be mentioned without detail, as there is nothing else to separate them from the other final consonants.

16. At the beginning of certain well-defined words only, initial *hemza*, when any one of those words follows any other word in a phrase or sentence, becomes elided in pronunciation alone, being still written. It is then called the *'elif of junction*, أَلِفُ ٱلْوَصْلِ *'elifu 'l-waṣl*; and is marked with a special sign, ◌ٰ, called *waṣla* وَصْلَةٌ, placed over it thus, آ. The words in question are of four classes; viz. 1, the definite article ٱلْ alone; 2, the ten following nouns: ٱبْنٌ, ٱمْرَأَةٌ, ٱمْرَءٌ, ٱسْمٌ, ٱسْتٌ, ٱثْنَتَانِ, ٱثْنَانِ, ٱبْنَمٌ, ٱبْنَةٌ, and ٱيْمَنٌ; 3, the imperatives regular of verbs of the first or primitive form; and 4, every word of the seventh and following derivative forms of verbs that begin with *hemza*, with the exception of the first person singular of the aorist tenses.

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In transliterations of all these words, our apostrophe is the fitting sign of such elision.

17. But, with regard to the definite article and this elision of its *hemza* when not initial in a sentence or solitary word, the further observation is needed that, in this respect, the Arabic alphabet of twenty-eight letters is divided equally into two classes of fourteen letters each, denominated respectively the "lunar" and the "solar" letters; because the words قَمَرٌ *qamer* (the moon), and شَمْسٌ *shems* (the sun) have their initial letters in the two classes respectively. The lunar letters, اَلْحُرُوفُ اَلْقَمَرِيَّةُ *'el ḥurūfu 'l-qameriyya*, are, أ, ب, ج, ح, خ, ع, غ, ف, ق, ك, م, و, ه, ى; while the solar letters, اَلْحُرُوفُ اَلشَّمْسِيَّةُ *'el ḥurūfu 'sh-shemsiyya*, are, ت, ث, د, ذ, ر, ز, س, ش, ص, ض, ط, ظ, ل, ن. The difference seen above in the two class-names is that when a noun, the initial of which is a lunar letter, حَرْفٌ قَمَرِيٌّ *ḥarfun qameriyy*, is shown to be definite by the article that precedes it, no further change occurs in the group beyond the simple elision of the initial ا of that article in its pronunciation; thus, قَالَ اَلْأَوْلَادُ *qāla 'l-'ewlād*, دَقَّ اَلْبَابَ *daqqa 'l-bāb*, خَسَفَ اَلْقَمَرُ *khasefa 'l-qamer*, etc.; but, when the initial letter of the noun is a solar letter, حَرْفٌ شَمْسِيٌّ *ḥarfun shemsiyy*, then, not only does the elision of the initial ا of the article take place as before, but the ل also of that article is transformed, in pronunciation, though not in writing, into the initial solar letter of the noun, which is then marked by the sign of reduplication ّ, the *jezm* sign ْ of the ل disappears in writing, and the *wasla* sign ٱ is extended (in handwritings only, not in print) so as to cover the whole article الْ; thus قَالَ اَلرَّسُولُ *qāla 'r-resūl*, شَقَّ اَلثَّوْبَ *shaqqa 'th-thewb*, كَسَفَ اَلشَّمْسُ *kesefe 'sh-shems*, etc.

18. A penultimate long vowel in any Arabic word *must*

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be followed by a consonant with its short vowel, or its nunnation; and this consonant may be *hemza*, radical or servile, as well as any other of the letters of the alphabet, all of which are consonants originally. Thus, بَابٌ *bāb*, قَالَ *qāla*, قِيلَ *qīla*, سُورٌ *sūr*, دَآءٌ *dā'*, حَمْرَآءُ *ḥamrā'*, جَآءَ *jā'a*, جِىءَ *jī'a*, مَبْدُوءٌ *mebdū'*, etc.

19. Final short-vowel radical or commutative ا occurs in many words; as لَا *la*, مَا *ma*, غَزَا *gaza*, etc. It should never be marked with a grave accent in transliteration. But there is a final short-vowel servile *à* in Arabic, originally written with ى preceded by *fet-ḥa* ◌َ, and then termed "shortened" ا, *'elif maqṣūra* أَلِفٌ مَقْصُورَةٌ, which should be so marked with the grave accent in transliteration, because it bears the stress or accent of the word; as بُشْرَى *bushrà*, حُبْلَى *ḥublà*. حُسْنَى *ḥusnà*, طُوبَى *ṭūbà*, etc. This is the real, true Italian method of marking the final short vowel of a word, when the stress falls on such final short vowel. But, when this short vowel ◌َى, pronounced *à*, ceases to be final to the eye in writing, and to the ear in pronunciation, by reason of a pronominal suffix or a ة of unity or femininity being added after it in the word, then the vowel is written in Arabic with ا, and no longer with ى. It cannot, then, by mere inspection or audition, be distinguished from the final radical ا above mentioned; and this is probably the reason why it is called *'elif maqṣūra*; thus, بُشْرَاهُ *bushrà-hu*, بُشْرَاهَا *bushrà-hà*, بُشْرَايَ *bushrà-ya*, بُشْرَاكَ *bushrà-ka*, etc.; حَمَاةٌ *ḥamāt*, حَصَاةٌ *ḥasāt*; etc.

Short final vowel ى after *kesra* is elided in ordinary writing or print, when the word is an indefinite noun; but is written when the noun becomes definite; as قَاضٍ *qādzi*, اَلْقَاضِى *'el-qādzi*, عالٍ and اَلْعَالِى *'āli*, etc. It is omitted at the end of a few well-known definite words, exceptionally; as اَلْمُتَعَالِ for اَلْمُتَعَالِى, اَلْعَالِ for اَلْعَالِى, اَلْعَاصِ for اَلْعَاصِى, etc.

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Short-vowel final ـُو is perhaps not met with; for ذُو *dhū*, probably, and the apocopated regular plural nominatives, certainly, as, بَنُو, etc., end in long-vowel ـُوْ.

The third person plural masculine of preterite verbs regular, and some persons plural masculine of subjunctive and conditional aorist verbs, as well as the imperative plural, also end in long-vowel ـُوْ; but, when such verbs are not followed by a pronominal suffix, the ـُو has a silent ا added after it in writing; thus, كَتَبُوا *ketebū*, كَتَبُوهُ *ketebū-hu*, etc.

The foregoing remarks may be regarded as fairly sufficient, if not exhaustive, for the subject of the Arabic short and long vowels, as also of the *hemza* consonant. This appendix is not an Arabic grammar. It may, however, be usefully added as a fundamental axiom of the Arabic written and spoken language, that *no Arabic word or syllable can really begin with a vowel*, whatever European ears and minds may think; for, the initial *hemza* of a word or syllable is always a consonant, and represents the gentle but perceptible opening of the vocal passage. The ع, the hard or harsh analogue of the soft, gentle *hemza*, represents the strong, guttural hiatus or gulp of such opening or closing; and initial ى or و, in word or syllable, is always a consonant, *y* or *w*.

Before leaving the question of the Arabic vowels, it is essential to press home the conviction of the utter erroneousness, the mischievous misleadingness of the system adopted by our transliterators, that of using the combinations *ah* or *eh* to represent the Arabic feminine termination of nouns, which is, in fact, a consonant letter *t* ت, and not a letter *h* ه, at all. What has led to this serious European mistake, servilely adopted by so many unreflecting English scholars of incontestable merit, is that when a full stop follows such feminine noun,—and every isolated word is naturally followed by such full-stop,—its final ت, called تَآءُ ٱلتَّأْنِيثِ *tā'u 't-te'nīth*, *t* of femininity, as well as its case-vowel, disappears

from the pronunciation. Thus, كَلْبَةٌ *kelbetun*, كَلْبَةٍ *kelbetin*, كَلْبَةً *kelbetan*, كَلْبَةُ *kelbetu*, كَلْبَةِ *kelbeti*, كَلْبَةَ *kelbeta*, are then all equally pronounced *kelba*. But this pronunciation might quite as well be written كَلْبَ; only, this كَلْبَ, with the vowel-points marked, is not differentiated in any respect from the objective definite of the masculine كَلْبٌ; and for this reason alone, as in the parallel case of the termination ا, in plural verbs, a difference of terminal form, spoken and written, was devised, to show the feminine noun without its distinctive final *s̈*, when the word was followed by a full stop. That spoken form was, as said above, to drop the feminine *s̈* and its case-vowel, saying, for instance, *kelba*. The written form was, to drop the dots, the diacritical points, of the final feminine *s̈*, which thus became, in form, a *s*; mimicking the soft aspirate when written, but never pronounced as one. A final soft aspirate *s* is always a radical letter, whereas a final feminine *s̈*, and its undotted representative, unaspirated *s*, is always a servile formative letter. A knowledge of grammar enables one to distinguish between such feminine nouns and words really ending with radical, aspirated *s*. This last is, and always should be, as scrupulously and as audibly aspirated at the end of a word, in Arabic, as at the beginning or in the middle; exactly as is the case with its hard or harsh analogue ح *ḥ*. Thus, هُبُوبٌ *hubūb*, حُبُورٌ *ḥubūr*; رَهْطٌ *reht*, رُحْمٌ *ruḥm*; تَنْبِيهٌ *tenbīh*, تَقْبِيحٌ *taqbīḥ*, etc. But the undotted *s*, standing really for servile *s̈* at the end of a feminine noun, is never aspirated; and, as it is always preceded by a *fet-ḥa* vowel accompanying a preceding consonant in the same, final syllable of the word, it has come in course of time, *if not from all antiquity*, to be the outward and visible sign of a final *unmarked fet-ḥa* vowel in a feminine noun. It is, virtually, a fourth Arabic vowel letter, used in Arabic at the *end* of feminine nouns only; as, بَرَكَه (for بَرَكَةٌ, etc.) *bereka*, بِرْكَه (for بِرْكَةٌ) *birka*,

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of the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, and so on. Now, the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, and so on, are all finite in number, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{1}{2}$ circle, and so on, are infinite in number. This circular road then virtually is the infinite line, and the infinite line is virtually the circular road. Hence, the circular road is infinite, and the infinite line is finite. Now, the circular road is finite, because it is finite [as measured] by the [finite] line which is tangent to it; and the infinite line is infinite, because it is infinite [as measured] by the [infinite] circular road.

The statements, that A, of the letters of the reality-relation, is infinite, and that A, of the letters of the reality-relation, is finite, are both true, and the contradiction of infinite [exist] more than one infinite is not [true] of the reality-relation.

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provincialisms. The ق *q*, again, is by some still, and was, formerly, by all, written with a *k* in transliterations, and later on, was distinguished from the ك, also shown by a *k*, by having a dot placed under it, *ḳ*. But the very Arabic letter ق, as well as both our capital and small letters *Q*, *q*, are but modified forms of one original Phenician, old Hebrew, or old Arabic letter, whence old Greek Ϙ and Latin Q, q. It never was pronounced by Semitics with the same organ as the *k*, also directly derived from the Phenician; but the Greeks were the first to confuse *q* and *k*, as they confused almost every letter of the primitive alphabet; much more so than did the Etruscans and Latins. Some writers use our *c* to represent ق; but our *c* is the descendant, as is the Arabic ج, and the Greek Γ, of the Phenician. It is therefore erroneous so to use a *c*, and as we now know the filiation of our letters, as well as that of the Semitic characters, our scholars are gradually becoming unanimous in the use of *q* to represent ق, without putting the needless *u* after it. Thus we write قَابِلٌ *qābil*, قَبُولٌ *qabūl*, قِيرَاطٌ *qīrāṭ*, قِرَبٌ *qireb*, مَقُولٌ *maqūl*, قُرْآنٌ *qur'ān*, etc.

Of the eleven remaining Arabic consonants, three, ح *ḥ*, ص *ṣ*, ط *ṭ*, are distinguished, in transliteration, from three of the foregoing seventeen, by a short stroke placed under them. Hitherto a dot has been used for this purpose; but as it is frequently very indistinct, a bold short stroke is preferable, both for print and for handwriting; especially as a long stroke is used for the letters of the class here following, as also to mark the long vowels, as explained above, when put over them.

Of the eight Arabic letters now left for explanation, our alphabet offers no equivalent single character. But our *th* and *sh* give a combination, each, that exactly represents the value of one Arabic letter, viz. ث *th*, ش *sh*. There is a difficulty about our *th*. It has in our language two values,

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soft in *thee*, sharp in *three*. The latter alone is the value of the Arabic ث; as in ثَوْبٌ *thewb*, مِثْلٌ *mithl*, بَثٌّ *beththh*. We are therefore driven, in order to avoid doubt and ambiguity in transliterating, to adopt the modification *dh* to represent our value of *th* in *thee*, etc., which is the power of the Arabic ذ (a modified د *d*); thus, ذَاكَ *dhāka*, ذِئْبٌ *dhi'b*, ذُؤَابَةٌ *dhu'āba*. Fitting examples of the power and transliteration of ش are found in شَمْسٌ *shems*, تَشْدِيدٌ *teshdīd*, حَشِيشٌ *ḥashīsh*. It may be useful here to point out that ث is, in some parts, provincially sounded like *s*, and in other parts like *t*; while ذ is here sounded like *d*, there like *z*, just as French tyros sound our *th*.

Three Arabic letters, again, خ *kh*, ض *dz*, ظ *ts*, have no English equivalents in single or double letters, though we can manage to represent them in transliterations. The value of خ *kh* can be learnt from a Scotchman when he says *loch*, or from a German when he says *ach*. The reason for not taking *ch* to represent خ is, that *ch* is, in French, equivalent to our *sh* and German *sch*; also, that our *ch*, the equivalent of French and English *tch*, as of German *tsch*, is a useful representative of Sanskrit, Persian, and Turkish letters which do not exist in Arabic. But, the student must never pronounce · *kh* as *ḳ*, though this is natural in ordinary English and French readers. Until the correct sound is learnt, it would be far better to pronounce *ḥ*, and not *ḳ*, in such words as خُرُوجٌ *khurūj*, خَارِجٌ *khārij*, فَخْرٌ *fakhr*, فَاخِرٌ *fākhir*, سَلْخٌ *selkh*, etc. (pron. *hurūj*, *hārij*, *fahr*, *fāhir*, *selh*).

The ض *dz* is sounded as a *d* in some parts, and as a *z* in others. But it is the most characteristic letter in the Arabic language. A good professional or amateur reciter of the *Qur'ān* is as proud of his perfect pronunciation of this letter ض, as is a Parisian of his *r grasseyé* or as an Englishman of his accuracy in sounding such a medley as "though thou think the thing thine, this threefold thong thrown through

the throng shall thoroughly thwart thee." Hence, قَضَآءٌ *qa.dz.ā'*, قَاضِى *qā.dz.i*, قَبْضٌ *qab.dz*, فَضْلٌ *fa.dz.l*, ضَبْطٌ *.dz.abṭ*, ضَابِطٌ *.dz.ābiṭ*, مَضْبُوطٌ *ma.dz.būt*.

The ظ, frequently sounded provincially as a very hard *z*, is, perhaps, the most disputable letter, as to its correct sound, of the whole Arabic alphabet. It is a sibilant modification of ط *ṭ*, and *ṭs* is the only possible value. Thus, ظُلْمٌ *ṭs.ulm*, ظَالِمٌ *ṭs.ālim*, مَظْلُومٌ *maṭ.lūm*, نَظَرٌ *naṭ.sar*, نَاظِرٌ *nāṭ.sir*, مَنْظُورَ *manṭ.sūr*, حَظٌّ *ḥaṭ.ṭs*, مَحْظُوظٌ *maḥṭ.sūṭ.s*.

All these six double consonant combinations for one Arabic letter each must carefully be marked with a long line under them, because, in Arabic words, the single letters composing them frequently occur separately in succession, and must be pronounced independently.

There now remain the *hemza* ء, أ, ئ, ؤ, already sufficiently enlarged on, and the *'ayn* ع, also mentioned above, for which no English letter or combination of letters, is available. As was said before, they both represent the *hiatus* that introduces a vowel, or separates two vowels, in a word, by opening or modifying the aperture of the vocal passage, and thus beginning a syllable without the aid of an ordinary consonant or aspiration; and also the *hiatus* that closes a syllable after a vowel without such aid of an ordinary consonant or aspiration; the *hemza* being soft and gentle, the *'ayn* being harsh and deeply guttural. To represent such *hiatus* without a letter in transliterations, the reversed apostrophes, ' for *hemza*, ' for *'ayn*, appear the most appropriate symbols, as they efficiently separate two following vowels in two following syllables of a word, by beginning the second syllable, as they open or close any syllable, and also admit of reduplication when required. Thus, أَمْرٌ *'emr*, أَمِيرٌ *'emīr*, آمِرٌ *'āmir*, مَأْمُورٌ *me'mūr*, رَأْسٌ *re"ās*; عُمْرٌ *'umr*, عَامِرٌ *'āmir*, مَعْمُورٌ *ma'mūr*, فَعَّالٌ *fa"āl*.

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Two passing remarks, even three to an Englishman, may be useful. 1. In Arabic writing, two separate letters never combine to form such combinations as our *ch*, *tch*, *sh*, *ph*, *rh*, *th*, or as French *dj*, or as German *ch*, *sch*, *dsch*, *tsch*, etc. But, on the other hand, juxtapositions occur commonly that are unknown in our tongue; such as صُبْحٌ *ṣub-ḥ*, فَتْحٌ *fet-ḥ*, فَسْحٌ *fes-ḥ*, قِدْحٌ *qid-ḥ*, كُنْهٌ *kun-h*, نَبِيهٌ *nebīh*, تَنْبِيهٌ *tenbīh*, مُتَنَبِّهٌ *mutenebbih*, أَبْلَهٌ *'ebleh*, etc. 2. In Arabic, an aspirate must always be aspirated, wherever placed in a word, whether as an initial, as a medial, or as a final. The preceding words are instances of final aspirates, and they may be reduplicated when medial or final, like any other consonant; thus, مُصَحِّحٌ *muṣaḥḥiḥ*, مُصَحَّحٌ *muṣaḥḥaḥ*, صَحَّافٌ *saḥḥāf*, مُكَهَّلٌ *mukehhel*, كَهَّالٌ *kehhāl*. Initial and simple medial aspirates abound; as, حَقِيرٌ *ḥaqīr*, حِكَايَةٌ *ḥikāya*, هَدْمٌ *hedm*, هَاضِمٌ *hāḍzim*, سَحْبٌ *saḥb*, سَهْمٌ *sehm*, صَاحِبٌ *ṣāḥib*, سَهِيلٌ *sehīl*, مَصْحُوبٌ *mas-hūb*, etc. Whenever an aspirate occurs in a transliteration so as to be preceded in the word by a consonant that, in English, would make a combination having the value of a single Arabic letter, the aspirate should, by way of precaution, be separated from the other consonant by a hyphen, to mark that they belong grammatically to two syllables. Several examples are seen above. 3. An Englishman should never allow letter *r* at the end of a syllable in an Arabic word to modify and debase the vowel that precedes it in the syllable, as is so general in English words. All Arabic vowels must always be kept pure in pronunciation, as vowels are always kept pure in Italian, and most other languages; no modification of their one sound each is in any case permissible.

The twenty-eight Arabic consonants are further divisible as to pronunciation, into two very distinct, but numerically unequal classes, "soft" and "hard" (or "harsh"). Nineteen are soft, أ, ب, ت, ث, ج, د, ذ, ر, ز, س, ش, ف, ك,

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ل, م, ن, و, ه, ى; while only nine are hard, ح, خ, ص, ض, ط, ظ, ع, غ, ق.

The chief result of this division of the consonants is that the short *fet-ḥa* vowel ′, when following one of the former in the same syllable, generally takes the value of our short *e* in b*e*t, m*e*n, p*e*n, t*e*n, etc.; whereas, in accompanying a consonant of the hard class, it invariably takes the sound of our short surd vowel *a*, as heard in the first syllable of the word *a*-bove, and in the indefinite article of the phrase *a* man. The vowel *kesra* ˏ is also affected in an analogous manner to be explained further on; but the vowel *dzamma* ′ is not so affected, always having the Italian *u* value, short or long.

The difficulty experienced by an English student of Arabic, in respect of transliterating the vowels, does not arise from the Arabic vowels themselves, but from the uncertain, indefinable, ever-changing sound of our vowel-letters. Every one of our vowels takes, at times, the short surd value of *a* in *a*-bove; thus, h*e*r, f*i*r, act*o*r, b*u*t. Our East-India service once adopted the use of this *u* of b*u*t, *u*s, etc., to represent the Arabic short *fet-ḥa* vowel in *all* cases invariably; and some still do so. Thus we meet with *Mohummud*, *Syud*, etc.

Every one of our English vowels, moreover, has several values, as in f*a*t, f*a*te, f*a*ther, f*a*ll, *a*bove; m*e*, m*e*t, h*e*r; rel*i*ance, p*i*t, f*i*r; g*o*, g*o*t, sh*o*ve; p*u*rity, p*u*dding, g*u*t. By reason of this uncertainty, the deceptive, incorrect rule was adopted: "the vowels as in Italian," the *a* to be always read as in f*a*ther, *e* as in p*e*t, *i* as in p*i*n, *o* as in g*o*, *u* as in p*u*ll. If this rule is incorrect, how are the three Arabic vowels to be correctly represented in our characters? and what is the incorrect part of the rule?

1. The Italian *a*-sound *does not exist in Arabic* as a short vowel *at all*. Our English short surd sound of *a*, unknown in Italian, is the only true equivalent of Arabic short *fet-ḥa* following one of the nine hard consonants; as, حَمْدٌ *ḥamd*,

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خَبْثٌ *khabth*, صَدْرٌ *ṣadr*, ضَبْطٌ *dzabṭ*, طَبْعٌ *ṭab'*, ظَفَرٌ *tsafer*, عَبَثٌ *'abeth*, غَدْرٌ *gadr*, قَلْبٌ *qalb*.

2. With any one of the nineteen soft consonants, short *fet-ḥa* is *generally* equivalent to Italian *e*, as in our men, met, etc. Thus, أَمَدٌ *'emed*, بَرٌّ *berr*, تَلٌّ *tell*, ثَوْبٌ *thewb*, جَلْبٌ *jelb*, دَفْنٌ *defn*, ذَنَبٌ *dheneb*, رَسْمٌ *resm*, زَجْرٌ *zejr*, سَمْتٌ *semt*, شَجَرٌ *shejer*, فَمٌ *fem*, كَلْبٌ *kelb*, لَزْمٌ *lezm*, مَرْءٌ *mer'*, نَسْجٌ *nesj*, وَتَرٌ *weter*, هَزْلٌ *hezl*, يَمَنٌ *yemen*. But, the occurrence of any one or more of the nine hard consonants in a word, wherever placed in it, has a tendency to cause the short surd *a* value to be assumed by the *fet-ḥa* of the nearest soft consonant, or even of any soft consonant in the word. This detail can be learnt only by hearing correct readers and speakers pronounce the words.

3. Long *fet-ḥa* ا has two different values, also, with the two classes of consonants. With the soft class, it has the Italian sound of *a*, lengthened as in our word fāther (like French *â* in pâtre); but with the hard class, it no longer has the Italian or French sound, but becomes very similar to our broadest long *a* in wall, fall, call. We have no method to distinguish these two values in writing, and continental scholars are usually ignorant of their difference; neither can they mark it in any way. The class of the Arabic consonant marks the difference effectually, indubitably; and English scholars should emphasize this difference in their pronunciation of Arabic. Thus, بَارِزٌ *bāriz*, تَاسِعٌ *tāsi'*, جَارِى *jāri*, etc., as fāther; but حَامِلٌ *ḥāmil*, خَاطِرٌ *khāṭir*, صَادِرٌ *ṣādir*, ضَالٌّ *dzāll*, طَاهِرٌ *ṭāhir*, ظَافِرٌ *tsāfir*, عَاطِرٌ *'ātir*, غَابِنٌ *gābin*, قَادِرٌ *qādir*, etc., almost like our broad *a* in hawk, vault, etc. There are a few well-known words in which the Arabic long-vowel *fet-ḥa* ا is dispensed with in writing, though still fully pronounced; such as رَحْمَنٌ for رَحْمَانٌ; and مُعَوِيَةٌ is sometimes met with

for مُعَاوِيَةٌ. The forms حَيَوٌ and صَلَوٌ are much used, from reverence for an archaic usage found in the *Qur'ān*.

4. With the nineteen soft consonants, the short-vowel *kesra* ـِ is again exactly represented by the Italian sound of *i*, as in our fin, pit, etc. Thus: إِذْ *'idh*, بِنْتٌ *bint*, جِسْمٌ *jism*, دِرَايَةٌ *dirāya*, رِدْيَةٌ *ridya*, لِسَانٌ *lisān*, etc. With the long vowel *kesra* ـِي the sound is the same, but prolonged as in our words ravine, fascine. Thus: سِيرَةٌ *sīra*, فِيلٌ *fīl*, دِينٌ *dīn*, etc.

5. With the nine hard consonants, the short and the long-vowel *kesra* requires a sound of which we have no conception in English, and which does not exist in French, Italian, or German, but is well known in Russian, where it is represented by the special vowel letter ы. Until its true sound can be learnt by ear, a student must of necessity pronounce it as the Italian *i* when short, and as the French *î* when long. Thus: حِدْثَانٌ *ḥidthān*, خِدْمَةٌ *khidma*, صِبْغَةٌ *ṣibga*, طِبْقٌ *ṭibq*, عِلَّةٌ *'illa*, قِرَانٌ *qirān*; صِيغَةٌ *ṣīga*, ضِيفَانٌ *dzīfān*, عِيسَى *'isà*, قِيرَاطٌ *qīrāṭ*, etc.

6. With short or long-vowel *dzamma* ـُ or ـُو, the two classes of consonants make no difference of sound in Arabic, except in the quantity, Italian *u* being always the model of the sound; as, بُرٌّ *burr*, حُورٌ *ḥūr*, etc.

The following remarks may usefully be added:

1. In transliterating and pronouncing Arabic, never reduplicate a consonant unless to represent a *teshdīd* ـّ, in the original; and always reduplicate such letter in writing and in pronouncing; as in رَبٌّ *rabb*, رَبَّانِيٌّ *rabbāniyy*, سِكِّينٌ *sikkīn*, قَهَّارٌ *qahhār*, مُتَأَسِّفٌ *mute'essif*, etc. This rule is strictly Italian as well as Arabic. Englishmen, slaves to French example, write double letters in words, and then pronounce but one; as in *command*, *sunny*, *turret*, etc. And yet we say *mad dog*, *if fair*, *in nature*, etc., correctly, sounding the

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two successive consonants; and it is just as easy to do so in the middle or at the end of one word.

2. It will not have escaped the reader, that, in transliterating Arabic words that end with a short-vowel *fet-ḥa* after a soft consonant, the letter *a* has constantly been used in the present paper. This is merely a compliance with the necessities of English orthography, since we do not possess the French *é* or the German final value of *e*; and final *e* in an English word is always dropped in pronunciation, producing an effect on the preceding vowel instead. A final *a* has not this effect, though it does not truly represent the sound of Arabic *fet-ḥa* after a soft consonant. It is a vowel, one of the equivalents to *fet-ḥa*, and is more correct, by far more preferable, than the erroneous and objectionable *ah* or *eh* used by so many. It is an unfortunate necessity, and may sometimes be evaded in compound expressions, such as قَالَ ٱلرَّسُولُ *qāle-'r-resūl*, etc.

3. A very erroneous method of transliterating Arabic compound terms and sentences, prevalent all over the continent, as well as among English scholars, is, to sink the final vowel of a word, leaving its consonant bare; and then to treat the next word, commencing with an *'elif of union* ٱ, as though it were the initial word of a sentence, or an isolated word. Thus they write, for instance: *Jemāl-ed-dīn*, etc., instead of *Jemālu-'d-Dīn* (*Jemāli-'d-Dīn*, *Jemāla-'d-Dīn*), etc. It is a most reprehensible practice, and a careful student should break himself of it as speedily as possible. De Sacy (Gram. Ar. vol. i. pp. 79-81, seconde édition) transliterates correctly in this respect; and Wright (Gram. of Arab. Lang. vol. i. pp. 19-22) gives the correct rules on this point.

4. When a word commencing with an *'elif of union* stands alone, begins a discourse, or comes after a full stop or pause, or after a word ending with a quiescent consonant, a vowel must be borrowed for that initial ٱ, as is said, from our own

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pocket, or mind. It is always *fet-ḥa* with the initial definite article, which then becomes pronounced as أَل *'el;* and so it is with آيَمَنُ, which becomes أَيْمَنُ *'eymen.* But with the other nine nouns, if initial, آبْنٌ, آبْنَةٌ, etc., *kesra* is borrowed, and they become إِبْنٌ *'ibn,* إِبْنَةٌ *'ibna,* etc. For the آ of the verbs, too many rules exist to be given here. But, when these various classes follow a word ending with a quiescent consonant, it is this consonant that borrows the vowel required, and then becomes movent. The special rules must be studied in a grammar.

The following words and names are offered as examples of the system advocated, with instances (in parentheses), gathered from various sources of great authority, of different kinds of erroneous transliteration:

أَبْ 'eb (ab).

أَبْرَهَةُ 'Ebreha (Abrahah).

إِبْنُ ٱلْمُغَاوِرِ 'Ibnu 'l-Mugāwir (Ibn el-Moghâwir).

أَبْنُ جُبَيْرٍ 'Ibnu Jubeyr (Ibn Jubair).

أَبُو 'ebū (abû).

أَبْوَآءُ 'Ebwā' (Abwa).

أَبُو سُفْيَانِ 'Ebū-Sufyān (Abû-Sofyân, Abu Sufiyan).

أَبُو لَهَبٍ 'Ebū-Leheb (Abu Laheb).

أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ 'Ebū-Hureyra (Abu Horeira).

إِخْمِيمُ 'Ikhmīm (Akmim).

أُسْوَانُ 'Uswān (Assouan).

أُشْمُونَيْن 'Ushmūneyn (Ashmuneim).

ٱلْقُدْسُ 'el-Quds (Al-Kods).

أَوْطَاسُ 'ewṭās (Autas).

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أَوْقَافٌ 'ewqāf (aukaf, efkaf, evcaf).

بَصْرَةٌ Baṣra (Bassorah, Basrah).

بُصْرَى Buṣrà (Bostra).

بَكْرُ بْنُ وَآئِلٍ Bekru 'bnu Wā'il.
بَكْرُ وَآئِلٍ Bekru Wā'il. } (Bakr-Wâil).

بَيْدَآءُ Beydā' (Baidâ).

اَلتَّلُّ اَلْكَبِيرُ 'Et-Tellu 'l-Kebīr (Tel el-Kebir).

تَيْمَآءُ Teymā' (Teymah).

جَبَلَيْنِ jebeleyn (obl. of جَبَلَانِ jebelān, dual of جَبَلٌ *a mountain*) *two mountains* (gebelên).

جِدَّةُ Jidda, جُدَّةُ Judda (Jeddah).

جُدَيْدَةُ Judeyda (Jedaydah).

جِزَّةُ Jizza (*Egypt.* Gizza), (Ghizeh).

جَعْفَرٌ Ja'fer (Jaafar).

حَآئِلٌ Ḥā'il (Hayel).

حِجَاز Ḥijāz (Hejaz).

حُدَيْدَةُ Ḥudeyda (Hodeidah).

حَرَمٌ Ḥarem (Haram).

حَمِيدُ اَللَّهِ Ḥamīdu-'llāh (Hameed-Ullah).

خُرْطُومٌ Khurṭūm (Khartoum).

خُلُجٌ Khuluj (Kholoj).

خُلَفَآءُ Khulefā' (Kholefâ).

خَلِيفَةُ Khalīfa (Khalifah).

دَرْعِيَّةُ Der'iyya (Derey'eeyah).

دُوَيْمٌ Duweym (Duem).

دَهْنَآءُ Dehnā' (Ḍahnā).

دَيْرٌ deyr, *a monastery* (dêr).

ذَكْوَانٌ Dhekwān (Dhakwân).

رَمْىٌ remy (rami).

رِيَاضٌ Riyādz (Ri'aḍ).

زُبَيْرٌ Zubeyr (Sebehr, Zebehr).

زَيْدُ ٱلْخَيْلِ Zeydu 'l-Khayl (Zaid al-Khail).

زَيْلَعٌ Zeyla' (Zeilah).

زَيْنَبٌ Zeyneb (Zainab).

سَبْتَةٌ Sebta (Ceuta).

سَعِيدٌ Sa'ıd (Said).

سَوَاحِلُ Sewāḥil (Suahil, Saouâhil, Souahhel).

سَوَاحِلِيٌّ Sewāḥiliyy (Suahili, Saouâhili, Souahhéli).

سَوَاكِنُ Sewākin (Suakin, Suakim).

سُودَانٌ Sūdān (Soudan).

سُوَيْسٌ Suweys (Suez).

سَيِّدٌ Seyyid (Seid, Syud).

سَيِّدُ ٱلسَّلَاطِينَ Seyyidu 's-Selāṭın (Saiyidu-selátín).

شَفَقَةٌ Shefaqat (Chefkat).

شَيْبَةٌ Sheyba (Shaybah).

صَعِيدُ مِصْرَ Ṣa'ıdu Miṣr (Saaid-Misr).

ضَيْزَنٌ dzayzen (ḍaizan).

طَآئِفٌ Ṭā'if (Taïf).

طَنْجَةٌ Ṭanja (Tangiers).

طُوَيْقٌ Ṭuweyq (Ṭoweyk).

عَارِضٌ 'āridz ('Aareḍ).

عَآئِشَةٌ 'Ā'isha (Ayesha, 'Âisha).

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عَبْدُ ٱلْحَقِّ 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq (Abd-el-Hakk).

عَبْدُ ٱلْحَمِيدِ 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd (Abd-el-Hamid).

عَبْدُ ٱلرَّحْمَانِ 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān (Abd-el-Rahman).

عَبْدُ ٱلرَّحِيمِ 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm (Abd-el-Rahim).

عَبْدُ ٱلْغَفَّارِ 'Abdu 'l-Gaffār (Abd-el-Ghaffar).

عَبْدُ ٱلْقَادِرِ 'Abdu 'l-Qādir (Abd-el-Kader).

عَبْدُ ٱللَّهِ 'Abdu-'llāh (Abdallah).

عَبْدُ ٱلْمَجِيدِ 'Abdu 'l-Mejīd (Abd-el-Mejid).

عَبْدُ ٱلْمُطَّلِبِ 'Abdu 'l-Muṭṭalib (Abd-el-Mottalib, — Muttaleb).

عَبْدُ ٱلْوَهَّابِ 'Abdu 'l-Wehhāb (Abd-el-Wahab).

عُثْمَانُ 'Uṯhmān (Othman, Osman, Othoman, Ottoman).

عَدَسٌ 'ades (Adas).

عَدَنُ 'Aden (Aden).

عُدَيْنٌ 'Udeyn (Odden).

عِلْمُ ٱلْعَرُوضِ 'ilmu 'l-'arūḏz (ilm el aruz).

عُمَانُ 'Umān (Oman, Omman).

عُمَرُ 'Umer (Omar).

عَمْرُو 'Amr (Amrou).

عِنَايَةُ ٱللَّهِ 'Ināyetu-'llāh (Inyatullah).

غازى gāzi (ghâzi).

غَزَاةٌ gazā' (ghazâ).

غَيْرَةٌ gayra (ghairah).

فَرَزْدَقٌ ferezdaq (Farazdac).

قَاضِى qāḏzi (cadi, cauzee).

قَاهِرَةٌ qāhira (Cairo, le Caire).

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قُبَّة qubba (cobba).

قَحْطَان qaḥṭān (caḥṭân).

قُدْس quds (cods).

قُزَح quzaḥ (cozaḥ).

قُصَيْر quṣayr (Cosseir, Kosseir).

قُضَاعَة qudẕā'a (Coḍâ'a).

قِنَّة qinnā (Keneh).

قُوص quṣ (Goos).

قونية qūnya (Coniah, Konieh).

قَهْوَة qahwa (K'hawah).

كُبَيْشَة Kubeysha (Kobaisha).

مُحَمَّد Muḥammed (Mahomet, Mohammad, Mohummud).

مُدَّعِيَّة Mudda'iyya (Maddey'yeeyah).

مَدِينَة Medīna (Medinah).

مَدِينَة ٱلنَّبِيّ Medīnetu 'n-Nebiyy (Medínah ar'rasúl).

مَرْيَم Meryem (Maryam).

مَسْجِد mesjid (masjid).

مَسْقَط Masqat (Muscat).

مُسْلِم muslim (moslem).

مُصَوَّع Muṣawwa' (Massowah).

مَكَّة Mekka (Meccah, Makkah).

مَكَّة ٱلْمُعَظَّمَة Mekketu 'l-Mu'atstsama (Mekkah Maazmeh).

مِنْيَة Minya (Minieh).

مَوْصِل Mawṣil (Mosul).

مُوَيْلَة Muweyla (Moilah).

مَهْدِيّ mehdiyy (Mahdi).

نَجْد Nejd (Nejed).

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وَهْرَانُ Wehrān (Oran).

هَارُونُ Hārūn (Harun, Haroon).

يَنْبُعُ Yenbu‘
يَنْبُوعُ Yenbū‘ } (Yembo).

From these examples a judgment may be formed as to how far from correct is the new Admiralty system of transliteration for Arabic words, recently adopted by the Royal Geographical Society;[1] more especially the rule to reduplicate a consonant when it is wished to show that the preceding vowel is short.

[1] It should be observed that the "system" here adverted to was rather an endeavour to insure uniformity under reasonable precedent, than to illustrate any strict adherence to grammatical orthography.—Ed.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIV.—*The Rock-Cut Caves and Statues of Bamian.*[1] By Capt. the Hon. M. G. TALBOT, R.E. With Notes hereon, and on Sketches of Capt. P. J. MAITLAND, Intelligence Branch, Q.-M.-Gen. Department, by W. SIMPSON, Esq., Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A., etc.; and an additional Note of Capt. Maitland's own.

(*Communicated through the President of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE letter which is about to be read,[1] not having been prepared for submission to the Society, may require a few introductory explanations.

Bámián, a site of considerable fame in the travels and expeditions of the last sixty or seventy years, stands at a height of some 8500 feet, in a valley of the region occupied by Hazára tribes, on the chief road between Kabul and Turkestan, and almost close to the northern base of that part of the Indian Caucasus which is known, from one of its prominent peaks, as Koh-i-bábá.

The passes on the Kabul side of Bámián reach to 11,000 and 12,000 feet, and those north of it, towards Turkestan, to not much less.

The stream draining the valley of Bámián is one of the chief sources of the river known as the Surkháb or Áksarai River, a considerable tributary of the Oxus, into which it flows some thirty-two miles N.W. of Kunduz.

The prominences of the cliffs which line the valley of

[1] At a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 15th March, 1886.

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Bámián are crowned by the remains of numerous massive towers, whilst their precipitous faces are for six or seven miles pierced by an infinity of anciently excavated caves, some of which are still occupied as dwellings. The actual site of the old city is marked by mounds and remains of walls, and on an isolated rock in the middle of the valley are the considerable ruins of what appear to have been the acropolis, now known as Ghúlghúla.

But the most famous antiquities of Bámián are certain standing figures of enormous size, carved in the conglomerate rock on the sides of the gorge. These images, which have been much injured by cannon-shot, are cut in niches; both images and niches have been coated with plaster, whilst the plastered surface of the niches has been painted with figures. As seen from the rock of Ghúlghúla, Bámián, with its numerous grottoes, and with the singular red colour of its soil, presents an impressive aspect of desolation and mystery.

The history of Bámián is very obscure. There is nothing on which to found an identification of the place with any name handed down in the classical geographers or historians of Alexander. The earliest mention of the kingdom and city of Bámián is in the travels of (the Chinese) Hwen T'sang, A.D. 630; but his account does not determine the race either of the inhabitants or of the reigning prince. We know also that at a much later date Bámián was, for half a century, the seat of a branch of the Ghorí or Shansabánya dynasty, which came to an end in 1214. Major Raverty, in his translation of the *Ṭabaḳat-i-Náṣirí* (p. 427), quotes Persian historical writers to the effect that the proper name of the city was Rásif, or the like. But it is no uncommon circumstance in Asiatic geography for the name of a kingdom or territory to usurp and practically to extinguish the name of the capital. In 1222 the place was taken and utterly destroyed by Chinghíz Khán, and I am not aware of any later records of Bámián's history. The character, however, of the ruins of Ghúlghúla, and concurring local tradition, indicate that the city must have been rebuilt since the time of Chinghíz, and again destroyed.

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The great idols, as has already been said, have constituted the matter attracting chiefly attention to Bámián. They are not, I believe, alluded to by any of the early Arab geographers, at least in any works that have been printed. Burnes alleges that they are mentioned by Sharafu-d dín 'Alí of Yezd in his History of Timur; if so, this (1424) would be the earliest Persian mention: but I have not been able to find such a passage in the translation by Petis de la Croix. Hyde, in his *History of the Religion of the Ancient Persians* (ed. 1760, pp. 229–230), quotes mention of them from two Persian writers, viz. the *Masálik wa Mamálik*[1] and the *Farhang Jahángiri*. There is also mention of them in the *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's Text, vol. i. p. 590, and Gladwin's Trans. vol. ii. p. 168). Hyde, whose book was first published in 1700, was apparently the first European writer to speak of the images.[2] After him we have Wilford, in vol. vi. of the *Asiatic Researches*. Wilford's exertions in collecting knowledge were most praiseworthy, but, unfortunately for his reputation, he never would publish the knowledge, which he acquired with great labour and cost, without mixing it up with a large amount of his own fantastical and baseless speculations, to say nothing of the forgeries which were imposed upon him. Moorcroft (*Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 387 *seqq.*) was the first of our English or European travellers actually to see these remains, though his account was not published till after that of Alexander Burnes, who passed Bámián on his way to Bokhara in 1832, and gave an account of it in the second volume of the *Journal of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, as well as (somewhat later) in his Travels. Masson (*Various Journeys*, etc., ii. 382 *seqq.*), Mohun Lal, Sir Vincent Eyre, and others have since seen and given their impres-

[1] Ritter quotes this from Hyde as if it were the work of Ibn Haukal bearing the same name; but this is a mistake.

[2] I have sometimes thought that Friar Odoric had seen the great idol of Bámián, from expressions he uses about the *Terrible Valley*: "In hac etiam valle ab uno latere ejus in ipso saxo unam faciem hominis maximam et terribilem ego vidi, quae in tantum terribilis erat quod prae nimio timore spiritum me perdere penitus credebam." But other particulars indicate that he may rather have passed by the Panjhír Valley. See *Cathay*, etc., pp. 157–158.

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sions, the last account preceding the letter now before us being contained in the Russian Narrative of Dr. J. L. Yavorsky (St. Petersburgh, 1882). Mr. Delmar Morgan, ever ready with help, has kindly furnished me with a translation of the passages relating to Bámián in this last work, but I find nothing in them of sufficient value or novelty to transcribe.[1]

The best of the modern accounts of Bámián till the present time is, I incline to think, Moorcroft's. His estimate of the height of the images is much nearer the truth than that of Burnes, whilst he distinctly recognizes the Buddhistic character of the remains. Elphinstone, writing in 1814, however, already says: "The learned in Indian antiquities are of opinion that these idols are connected with the worship of Boodh, and their situation strongly reminds one of the colossal statues at the entrance of the great temples, supposed to belong to the religion of Boodh, in the midst of the city of caves, which is to be seen at Canara (Kanheri) in Salsette." —*Caubool* (orig. 4to. edition), p. 487. I do not know to what expression of opinion by the learned, Elphinstone can here refer, except to the words of Wilford (*Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 463), who says the place was considered at an early period to be the metropolis of the sect of Buddha, whence *Buddha-Bámiyán*, which he alleges the Mussulmans corrupted into *But-* (or Idol) Bámiyán. But any idol would be *but*, Buddha or not.

Wilford got his information on the subject, at least in part, from a Sayad called Miyán Asad Sháh, who had visited Bámián ten or twelve times.

With regard to Elphinstone's allusion to Salsette, Masson also says: "I have recently visited the Buddhist temples in the island of Salsette, and certainly there can be no doubt of the resemblance between the colossal figures of Buddha in them and those of the Bámián niches" (*Various Journeys*, vol. ii. p. 384).

The publication in French, by Julien, of the Life of Hwen

[1] See also in *Panjab Notes and Queries* for February, 1886, p. 84.

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T'sang (Paris, 1853), showed how just Moorcroft's surmise had been. The Chinese traveller found at Bámián ten convents and about 1000 monks belonging to the "Little Vehicle." He goes on: "To the N.E. of the royal city there is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone figure of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness. To the east of this spot there is a convent, which was built by a former king of the country. To the east of the convent there is a standing figure of Sâkya Buddha, made of metallic stone" (in Julien *laiton*, i.e. brass), "in height 100 feet. It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and then placed in a completed form as it stands. To the east of the city twelve or thirteen *li* there is a convent, in which there is a figure of Buddha lying in a sleeping position, as when he attained *Nirvâṇa*. The figure is in length about 1000 feet or so." (*Beal's Transl. of the Si-yu-ki*, i. 50–51.)

From this passage we appear to learn that the second of the images was originally covered with sheets of brass; also, I think, that the larger one was gilt, as is indeed antecedently probable.

Regarding the sleeping Buddha a little more is to be said. These figures are to be found in all Buddhist countries; I have described one near Pagán in the narrative of Sir Arthur Phayre's Mission to Ava, p. 52. One in Ceylon is mentioned in Major Forbes's book (vol. i. p. 370). And gigantic figures of the same kind, indeed, at Kanchau in N.W. China, are mentioned by Marco Polo (bk. i. ch. 44), by Shah Rukh's envoys to Peking, and by Ramusio's Persian friend Hajji Mahommed (see *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. cciii, and p. ccxviii).

Now it is remarkable that Masson and Mohun Lal both mention a stone object in the neighbourhood of Bámián, which is known in the legends of the natives as an *Azhdahá* or dragon, regarded as a monster destroyed by 'Ali. The most distinct account of this object is contained in a paper by Lieut.-General E. Kaye, of the Royal Artillery (Bengal),

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which was printed for the first time in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1879, though the observations date from 1840. He says:—"On the opposite side of the valley (*i.e.* from the images), about a mile to the west, a stony gully leads into the hills; a short way up this there is a nearly isolated rock, on the flat summit of which there is in relief a recumbent figure bearing a rude resemblance to a huge lizard, and near the neck of the reptile there is a red splash, as of blood. This is called the Azdahar, or dragon, said to have been slain by Ali or some Mahomedan saint of bygone days, and an indentation in the rock close by is held to be the gigantic footprint of the slayer" (p. 249).[1]

In the same volume (p. 338) I made a suggestion to which I now recall attention, that this Dragon (which, however, General Kaye terms "a recumbent figure in relief") is really the Nirváṇa Buddha of Hwen T'sang. There is a difficulty, no doubt, in the *direction*, which the modern travellers give as west or north-west of Bámián, whilst Hwen T'sang places it to the eastward. Another difficulty has been suggested from the account of Mohun Lál, who calls the dragon "fifty feet in length." But in this there is probably some mistake. For Masson says this Azhdahá of Bámián is "analogous in character to that of Bisút, but *of much larger size*" (vol. ii. p. 395). Now, turning to his account of the Azhdaha of Bisút (the province immediately south of Koh-i-Baba), we find it thus described: "The Azdha of Bisút is, indeed a natural curiosity, which the creative imagination of the Hazáras supposes to be the petrified remains of a dragon, slain by their champion Hazrat Alí. . . . It is, geologically speaking, of volcanic formation, and a long projected mass of rock, about one hundred and seventy yards in length," etc. "I afterwards found that an analogous mass of rocks, but of *much more imposing size*, occurs in the vicinity of Bámián, and is alike supposed to represent a petrified dragon" (*ib.* pp. 357–359).

[1] Both this dragon and another in the neighbourhood are mentioned, as Sir F. Goldsmid kindly points out, in Dáúd Khán's Visit to Afghanistan, etc., 1872, printed by the Panjáb Government.

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I will conclude by remarking that some one has suggested (I cannot remember who, it may have been General Cunningham, or it may have been *moi qui vous parle*), that those enormously long graves, which in Afghanistan and India are so often shown as the tombs of holy giants (*châlis gazi*, and what not), really mark the sites of Buddha-in-Nirváṇa images.[1] Such graves are mentioned, in Bisút, by Masson (p. 340), and in Laghmán, the graves of Lot and Lamech, by the same (vol. iii. pp. 195–197). The same traveller also mentions that these long graves are especially numerous in the valleys of Ningrahár, which we can hardly doubt to represent the *Nagarahára* of Hwen T'sang, a region which abounded to profusion in Buddhist shrines and relics of every kind. There is a famous grave of the same kind, if I remember rightly, at Ayodhya, a site which was also rich in Buddhist shrines and memorials.

LETTER.

Camp, Haibak, Nov. 13th, 1885.

MY DEAR SIMPSON,

Maitland and I have made the long-talked-of trip through the Hazara country to Bamian, and we are now on our way to Turkistan, having crossed the Kara Kotal to-day. We have had a very fair time of it, but the weather has been bad. We got our first snowstorm on our second march from Daulatyar on the 10th of October, and did not get free from it till we descended into Yak Urang,[2] at the head of the Balkhao. After that we had mostly good weather till we got to Bamian. There have been one or two falls since. This has, of course, made it unpleasant and hindered my surveying very much. However I have got my work triangulation and plane tabling all right so far. We saw nothing of any interest in the Hari Rud basin, except a really ancient rock-cut inscription in the Tangi Azao near Shahrak; copies of this I have sent to Cunningham and Rawlinson, but have

[1] As this is going to press, I find that the originator of the suggestion was my friend Mr. W. Simpson. He is now less confident in the theory; but to me it seems a highly probable one.—H.Y.

[2] *Yaka Aulang*. See Erskine's Baber, p. 211.

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had no answers yet. In the Balkhao valley there are two or three old sites. First and lowest down, Chahilburj. This I did not see, but I send Maitland's description: "Chahilburj is 28 miles from Zári, on the road to Balkh by the Balkhao, standing on a semi-isolated hill at the point at which a large ravine, down which the road comes, joins the main stream. It is at the East end of the Sokhtagi Valley. The road at present forks just below the fort, so that it commands the junction. The remains are those of a fortress of considerable size, and consist of three lines of walls with towers at very close intervals. The walls are in parts fairly perfect, but from a casual inspection I should say that the lower wall was never carried all round the hill. It certainly existed on the south side and on the east side, though now carried away by a landslip. The original height of the walls I should estimate at 50 or 60 feet: the towers are of the same height and large diameter. The walls and towers are all built of very large sun-dried bricks, except the lower courses, which are of stone and mud.

The shape of the loopholes is peculiar (see Pl. I. Fig. 1). I noticed three tiers of such loopholes in a tower still standing on the higher portion of the hill.

The three lines of walls are all about the same height, but being built on a steep slope each commands the one outside it. Inside the walls, remains of some buildings were visible. The plateau west of and below the fort is inclosed by a wall originally 10 or 12 feet high and several feet thick, built of rough stone imbedded in mud. The space inclosed may have been the site of a small town. There is a tradition that a portion of it was originally the site of a bazaar.

On the south side of the fort, and under a low scarp facing the base of the hill on which the fort is built, are several chambers, some of which are slightly sunk into the face of the scarp and appear to have been divided by mud-brick walls: some are sunk almost entirely into the hill and below the surface of the ground. They have round arches and round arched recesses."

Another place is the Shahri Barbar, some 35 miles higher

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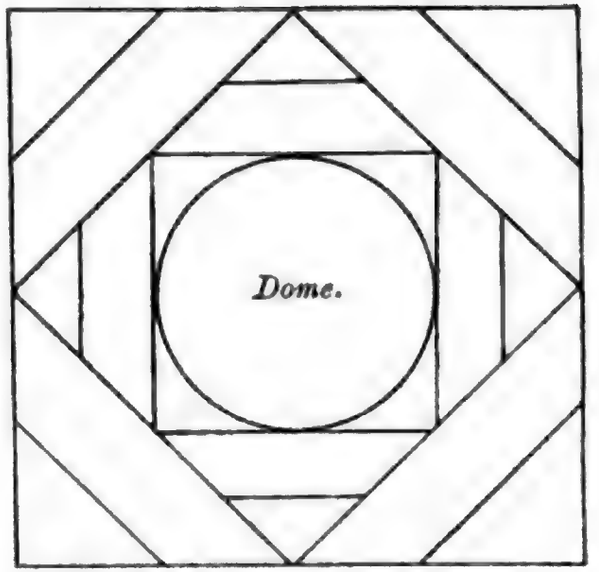

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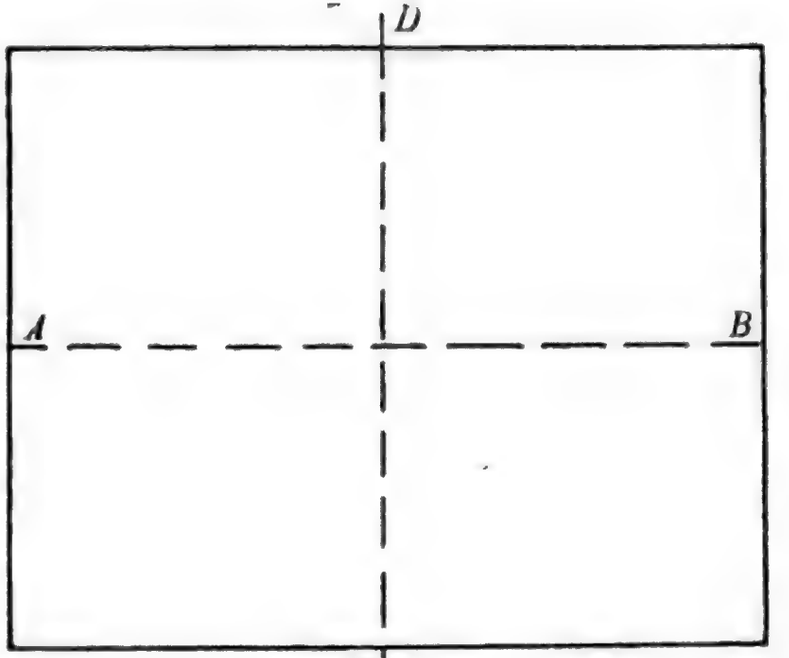

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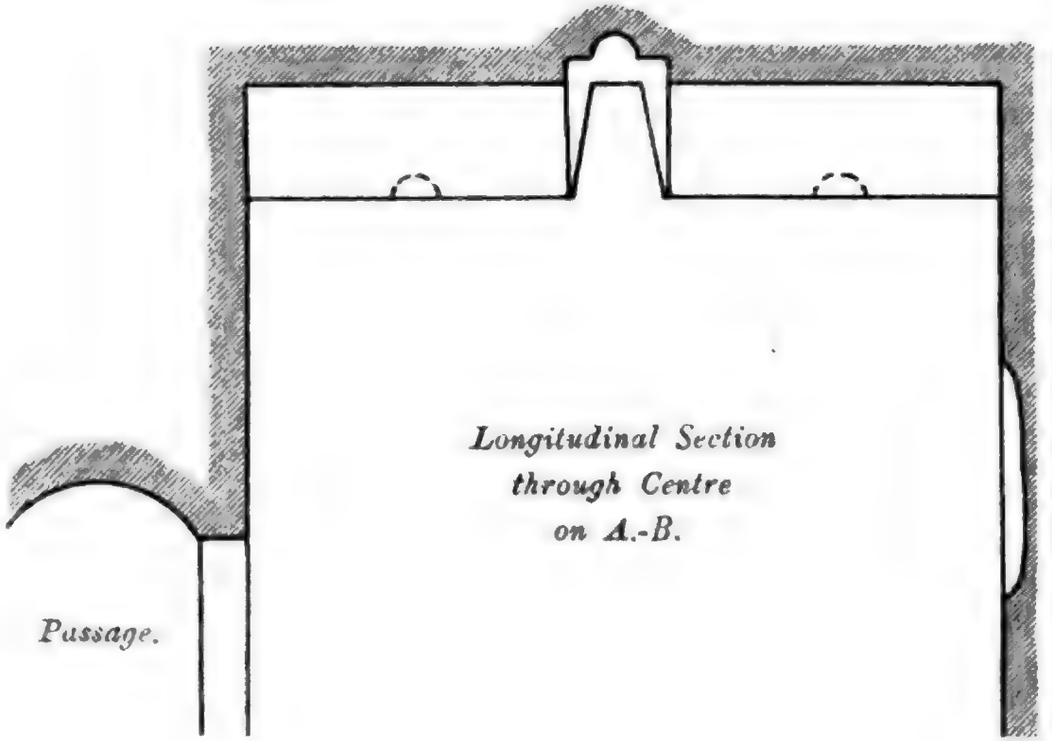

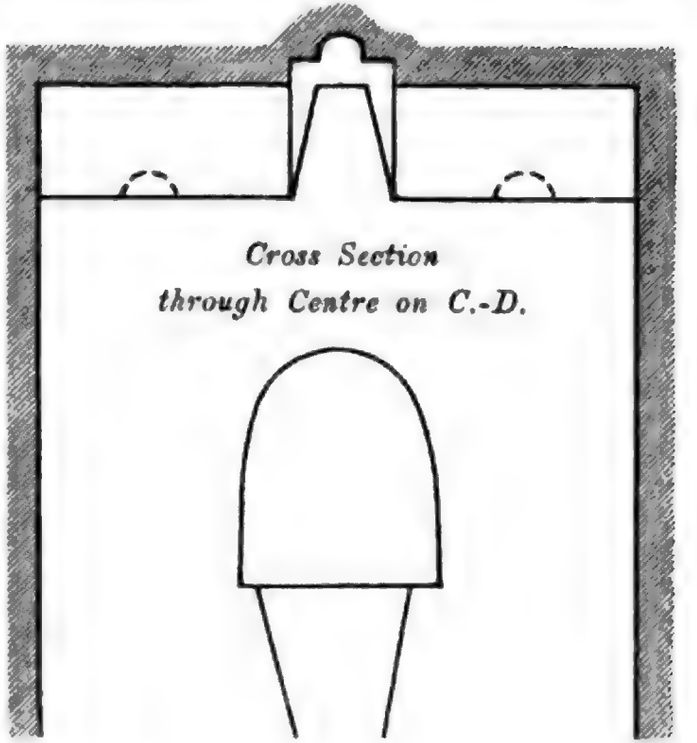

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up the Balkhao than Chahilburj. It is situated in the fork at the junction of the water from the Band i Amir with that of the Sarikol and Firozbahar. It consists only of a wall built round the north and only accessible side of a plateau about 1200 feet above the valley, and must only have been used as a place of refuge. The wall is built of uncut but selected stone, all of much the same size and shape, roughly a cube of nine inch side, arranged in straight courses sometimes breaking joint, sometimes not. The wall is eight to twelve feet high and about eight feet thick. In a low portion of the plateau there are four holes eight to twenty feet deep, apparently to collect rain or snow-water. There are two small mud buildings. At one point, built in the thickness of the wall, are some small domed chambers: the domes are built in the usual manner.

In two nalas, called respectively Darali and Sarikol, at the head of the Balkhao, are a good many caves—50 or 60, I dare say. Those in the Darali were all inhabited, and mud walls had been built in front of them, hiding the shape of their doorways.

In the Sarikol valley I visited several. They were mostly situated a little way up the cliff and awkward to get at. Several had ledges at the inner end three or four feet wide and one foot high, as if for sitting or sleeping on. The most perfect one was a passage twenty-five to thirty feet long, nine feet high, and nine to ten feet wide. The door was narrower, as shown in the sketch (Pl. I. Fig. 2).

At the lower end of the Sarikol Nala, and about six miles above Shahri Barbar, is an old fort called Gáwargin. I was told that its original name was Gabarger. It consists of walls and towers of sun-dried bricks, built on both sides of a ravine, on nearly inaccessible rocks. The only curious thing about it is a staircase cut inside the rock, descending from the highest point down no one knows where. The chief of the place told me he had been down seventy steps. He expects to find great treasures at the bottom.

After seeing Shahri Ghulghulah and Zohak, Maitland and I came to the conclusion that these three places, Chahil-

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burj, Barbar, and Gawargin, might well be of the same date. Just below the fort of Gawargin is a mound which looks like a tope. Near the top a piece of flat wall is exposed, which must, I should say, have been part of the relic chamber, as it appears to have been in the centre of the tope.

I spent four days at Bamian, but could give only a very small portion of that time in visiting the antiquities.

To begin with the figures: there are five.

1. First the big idol, male. The passage up to the top of this is broken away, so I measured it with my theodolite and found it to be 173 feet high. It is sunk in a niche, so as to be protected from the weather. The shape of the niche is something like Pl. I. Fig. 3.

2. A female figure 120 feet high, measured by Maitland with a tape. The passage up to the top is still accessible.

There are paintings on the roofs of the niches of both these figures. In the case of the latter some have been copied. Both figures are hewn out of the conglomerate rock, but the finishing, drapery, etc., was all added by putting on stucco. The niche of the female figure is irregular, and looks as if it had been left unfinished.

3. A smaller figure, 50 or 60 feet high, estimated. This figure has almost entirely disappeared.

4. A seated figure about 25 to 30 feet high, in a niche. This figure looks as if it had been cut out and prepared for stucco, but the stucco had never been applied. Shape of niche shown in Pl. I. Fig. 4.

5. A standing figure about one mile from the others. Unfortunately, owing to a misunderstanding, we never visited this.

No. 4 also has paintings, some of which have been copied. The caves are innumerable, they extend for miles. The best ones are close to the female figure. The doorways are mostly sunk well 10 or 15 feet into the rock, with a porch excavated outside. I show drawings of the most remarkable (see Pl. I. from Figs. 5 to 14).

Most of the caves in good order are now inhabited, so I could not visit them; of those I did visit most had domed

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roofs, the floor being square. The conversion of the square into a circle, preparatory to the springing of the dome, is effected or rather indicated in the manner used in the present day with kacha bricks, that is, by a succession of arches at the corners. Looking at the corner from the centre of the cave it appears thus (see Pl. I. Fig. 15).

Fig. 16 seems to be connected with a very curious cave, somewhat hard to draw. Its plan is an oblong 16 by 20 feet. The roof is highest in the centre, a square being cut out containing a geometrical pattern enclosing a hemispherical dome about 1½ feet in diameter (see Pl. I. Figs. 17, 18, 19).

I won't swear to the accuracy of these drawings, as they are done from very hurried sketches, but they are something like. Maitland made a freehand sketch of the roof of this cave, of which I will send a sketch if I have time to make one.

The caves near the idols are all connected by rambling passages and staircases cut in the rock.

Many of the caves have paintings, but we could not see them as the caves were full of grass, etc., stored for winter.

In Shahri Ghulghulah we saw nothing remarkable.

Zohak is a wonderful fort as regards situation and multiplication of lines of defence. It is fairly well preserved in parts, so much so that the natives say it was not captured but abandoned. Some domed chambers in it are the exact facsimiles of the domed caves above mentioned.

I saw no Vihara caves. I inquired about them, and was told that there were some with rooms round a central passage or hall; but as they were occupied, I did not see them.

They were described as being in one or two cases a square or rectangular room, with a small room opening off from it on three sides, the side of the entrance being the exception. I was also told that there was one cave which had six rooms opening off from it, that is, two from each of the three sides. I think there are very few of these Vihara caves. The different shaped caves I have shown are all mixed up together. It would be impossible to pick out any one lot from their style as having been executed at one particular time; at

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least, so it seemed to me from a very casual inspecti Many caves have fallen partly, at least their porches a original doorways have gone. Many others have had th doorways and porches partly bricked up, so that their sha is lost.

I could see no sign of the sleeping Buddha. I have se caves more or less all the way to here, Haibak, but nothi new or remarkable; also mediæval ruins.

No time for more. Excuse a very rambling letter, but cannot afford time to put it into shape. Hoping it m interest you,

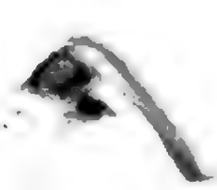
Believe me, Yours sincerely,

M. G. Talbot.

Notes to Capt. Talbot's Letter, by William Simpson.

A number of travellers have passed Bamian at vario times, and have given notices of the colossal figures and th caves, but they have brought away only vague details o them. Captain Talbot's letter supplies us with the firs instalment of accurate information regarding this wonderfu place; and the details are so valuable, that I scarcely lik to utter the wish that he had sent us more of them, as such an expression might seem to indicate a want of thankfulnes for what we have received. We must remember that Captai Talbot is very devoted to his duties in the Survey Depart ment, and that he was only four days at Bamian.

As far as I can make out from Captain Talbot's letter, he and Captain Maitland, one of the political department with the Afghan Boundary Commission, came from the north-west, where the camp of the Commission was during the summer months, and dropped into the valley of the Hari Rud, probably on the east of Obeh. They followed up the valley as far as Daulatyar, which is near the junction of the Tingab and the Jangal Rivers; from this they moved east to the sources of the Balkh River,—called in the letter Balkh-háo(*áb*). Capt. Maitland here visited Chahilburj, on this stream, from whom Captain Talbot quotes an account of that



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The Large Male Figure at Bamian.
From a sketch made in 1842, by Lieut-General Sir Vincent Eyre, K.C.S.I.

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I described it as having had a statue of Buddha in it. This peculiar arch is also given in Pl. I. Figs. 4, 6, and 7.

Fig. 5 in Pl. I. is a form I cannot pretend to explain. The small semicircular form on the top seems to be a not uncommon characteristic, for it appears again in Figs. 13, 18, and 19; and in Figs. 12 and 14 we may perhaps have the same structural idea in another form. The origin of the trefoil arch is, I think, not yet quite clear; and in this peculiar feature, in which we see what may be possibly varieties of it, there is just a chance of new light coming to us on this point. On my late visit to the Afghan frontier, I saw a great amount of what I call "Mud Architecture," that is, mud and sun-dried bricks. Wherever wood for rafters was scarce, the sun-dried bricks were thrown over the roof in the form of a vault or dome, and the process I believe goes back to a very early period; this particular construction might account for the form under consideration,—but I only hazard this as a guess,—and leave the matter in that position till further light turns up.

The pointed arch in the caves lately discovered in the Murghab Valley produced in my mind what seemed about the only reason which might stand against their having been Buddhist. Fig. 10 thus becomes important, for it gives us the exact outline of the section of the Murghab Caves, and shows that the form did exist in that part of the world at the Buddhist period. Fig. 11 is very nearly the same form. When the paper on the Murghab Caves was read, Mr. Thornton called attention to the fact that the pointed arch was found in the Buddhist remains of the Yusufzai country. Since then I have looked over my own sketches, photographs, books, etc., and I have to confess that I had not then given the point that attention which it deserves, and I am glad Mr. Thornton mentioned the matter. The Buddhist arch was round originally,[1] but as the style travelled from its source, the forms were often rudely followed, and across the Indus this arch will be found round, oval, at times faintly

[1] In the Lomas Rishi Cave a pointed arch will be found.

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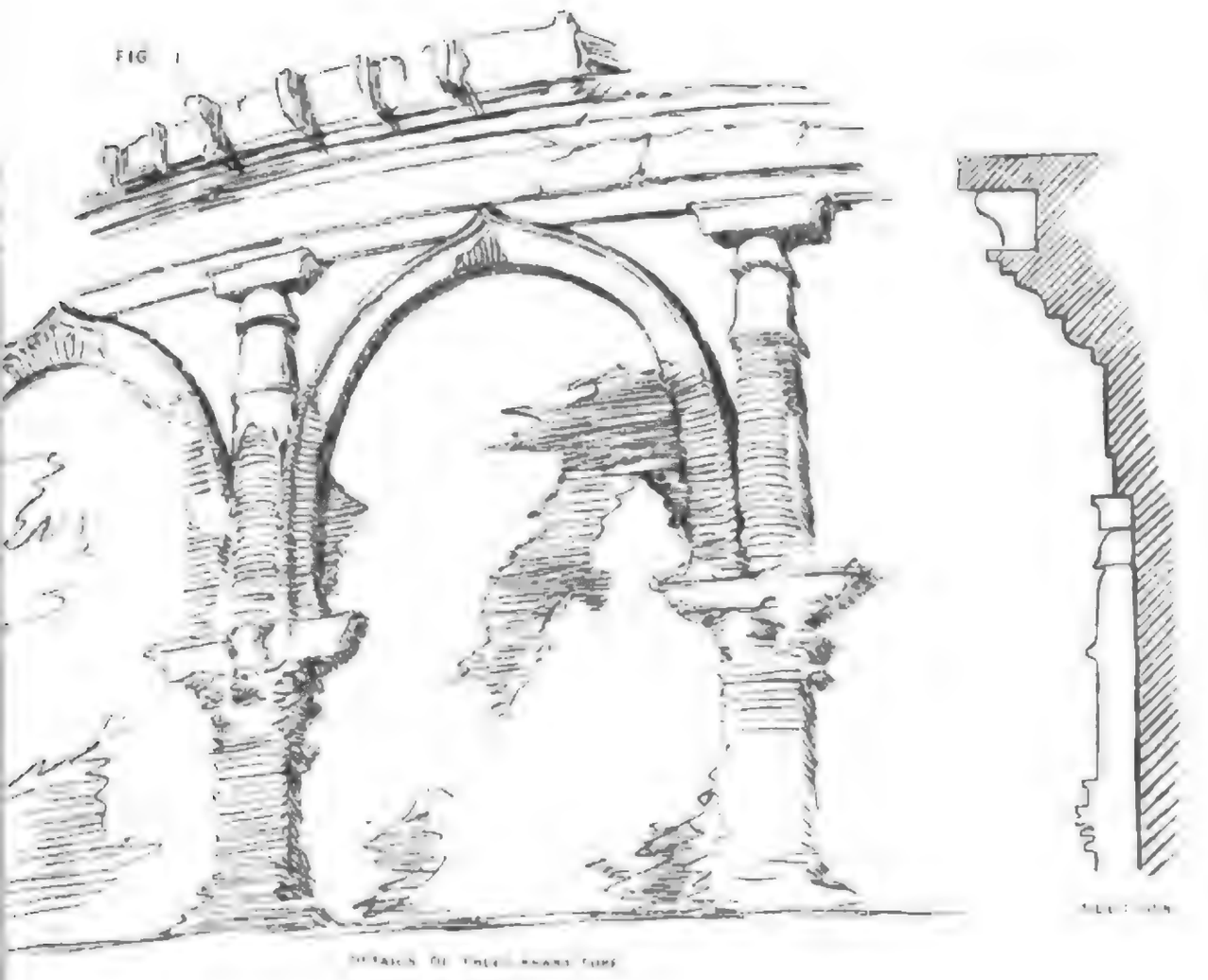

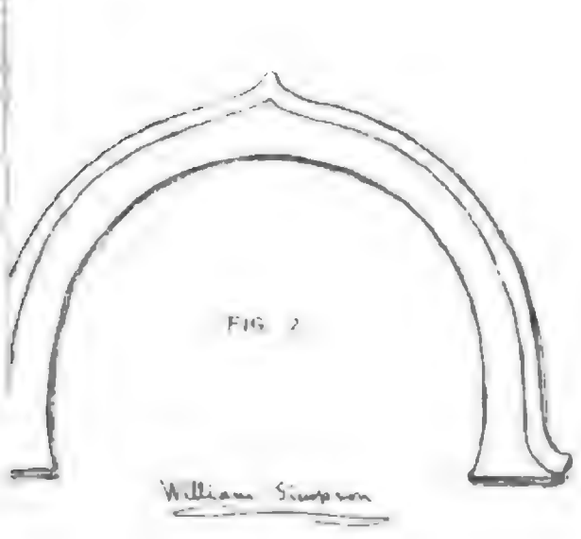

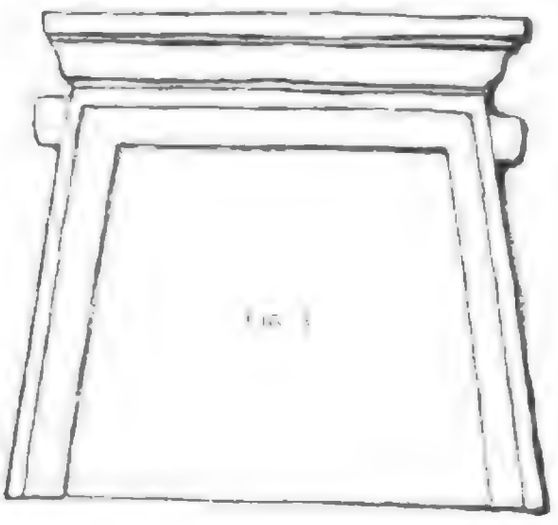

Details of Buddhist Architecture to illustrate the Forms found at Bamian.

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there were three rooms opening off from the central room—that is, one on each side, but none on the side of the entrance. Another had two cells opening off from each side. At Darunta, in the Jalálabád valley, I found only one cave of this kind, and it had three cells on two of its sides, and four cells on the back wall, forming seven in all. A plan of this is given in my paper on the Buddhist Caves of Afghanistan,[1] where it will be seen that it is exactly the same, excepting only the number of cells, with the description given by Captain Talbot.

Figs. 17, 18, and 19 I cannot quite understand. Captain Talbot says it is "a very curious cave, somewhat hard to draw." It must wait till he comes home to explain it.

When I left the Afghan Boundary Commission, as Captain Talbot had hopes of extending the Survey to the eastward, I asked him if he managed to visit Bamian, to look out for the remains of the Great Sleeping Buddha, which Hiouen Thsang describes as being 1000 feet long. A long mound is all that could be expected to be found now, but nothing of the kind is to be seen. Mohan Lal describes a petrified snake, regarding which he gives a legend: it still lies a large mass on the ground, about fifty feet long. It is about four miles to the west of Bamian. The 1000 feet is so evidently an exaggeration, that I suspect Mohan Lal's legendary snake to be most probably the remains of the Sleeping Buddha.

Lady Sale, in her book, mentions that she or her daughter, Mrs. Sturt, copied some of the paintings at Bamian. The probability is that these copies escaped the dangers of the campaign, and that they still exist. Perhaps some of the members of the Royal Asiatic Society may know something of them, and as they might be of importance in supplying details regarding Bamian, it would be most interesting if they were produced before the Royal Asiatic Society.

[1] *Ibid*, Plate 3.

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India, this was its counterpart to the North of the Indus. It is one of the primitive forms of architecture in that part of the world, and it is most interesting to see it appearing as prominently at Bamian.

Captain Talbot describes these sketches as representing porches in front of the caves. This is a peculiarity of which I cannot recollect anything of the same kind in the caves of the Jalálabád valley. It may have existed, but many of them were so ruinous, particularly in the front, that it was difficult to say what they had been originally.

Most of the caves at Bamian are domed; in the Jalálabád valley this is not the case; there are at Hada only a few square caves with domes in the roof. In one of these there was the base of what had been either a sitting Buddha or a small Stupa, under the dome. I am interested in Captain Talbot's identification of these domes with the modern manner of building with "kacha," which means sun-dried, "bricks." In Persia I made a similar sketch to that in Pl. I. Fig. 15; it, and some others I made of "mud architecture," were done on account of ideas they suggested in relation to Buddhist architecture. I may yet write about them, but at present they are to me far from certainties; naturally, I feel encouraged by Captain Talbot's suggestions on the domes, but it may be recalled that in my paper on the Buddhist caves of Afghanistan,[1] I have put it that the caves of the Jalálabád valley were copied from the early caves at Barabar, near Buddha Gaya: now, in three of these, the Lomas Rishi, Viswa Mitra, and the Sudama Caves, there are domed chambers. Here I think we have an explanation which is sufficient to account for the domes; but it must be confessed that it is only theoretical, and we may have yet to accept the "Kacha brick" explanation in its stead, which would give a Central Asian, rather than an Indian, origin to this particular form in Afghanistan.

Captain Talbot says he saw no Vihara caves, but some were described to him. They are square rooms; in one case

[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIV. Part 3.

there were three rooms opening off from the central room—that is, one on each side, but none on the side of the entrance. Another had two cells opening off from each side. At Darunta, in the Jalálabád valley, I found only one cave of this kind, and it had three cells on two of its sides, and four cells on the back wall, forming seven in all. A plan of this is given in my paper on the Buddhist Caves of Afghanistan,[1] where it will be seen that it is exactly the same, excepting only the number of cells, with the description given by Captain Talbot.

Figs. 17, 18, and 19 I cannot quite understand. Captain Talbot says it is "a very curious cave, somewhat hard to draw." It must wait till he comes home to explain it.

When I left the Afghan Boundary Commission, as Captain Talbot had hopes of extending the Survey to the eastward, I asked him if he managed to visit Bamian, to look out for the remains of the Great Sleeping Buddha, which Hiouen Thsang describes as being 1000 feet long. A long mound is all that could be expected to be found now, but nothing of the kind is to be seen. Mohan Lal describes a petrified snake, regarding which he gives a legend: it still lies a large mass on the ground, about fifty feet long. It is about four miles to the west of Bamian. The 1000 feet is so evidently an exaggeration, that I suspect Mohan Lal's legendary snake to be most probably the remains of the Sleeping Buddha.

Lady Sale, in her book, mentions that she or her daughter, Mrs. Sturt, copied some of the paintings at Bamian. The probability is that these copies escaped the dangers of the campaign, and that they still exist. Perhaps some of the members of the Royal Asiatic Society may know something of them, and as they might be of importance in supplying details regarding Bamian, it would be most interesting if they were produced before the Royal Asiatic Society.

[1] *Ibid*, Plate 3.

Notes to Captain Maitland's Sketches of Bamian.

A few days after Captain Talbot's communication had been read at the Royal Asiatic Society, I received some sketches made at Bamian by Capt. Maitland. On submitting them to Colonel Yule, it was arranged that they should be added to this, and I have been asked to supply a few notes to them.

Captain Maitland's name has already been mentioned; he accompanied Captain Talbot as Political Officer, and the drawings sent home were copies of his sketches, made by Bhayron Bakhsh, a Brahmin attached to the camp of the Afghan Boundary Commission, and a pupil of the School of Art at Jáípúr.

Unfortunately no descriptions came home with the drawings; so some slight explanation of them has to be given. Plate IV. represents that portion of the cliff at Bamian where the second statue stands, which is seen with the caves on the right and left of it. On the extreme left is, what Captain Talbot numbers as the fourth statue, a sitting figure. The largest statue does not appear in this plate, but it stands still further to the left, and according to Sir Vincent Eyre, is about 400 yards from the second one.

The arrangement of the verandahs in front of the caves, described by Captain Talbot, can be seen in this plate; and the peculiar forms drawn and described by him, although only roughly sketched in this case, can be easily identified. On the top of the cliff are a number of elevations, which I take to be mounds, most probably the remains of ruined stupas; in the Jalalabad Valley in almost every instance where there were caves in a scarp, there were similar mounds of stupas above them; and the great probability is that it is the same here. The largest mound, it will be noticed, is exactly over the statue. Burnes says that the rock at Bamian is "indurated clay and pebbles." Sir Vincent Eyre describes it as "that species of conglomerate known by the name of pudding-stone, consisting of very

hard clay, thickly studded with various kinds of rounded pebbles." On the level ground underneath the statue there is an Afghan village.

Plate V. represents the first and the largest of the great statues at Bamian; and as it is evidently carefully drawn, and gives minute details, it is particularly valuable, as it sets at rest all doubts as to the character of the sculpture. Hiuen Tsiang distinctly states that it was a figure of Buddha, and Masson identified it with the Buddhist figures he had seen at Salsette. Now we have the safer authority of this drawing of Capt. Maitland's to guide us, and it leaves no doubt on this point. The knob on the head; the regular lines of the folds of drapery,—leaving the form of the body to be indicated,—is all in the well-known style peculiar to Buddhism. It might naturally have been expected that the Greek influence, which is so well marked in the Buddhist sculptures of the Peshawer and Jalalabad districts, would perhaps be found here more strongly manifested, as the region is so much nearer to Bactria; but strange to say this influence can scarcely be traced in either of the two statues. The rigid mannerism of the drapery is the same as we find on the Indian side of the Indus. The suggestion which offers itself to account for this is, that the sculptor, or sculptors, were brought from India, and that the design was not produced by the local artists. Sir Vincent Eyre noticed in his visit the small holes which are represented in the drawing of this figure, and he makes the following remarks regarding them:—"One circumstance struck me as remarkable, which was, that in all those parts where the limbs are deficient, there are regular rows of small holes, in which pieces of wood have been struck, for the evident purpose of making plaster adhere. From this it would appear either that an attempt had been made to restore the mutilated parts by these means, or that the figure was originally only partially sculptured in the rock, and the deficiencies made up with plaster in the manner I have mentioned." The soldiers of Timur-lang may have shot arrows, and the artillerymen of Nadir Shah may have fired cannon at the

celebrated idols, this being what the people of the locality believe, but no one would have taken the trouble since the Mohammedan period to make any repairs; we can only suppose that these efforts date back to the time when there were Buddhist monks at Bamian. If the small holes had been all over the figure, it might have been supposed that it had been covered with metal; but we can perceive in the drawing, as Sir Vincent Eyre says, that they are only on the mutilated parts. It will be seen from the drawing that both Burnes and Sir Vincent Eyre correctly described this statue as having the upper part of the face destroyed, the mouth being the only feature which had been preserved. Captain Talbot measured this figure with the theodolite, and gives the height as 173 feet; it must be the highest statue known, and a good notion of its size may be formed by comparing it with the London Monument, which is only about 27 feet greater in height; or the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square, it being 170 feet, or 3 feet less than the statues.

Plate VI. represents the smaller statue, which stands, as already stated, about 400 yards to the right of the larger one, and is 120 feet high; this has been generally known as the "female idol," but it is now evident that Hiuen Tsiang had correctly described it as "a figure of Sakya Buddha." He also describes it as being formed of metal, "it has been cast in different parts and joined together;" the folds of the drapery are yet so carefully given in the figure, that we must suppose it had only been covered with a thin plating of metal, and not with plates which had been cast; this is confirmed by the absence of holes or any indications by which heavy pieces of metal could have been fastened and supported. The larger figure was in all probability gilt, for the pilgrim says that "its golden hues sparkle on every side," and whatever metal was used in the smaller figure, must have been so thin, that it was made to keep its place by means of some adhesive substance. Captain Talbot says that in both figures "the finishing, drapery, etc., was all added by putting on stucco." This is all but decisive against

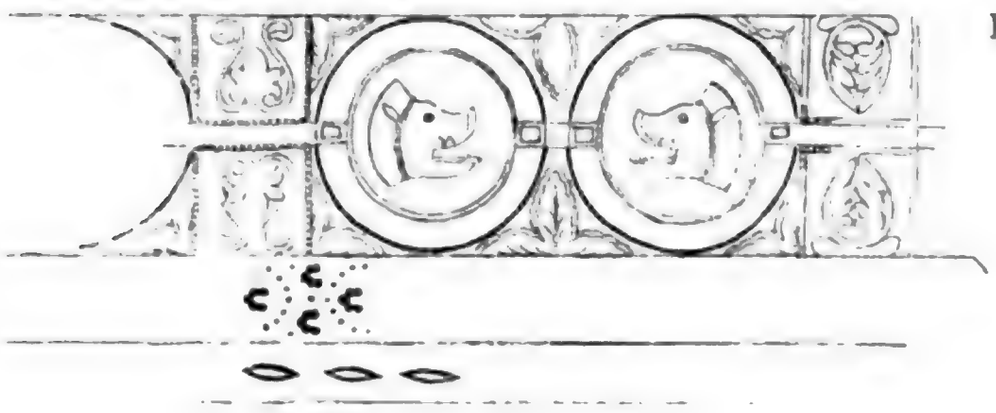


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

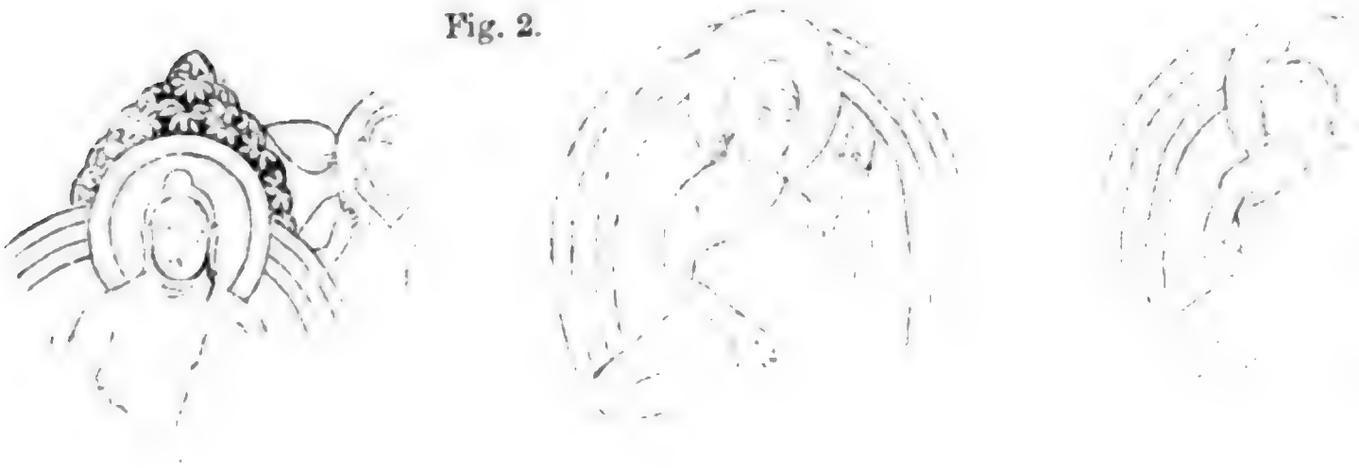
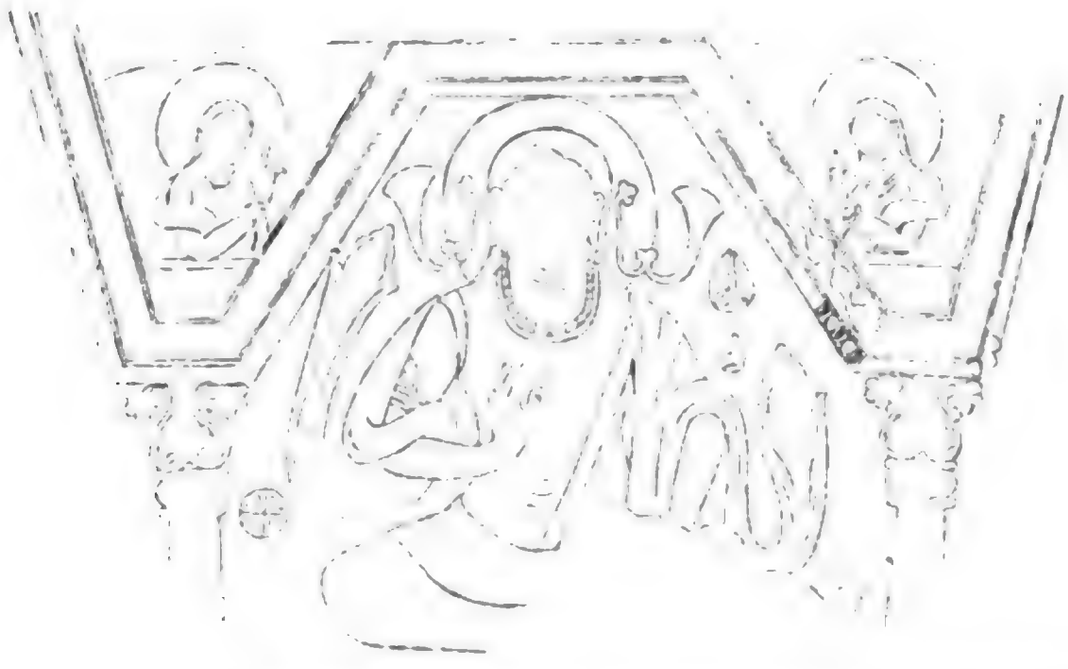


Fig. 3.



cast metal plates being fixed on it; as there would have been, in such a case, no need to finish the details with stucco. There are stairs cut in the rock, by means of which visitors can ascend, and look out at the head of the statue, and the opening above the crown is represented in the drawing. Captain Talbot states that the passage to the top is still accessible, and from the context of his brief statement we are led to suppose that it was by this means Captain Maitland was able to measure the statue with a tape.

Plate VII. gives us what, in comparison to the colossal figures beside it, we must call a small statue. Still it is described by Captain Talbot as being between 25 and 30 feet high; he thinks that it had been prepared for stucco, which had never been put on; but the greater probability, judging from the size of the holes to be seen all over the figures, and the strength of the wooden pegs they would have held, that this figure might have been covered with metal. The holes show that it never had details either of face or drapery, and such being the case, these would be all given on the outer covering of metal. If this has been the case, it reduces the Chinese Pilgrim's blunder to smaller dimensions; he would thus be only wrong as to which figure, but right that at least one of them, was metallic. The relative position of this figure is on the left of the smaller statue; it is included in the general view of the caves.

The remains of painting found in the Jalalabad Valley were very few and fragmentary, but judging from what there was, as well as by the forms in the sketches of Captain Maitland from Bamian, we see that what is known as the Greek influence was confined to the architecture and sculpture, and that the style of painting had never been affected by it. The paintings in the Tibetan monasteries of the present day bear a strong resemblance to these fragments from Bamian, and the art on them is no doubt a continuation of the older school. In one of the fragments, Fig. 3, Plate VIII., there is a form already referred to by me when dealing with Captain Talbot's drawings. It is the form given in Plate I. Figs. 7, 9, and 14. In the painting it is

shown as supported on two pillars. I have a piece of sculpture from Hada, in which this same arrangement is represented, but with the difference that the columns have well-defined Corinthian capitals.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.

[N.B.—A second letter from Capt. Talbot has come to hand since receipt of the others. As it gives probably the first account of the "Takht-i-Rustam" in this locality, it is now published with the drawings which accompanied it. Haibak, I may mention, is on the road from Bamian to the Oxus, and as there are many groups of caves along the whole route, the paper in question appears an appropriate *addendum* to those preceding it.—W.S.]

LETTER.

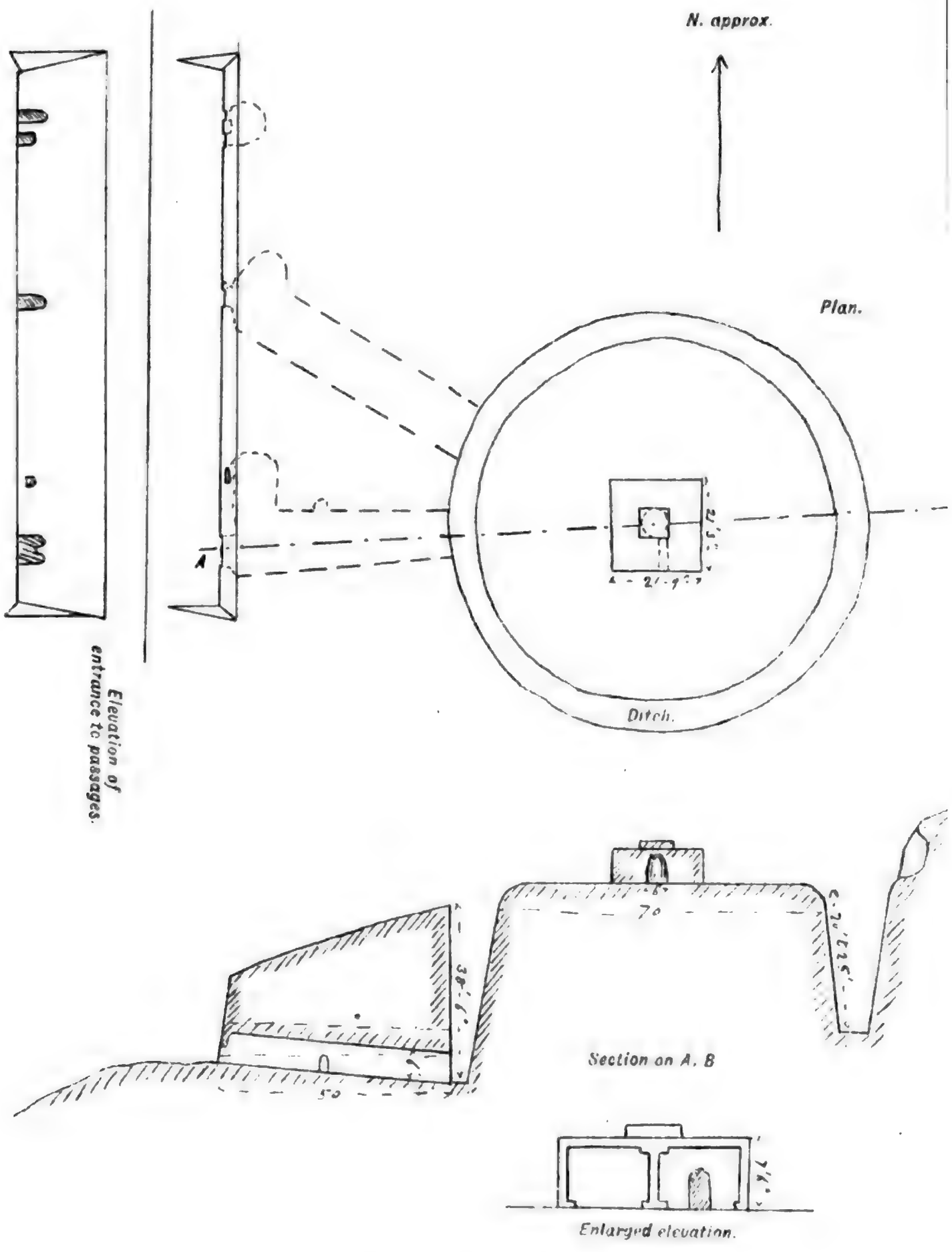
Camp, Kilif, March 2nd.

MY DEAR SIMPSON,

I hope my letter from Bamian way reached you safely and proved interesting. I have not much more to add. At Haibak, about two miles west of the fort, is a very curious place called Takht-i-Rustam. Possibly it has been fully described before; but in case it has not, I send you a plan and description. [See figures on opposite page, Pl. IX.]

It is entirely cut out of the rock; there has been no building up whatever. Simply the top of a rocky hillock has been cut into the shape I describe. It is not situated on quite the highest point of the hillock, and could never have been intended for a fortification of any sort.

It consists of an annular ditch cut out of the rock to a varying depth on the west side, at perhaps its deepest point. I found it to be 38½ ft. from the top of the counterscarp, to use a military term. The conical mass of rock left standing in the centre has been levelled to form a circular platform about 70 ft. in diameter, the top of the scarp being neatly bevelled off. In the centre of the platform stands a rectangular house, also cut out of the solid rock. A doorway and passage from the south side leads into a circular domed



Takhti Rustam near Haibak.

M. G. Talbot, Capt., R.E.

chamber 6 ft. in diameter and 6 ft. 6 ins. high. You will see that in my drawings there is a discrepancy as to the situation of the passage. I am pretty sure that the enlarged elevation shows the position of the doorway correctly, and also that the plan is correct as to the way the passage leads into the chamber. I must therefore have got my dimensions wrong, or the chamber cannot be situated exactly in the centre.

I presume that this is a sort of tope, and that the chamber contained an image of Buddha, but you know my opinion is not worth much, and as I send you all I know about it, you can draw your own conclusions.

This central platform and house is quite perfect, and made with great care and neatness. Access is had to it from the north side by means of holes cut in the escarp, similar to those in a gymnasium for escalading exercise, which enable anybody to climb up from the ditch, which is here less than 20 ft. deep, I should guess. The bottom of the ditch is irregular in width and slope. The ditch is deepest on the west side, and slopes up to the east from both sides. The scarp is perfect in all but one place, where a small portion of rock has fallen away. On the east side are the remains of caves cut in the counterscarp, looking inwards, and on about the level of the platform. Most of them have fallen in.

Access is had to the ditch by two passages cut in the rock on the west side. The northern of these issues is some 6 ft. above the level of the ditch, for what object I cannot conceive; the other issues are at the level of the bottom of the ditch.

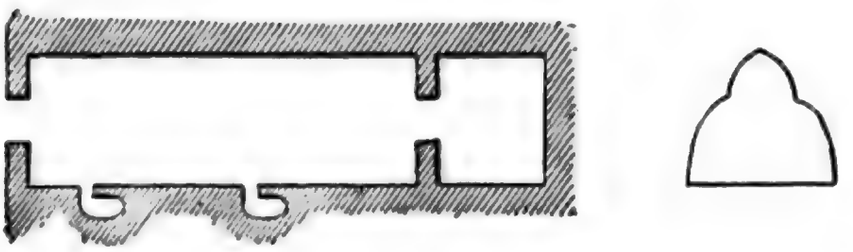
These passages issue from the ditch on to a platform cut out of the rock. The rock is of a grey colour, and does not look very hard, but has weathered well. I am not geologist enough to say what it is.

At the foot of a neighbouring hill, some 300 yards off, are some half dozen more caves facing towards the Takht. I should be glad to hear if you know of any similar place.

Near the road from Haibak to Táshkurghán is a place called Hazársam, or 1000 caves. It consists of a large

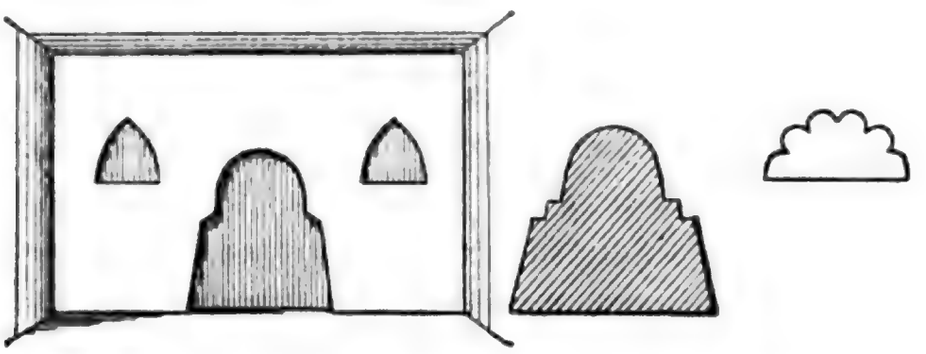
number of caves excavated in low cliffs, 10 to 20 ft. high, surrounding a depression in undulating ground. It is 18 to 20 miles from Takht-i-Rustam. Many of the caves have fallen in. Those that remain seem to be nearly all of one plan—a large outer room leading by an archway into a smaller room approaching a square in plan. In some cases the outer room has small rooms leading off from it; and in several cases contiguous outer rooms are connected with one another by side passages in an irregular sort of way. Altogether they seemed to be nearer the pattern of Vihara caves than anything else I have seen.

[The larger of these figures represents the plan of the cave.



The smaller approximately illustrates a niche which the writer noticed at the inner end of the inner chamber.]

The outer doorways have most fallen in, and in none could I trace any definite shape; but the doorways into the inner rooms are mostly perfect and vary in shape: as a rule they have a niche on each side of them. I show two patterns of doorways and the position of the side niches. The niches also vary in shape: some are as I have tried to draw.



You must understand that when I draw an arch, I mean it to be symmetrical, though I fear I am not often successful.

The walls of both outer and inner rooms were originally covered with plaster, of which a good deal remains, showing ornamental designs and remains of colour. In one case I noticed something very like a *fleur-de-lis*. My usual complaint of want of time holds good here: I only had half an hour to visit these caves. It would have taken a whole day to do them properly. There are a great number of them.

Yours very sincerely,

M. G. Talbot.

Additional Note on Bamian by Capt. P. J. Maitland.

The Bamian valley is about half a mile broad and well cultivated, but there is no town or even central agglomeration of houses, only small villages scattered up and down the valley. To the north is a fairly continuous wall of cliffs averaging about 300 feet in height; to the south is a central plateau separated by the glens called Dahaneh-i-Tájik and Dahaneh-i-Saidabad from the cliffs limiting the western and eastern part of the valley. On the edge of the central plateau is a small, conical, clayey hill, covered with the ruins of Ghulgulah. This is probably the ancient Bamian.

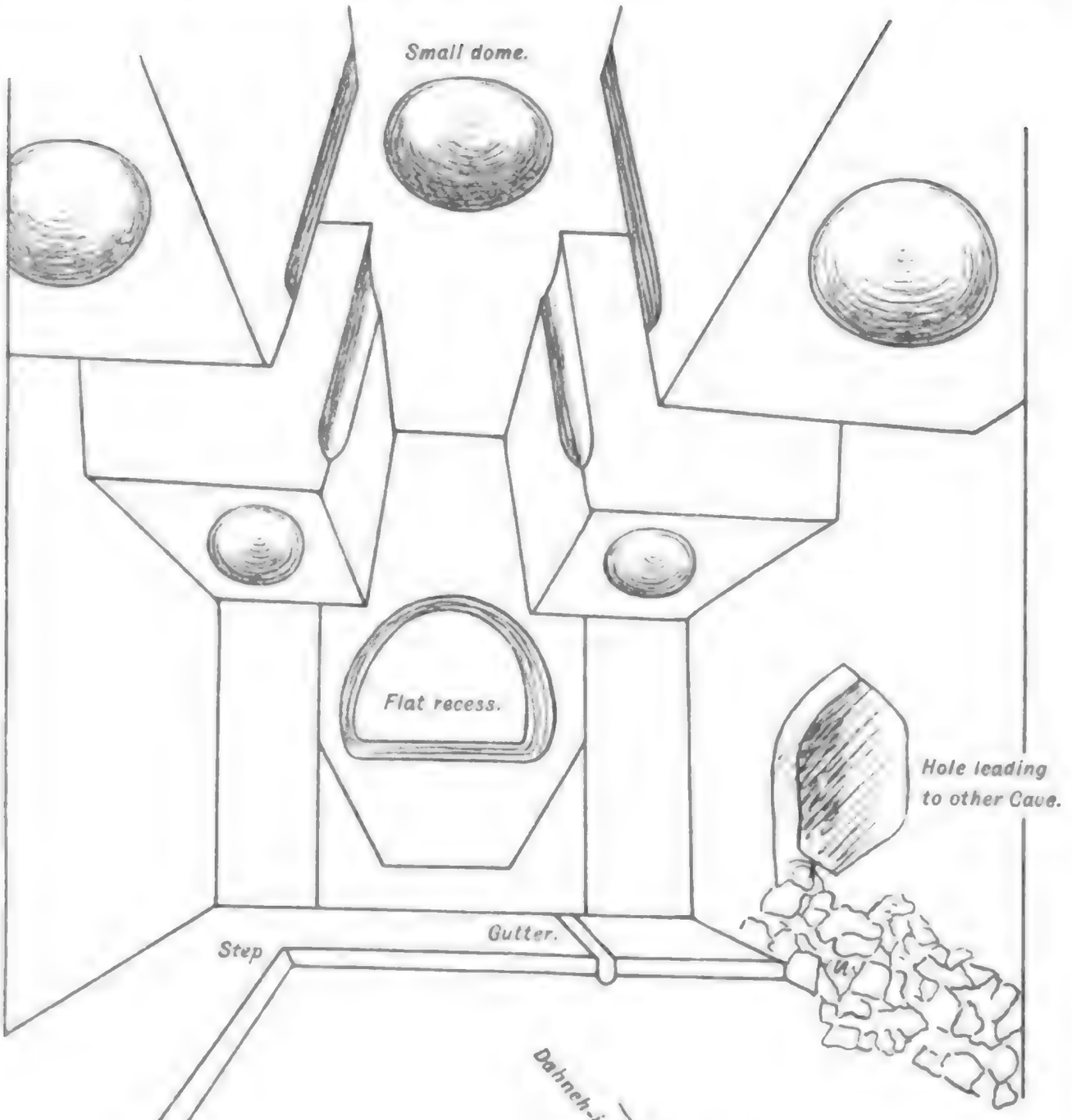
The cliffs are everywhere pierced with numerous caves, but the greatest number is found on the north side of the valley, and here are also the famous idols, the Bút-i-Bamian. The cliffs round these are literally honeycombed with caves, which are found even in the *débris* slope at the bottom. They are almost all inhabited by Tajiks, or used as store-rooms, and the entrance is frequently protected by a low mud wall.

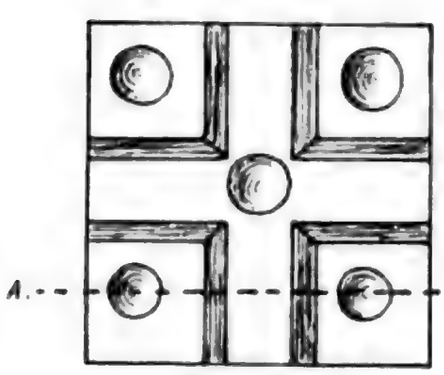
Facing the cliff the larger of the two big idols is to the left, the other to the right. They are about a quarter of a mile apart and supposed to be male and female, and their heights are respectively 180 and 120 feet. Their names are, as reported by former travellers, Sal Sál for the male and Sháh Mameh for the female figure. The idols are standing figures, sculptured in very bold relief in deep niches. Between the two large idols are, or rather were, two smaller ones, also in niches. These are equidistant from the large idols and

from each other, that is to say, there is about 150 yards between each of the niches, large and small. One of the smaller niches is about 60 to 70 feet high, and is now empty, though a close inspection shows fragments of the idol that once filled it. The second small niche is still occupied by a sitting figure, which is about 40 feet high and known as the Bacheh, or child. The general shape of the niches is the same in all cases, but that of the large female figure is evidently unfinished, and the shoulders are not marked, nor the edges smoothed off.

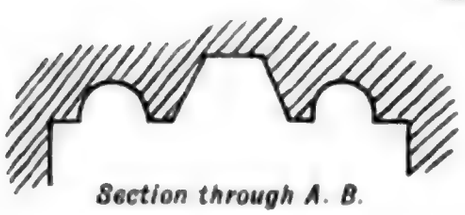
The depth of the niches of the two large idols is about twice the thickness of the figures standing in them: the latter are therefore fairly well protected from the weather, and this accounts for their excellent preservation, nearly all the damage done to them being due to the hand of man. The whole interior of the niches, and particularly the arches over the heads of the idols, have been painted with what appears to be allegorical designs. Although much damaged, in fact, obliterated, where they could be easily got at, enough remains to show the general style of the work, which is exceedingly well executed, and forcibly reminds one of what is generally understood to be Byzantine art.

The idols themselves are rather clumsy figures, roughly hewn in the tough conglomerate rock, and afterwards thickly overlaid with stucco, *in which all the details are executed.* The whole arrangement clearly shows that this was not done at a later period, but is part of the original design of the figures. The stucco appears to have been painted, or at least paint was used in some places. The features of the figures have been purposely destroyed, and the legs of the larger one have been partly knocked away, it is said by cannon-shot fired at it by Nadir Shah. Both idols are draped in garments reaching to below the knee. The limbs and contour of the body show through, and the general effect of muslin is excellently imitated in the stucco. The arms of both are bent at the elbow, the forearms and the hands projecting, but the latter are now broken off. The feet have also been battered out of shape.

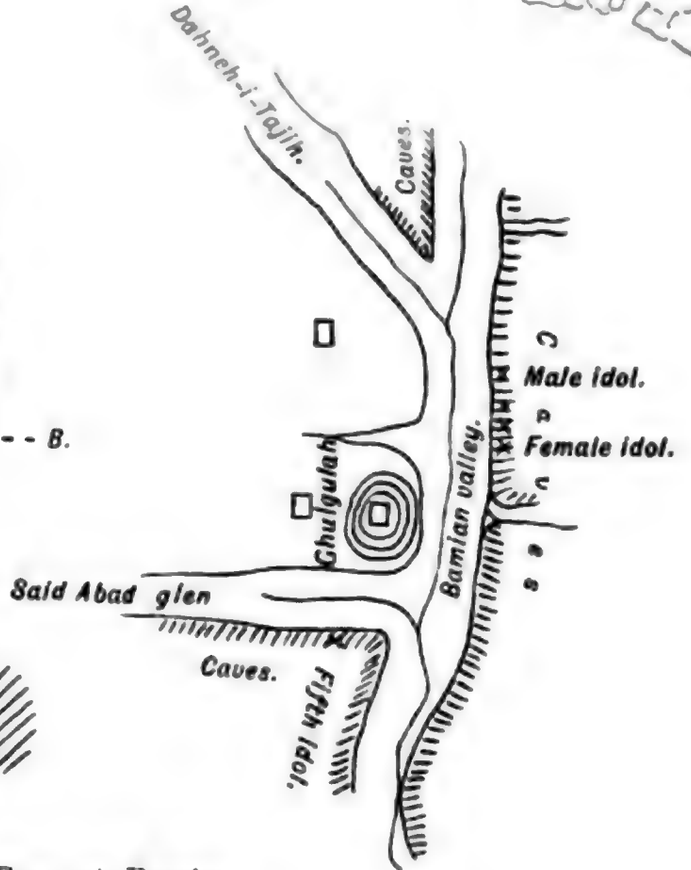




Plan of roof



Section through A. B.



Cave at Bamian.

Narrow stairways hewn in the interior of the rock lead up from cave to cave to the heads of the idols, and even to the summit of the hill.

The caves, though so numerous, are not large. By far the greater portion of them are chambers 12 to 14 feet square, with domed roofs. I think as a rule several chambers open into each other, and have a wide portico in front by which light is admitted to the doorways. These have generally round arches. There are certainly no pointed arches anywhere, but some of the openings may be square-headed. The domes are set on the four-sided chambers in a remarkable manner, the square being reduced to an octagon by cornices springing by tiers from the angles in unmistakeable imitation of brick-work. (See Plate X., also Plate I. Figs. 17, 18 and 19.) It is a very curious fact that at Kandahar domes are to this day commonly built on brick-built square chambers in exactly the same fashion. One of the roofs seen was of a different kind, flat and divided into four by deep wide cuts, crossing each other in the centre. Small cupolas were hewn in the centre of each of the spaces and at the intersection of the cuts. The largest cave of all is said to be between the feet of the great idol, but like several others it is used for government stores, and was filled with lucerne, etc. We saw no Vihara caves, but some are said to exist. As above mentioned, the majority of the caves are inhabited. A few years ago it is said they all were. The interiors are plain, without sculptural ornamentation, and now completely smoke-blackened. The whole, however, were plastered with stucco and painted. In one of the upper caves, near the head of the female idol, some designs are still visible.

A short distance east of the female idol, near the foot of the cliff, is a mound, which seems to be the remains of a Buddhist tope.

A design on the arch over the female idol can, to a certain extent, be made out with a field-glass. Within a circle is a figure in a long robe with a spear, apparently slaying something. The two upper corners without the circle are filled

with figures of angels or cherubs, waving scarves at each other. They might well date from the last century. On either side is a border with male and female busts or half-figures in circles, and all adorned with halos. Outside the central design on the left-hand side is a very curious figure of a human-headed bird.

On the east side of the Saidabad glen is an idol, which does not appear to have been noticed by former travellers. It is somewhere up the cliff, which is pierced with numerous caves. The niche is 40 to 60 feet high, and the figure in it has its head covered with a sort of cap or tiara. The two big idols may possibly have been adorned in like manner; the top of their heads is now unnaturally flat, suggesting the idea that something has been cut off.

It should be mentioned that the caves are very dark, only a small doorway admits light, and without candles, or rather good lanterns, nothing can be seen. The stairways are always very narrow and steep. There is almost invariably a shallow recess opposite the doorway. No traces of doors were seen.

Note.—These letters have been following one another at intervals during the last two or three months, and this latest communication from Captain Maitland it was necessary to give at the last moment, as it becomes the text to his own sketches; more particularly as it adds to our scant knowledge of Bamian. With the letters Captain Maitland has sent drawings of the peculiar roof partially described by Captain Talbot (see p. 326), and these make the form of the roof now perfectly clear; but it is a form quite new to us, and as yet I would not venture on an opinion as to its origin. When Captain Maitland speaks of the "male" and the "female" in relation to the two large statues, it should be understood that he is only using these terms as they have long been applied to them by the natives of the locality. We have the authority of Hiuen Tsiang that the smaller figure, the so-called "female idol," was Buddha, and Captain Maitland's drawing of it perfectly confirms this. The statement that the stairs lead up to the summit of the cliff becomes a slight confirmation of my guess that the mounds on the summit are the remains of Stupas.—W.S.

ART. XV.—*The Sumerian Language and its Affinities.* By Prof. Dr. FRITZ HOMMEL, of Munich. Communicated by Dr. ROST, Hon. Member R.A.S.

OF all the known languages of the world, Sumerian may undoubtedly be regarded as the oldest. We possess now inscriptions (*e.g.* of the ancient Chaldean King Ur-ġanna of Sirgulla) which are of an even earlier date than the time of the half-mythical Egyptian King Menes. Our sources for the knowledge of this language—the language of the founders of the Babylonian civilization—are twofold, namely: a long series of bilingual incantations, hymns, psalms, etc., preserved in late copies, giving the original text, line for line, with its Semitic (Babylonian or Assyrian) translation; and a great many inscriptions, in Sumerian only, of the early kings, most of them very short, but some of considerable length. The latter are, as a rule, full of still puzzling and obscure passages, as well as difficult grammatical forms. Nevertheless, they sometimes confirm many points of grammar found in the bilingual texts, which themselves necessarily form the starting-point of our grammatical and philological explorations of this language, and which are so numerous, that we can easily gain from them alone a clear and nearly complete idea of the very interesting idiom in which they are written. Of great help also in our investigations are the lexicographical and grammatical tablets of the Assyrian libraries,—which, however, being simply compilations made long after the language had ceased to exist, must be sometimes used with caution.

So different are the roots, forms, and syntax of the Sumerian from the Semitic tongues, that, at the very outset, such eminent scholars as Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and

others thought it to be more or less connected with the so-called Turanian languages. The term Turanian comprising, as it does, two great groups of cognate—though only loosely cognate—languages, namely, the Ugro-Finnic (Uralic) and the Mongolian-Turco-Tartaric (Altaic) families, was, however, too vague. It was with the first-named group that the late F. Lenormant declared the Sumerian to have the closest connection. Since the rejection of this theory of Lenormant in 1881 by Dr. Donner, the eminent Ugro-Finnish scholar, the question seemed to be set at rest, at least with regard to the Ugro-Finnish group of languages; but it really opened afresh the question of the true position of Sumerian among the languages of the world.

In the following pages I shall try to show that this important question can be fully settled. That branch of the Turanian family, which geographically was the nearest neighbour of the Old Sumerians, the Turko-Tatars, with the Mongols, was also linguistically nearest akin. This fact will be fully proved by phonology, grammar, syntax and dictionary.

With regard to *phonology* and dictionary, we must start from the development found in the texts themselves. Beside the Old Sumerian (the contemporaneous inscriptions of kings, and the bilingual incantations), we possess, also, later texts, which seemed at the first glance to be intermixed with *dialectical* forms (Sayce, Lenormant, Pinches, Haupt); these are, however, as I have in my latest works pointed out, in reality, Neo-Sumerian. Professor Haupt, who found out, after Sayce, Lenormant and Pinches, but as I am now convinced, quite independently, this difference in the lexicographical lists and then in the texts, was the first to treat of them, and gave the principal facts in a little paper published in the Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen. He was, however, wrong in thinking the Old Sumerian forms (Dr. Haupt's Accadian) to be the later ones, and the Neo-Sumerian (by him called dialectic, or Sumerian absolutely) the earliest stage of the language; the great step forward which he made in our knowledge of Sumerian on the one

side was, at the same time, a deplorable retrogression on the other.

I do not intend to give, in the following, a *complete grammar* of the Sumerian in its historical development, but it will be necessary to give here at great length at least the introduction to such a grammar, viz. the principal facts of *phonology*. That I have been able to add to it greatly since the works of Sayce and Haupt, everybody will clearly see, on comparing the new principles, used in it, with the former treatment of this subject.

The Sumerian *vowels* are *a*, *i*, and *u*. It is probable that, in the later language, *a* became *e* in many cases, but we never find it indicated by writing. The same is the case with the change from *u* to *o*. The change from *u* to *ü*, however, is more certain, because we very often find *i* for *u*, even in the Older[1] Sumerian, the middle-form being, of course, *ü*. This change *(u* to *i)* seems to have become, in Neo-Sumerian, a general law of sound, and so, also, we find it very often in the Turkish languages, e.g. *yol-duz* beside *yildiz* 'star' (comp. Sum. *gul* 'star,' the supposed oldest form of Neo-Sum. *vul*), *oghul*, *oghlu* 'son,' Chuvassian *ӳӳl* (comp. Neo-Sum. *ibilla*, the supposed Old Sum. form being *ugulla*), *il* 'land' (Sum. *ur* 'place, town'), *er* 'man' (Sum. *ur*), *gün* 'day' (Sum. *kun* 'to become clear'), etc. *Originally*, all these vowels were *short*, long ones having only come into existence by contraction, e.g. *dingirra* or *dingirri* 'God,' with the plural-suffix *-ini*: *dingirrîni*, or by accent, e.g. *adda* 'father,' *addâmu* 'my father.' The same is the case in the Turkish languages, where also the long vowels have only grown out of contraction, e.g. *tōz* 'dust' out of *toghoz* (comp. Mong. *toghosu-n*, Neo-Sum. *saghar*, originally *daghash*). As for the so-called *vowel harmony*, which we find, to a great extent, also in Sumerian, especially in the later language, it will be sufficient here only to quote forms like *ki-ti* for *ki-ta*

[1] I call thus the language of the epoch of Gudîa and of the incantations as they have come down to us. The oldest forms I call Old Sumerian, and the later (the so-called dialectic or imisal), Neo-Sumerian.

'down,' *nim-gir* instead of *nam-gir* 'lightning,' *ush-bu* 'his persecutor' (for *ush-bi*), *mun-du-tutuddi* 'he enters' (for *mun-da-tutuddi*), etc. etc. In most cases, however, the historical old form is written, though in speaking the vowels were assimilated, as this must be concluded by the mere existence of the above-quoted forms.

The original consonants are *k*, *g*, *ǵ* or *gh*, *t*, *d*, *b*, *m*, *n*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *r*, *l*; but *k* and *t* are only found at the beginning of the word or syllable, at least in Old Sumerian, and here very rarely, as most of the independent roots with these initial consonants begin with the so-called tenuis. There must have existed, even in older Sumerian, besides these, a consonantal *y* (indicated only by a following *i* instead of *a*) for an original *r*, *n*, *l* or *g*, e.g. *gal-i*, i.e. *gayi*, for *galla* 'great,' *in-i*, i.e. *iyi*, for *inna* or *inni* 'lord,' etc.;[1] then *ng* (only after a vowel), e.g. *dingir* 'God' (comp. *tengri*), *kingi-n*, *kingi* 'land' (from the words *din* 'spirit' and *kin*), and *v* (between two vowels) for original *b*, e.g. in the proper name *Ur-Ba'u* 'man of the goddess Ba'u or Bohu,' followed by the genitive-postposition *-gi*, *Ur-Ba-bi-gi*, of course spoken *Ur-Bavi-gi*.

In Neo-Sumerian, this pronunciation of *b* as *v* seems to have become quite general, as also that of *m* as *v*, and is at the same time the reason why *m* and *b* are so often confounded in the writing of the hymns and psalms. The same must have been the case, at a certain period, in the Turkish languages, for it is only by this law that such forms as *gib*, beside *gim* (also *kep*) 'like' (orig. 'to form, to model'), *moi* (so in Yakute) beside *buyu-n*

[1] Also in the Turkish family of languages we find this tendency to change *l* in *y*, e.g. *yuy-mak* 'to wash' (comp. Sum. *lug*), *yay-mak* 'to spread out, to foot' (comp Sum. *lal* 'to hang up, to spread out, to put down'). As for *r* and *n* to *y*, these two sounds became, of course, at first *l* before they became *y*, for which change (*r* to *l*, and *n* to *l*) we have numerous analogies already in Older Sumerian, still more in Neo-Sumerian and in Turkish; comp. Sum. *gir* 'foot,' Mong. *gül*; Sum. *ur* 'foundation,' Turk. *ul*; Sum. *shur* 'to cry,' Turk. *söy-le-mek* 'to speak'; Sum. *dur*, *dir* 'full,' Turk. *dolu*; Sum. *bar* 'side, heart,' Turk. *bel* 'loins, midst'; Sum. *nigin* 'circle, to collect, assemble,' Turk. *yigil*, *iyil* 'to assemble, to go round about'; Sum. *gun* 'neck,' Turk. *buy-un*; *anshu* 'ass,' Mong. *elsi-gen* (Turk. *eshe-k*); *nin* 'four,' Chagat. *nil-au* 'the fourth'; Mong. *nogai*, *nochoi* 'dog,' Neo-Sum. *lug*, *lig*, etc. etc.

'neck,' *miz* beside *biz* 'we,' and other examples,[1] are to be explained.

The above-quoted form *kep*, beside *gib* and *gim* (in the Turkish languages, especially those of Southern Siberia), which is a hardening of the two tenues *g* and *b*, leads us to an important observation for the phonology of Sumerian—I mean the hardening of *g*, *b*, *d* and *z* into *k*, *p*, *t* and *s*, not expressed by the writing (for here the historical old forms with the tenues were kept), but shown by a great many words, borrowed from Sumerian, in the Semitic Babylonian language. Thus, *guz* 'throne, seat,' became with the Semites *kussû*, *Gudûa Kutû* (the biblical Kutha), *Agadi Akkadu* (the bibl. Akkad); *Zimbir sippar*, *zabar* 'brass' *siparru*; *azag* 'fever' *asakku*; *madda* 'land' *matu*, etc. For the Turkish languages may also be compared the following instances: Sum. *ǵash* 'two' *iki*(*s*), *gug* 'sheep' *koyun*, *gaz* (Neo-Sum. *uz*) 'goat' *kechi* (also *kech-ki* and *ech-ki* occur), *dingir* 'God' *Tengri*, *adda* 'father' *ata*, *giš* 'man' *kiši*, *bar* 'to be bright' *par-la-mak*, *tig* 'to touch' *tek-mek*, *gin* 'straight, right' *küni*, *ǵush* (Old Sum. *ǵu*, Neo-Sum. *vush-in*) 'bird' *kush*, *bad* 'to go away, to withdraw' *batar* 'west, sunset,' *dugun* (Neo-Sum. *dubin*) 'nail of the finger, claw, hoof,' *toyn-ak*, etc.

This hardening seems to have taken place in all cases where no other alterations of the above-named four consonants occurred, namely:

g to *gv* and *v* (written *b* or *m*), *y*, and, lastly, to *sh* and to *d* (the latter rather a alternation of two different sound classes, not a natural change)—instead of *g* to *k*;

d to *ḏ* (the weak Engl. *th*), *z* and further *s*—instead of *d* into *t*;

z (also *š*, *s*) to *r* (so-called rhotacism)—instead of *z* to *s*;

and, finally, *b* to *v*, or else to a mere spiritus lenis.

Of these changes, that of *g* to *v*, of *g* (also *k*) to *sh*, and *d* to *s*, are only met with in Neo-Sumerian, the rest existed

[1] It must not be confounded with this, if even in the Oldest Sumerian we find the verbal subject-prefix *mun* beside *ban* (from the pronominal stem of the 3rd person sing. *ba*); we have here the same law of sound as in the Turkish *mun-da* for *bun-da* (or *ban-da*), comp. Radloff, Phonetik der nördl. Türksprachen, p. 160, § 222.

already in Older Sumerian, at least in the later period. We will now give examples of each of the transitions cited:

a) for *g* to *v*: *guš* 'three' (comp. Mong. *gosin* 'thirty'), Neo-Sum. *viš* (written *biš*), *vuš*, *iš* (comp. Turk. *visse*, *üch*); *giš* 'one,' *vir* (comp. Turk. *bir*); *gun*, Neo-Sum. *vun*, *un*, *u* 'ten' (comp. Turk. *von*, *on*); *zug* 'bog, pool,' Turk. *sug*,[1] *sub*, *su* 'water'; *gal*, Neo-Sum. *gul*, *vul*, Turk. *ul* 'great'; *gal*, Neo-Sum. *val* 'to be,' Turk. *bol-mak*, *ol-mak*; *gud* 'ox,' Turk. *öt*, *üt*, etc., etc.

b) for *g* (also *k*) to *y*: *gug*, Turk. *koy-un* 'sheep' (quoted above); *nigin* 'circle, to assemble' *yigil*, *iyil*; *kur* 'land,' Turk. *yer*; *ku* 'to eat,' Turk. *ye-mek*, etc.

c) For *g* (also *k*) to *sh*: *dag* 'stone,' Turk. *dash*; *kir* 'heart,' Turk. *yire-k*, Mong. *chiru-ken*; *gal* 'wife,' Neo-Sum. *šal*; *ku* postposition for 'to,' Neo-Sum. *šu*; *kingin* 'land,' Neo-Sum. *šingin*, *šingir*, and finally *shumir*; *ku-bil* 'new,' Neo-Sum. *šu-bil* (Turk. *yengi*, which proves that the oldest Sum. form was *kugil*), etc.

d) For *g* to *d*: *ag*, *ad* (written with prolongation AG-da) 'to make,' Turk. *et-mek*, and the derivation from it *agar*, Neo-Sum. *adar* 'field'; *gug* 'sheep' (Turk. *koyu-n*), but also *dug*, Neo-Sum. *dib*; *gug*, *dug* finally, *dib* 'to speak,' Turk. *deb-mek*; Turk. *tuǵ-mak* 'to generate,' Sum. *tud* (orig. of course *tuǵ*, comp. also Mong. *turul* from *tuǵul*); *gušgin* 'gold,' Neo-Sum. *vušdin*, *vuldin*, Turk.-Mong. *ÿltÿn*.

e) For the sibilated *d*: *dug* 'good,' Neo-Sum. *zib*, *sib*, Turk. *söb*; Mong. *toǵosu-n* 'dust,' (Neo ?) Sum. *saǵar* (out of *daǵash*); *dun* 'mighty' to *sul*; *dag* 'stone' (Turk. *dash*) to *za*, etc., etc.

f) For the rhotacism: *giš* 'one,' Turk. *bir*; *ǵash* 'two,' Turk. *yigir-mi* 'twenty'; *vaš* and *var* (written *maš*, *bar*) 'five,' *para-b* 'fifty,' Turk. *besh*; *nishin*, Latin 'eos' before the verb, Mong. plural-ending *-nash*, Turk. *-lar*, etc., etc.[2]

[1] One of the forms met with is also *suy* (preserved still in Osmanly in the declension of *su*), comp. b) *g* to *y*.

[2] In connection with this change is to be understood the change, sometimes met with, from *š* to *l* (and further from *l* to *d*), e.g. *aš* 'six,' Turk. *al-ta*; the quoted *gušgin*, *vuldin*; *giš* 'wood,' Neo-Sum. *vush*, Mong. *modu-n*, Turk. *odun*. The transition *r* to *l* to *d* is very common already in Older Sumerian.

g) For *b* to *v* or spiritus lenis: *bad* 'to name' (Neo-Sum. *pad*), Turk. *at* 'name'; *ubur* 'bosom, breast,' Turk. *obur* 'nurse' (i.e. breast-giving), Tung. *uwur* 'bosom,' Mong. *öbür*, *öber*, and Magyar *öböl* the same, comp. also *ǵa* in the optative, for which we find sometimes *a-*, the supposed middle form being *va-*, etc.

One remarkable sound-law, of which traces are also found in the Turkish languages,—namely, the change of *n* between two vowels to *ng*, and lastly (in Neo-Sumerian) to *m*, has still to be noticed, e.g. *din* 'spirit,' *ding-ir* 'God' (Turk.-Mong. *tengri*), Neo-Sum. *dimir*; *inna-gar* 'he makes,' *inga-gar*, *imma-gar*; *kin* 'land,' *kingi-n* 'land,' Neo-Sum. *shingir* and *šumir*; for these comp. the Turk. *domuz* 'pig,' beside the older *dunguz*. Other Turkish words seem to show the same formation as in *kungur* 'yellow-brown,' *shingir* 'fortress,' etc. In closest connexion with this change is another, namely, that *n* after a vowel, especially at the end of the word or root, becomes *m*, even in Older Sumerian, but more commonly in Neo-Sumerian, e.g. *alan* 'statue,' Neo-Sum. *alam*; *sun* 'to give,' already in Older Sumer. *sum*; *anna* 'mother' (Turk. *ana*), Neo-Sum. *amma*, *am* (comp. the Ural. *emä*); *kan* 'gate,' later *kam*, *kav* (comp. Turk. *kapu-k*, *kapu*); *kan*, *kam* (in *nu-kamma*) 'priest, sorcerer,' Turk. *kam* 'priest' (our Germ. 'Schamane'); *šišin* 'seven,' still preserved in Ural. *sisem*; comp. also the Turkish nominal-suffix *-m* (e.g. *tarim* 'cultivated' from *tari-mak*) besides the more common *-n*, etc., etc.

Before we go on to the various forms of the Sumerian grammar and their coincidences with those of the Turkish languages, we must remark, that the numerous instances given above in the treatment of the phonology would of themselves be sufficient to prove a close relationship between the two idioms Sumerian and Turko-Mongolian. Let us now see how far the rules we have laid down in treating of the phonology and dictionary are confirmed by the grammar of the two languages.

We are quite right if we say, that in Sumerian 'head' was called *sag*, 'good' *dug*, 'great' *gal*, 'to make' *gar*, at least

theoretically. But if these words—as mostly happens—be used independently, they are always written and spoken with a following *a*, the so-called *state of prolongation*, e.g. *sagga*, *dugga*, *galla*, *garra*; but in composition, and if the verbs have subject- and object-prefixes before them, the original root-form comes to light, e.g. *sag-gigga* 'head-ache,' *ur-dugga* 'a good man' (from *urru* 'man'), *in-gar* 'he made' (but, if alone, then always *garra* 'he made'; *in-garra*, opposite to *in-gar*, is 'he makes (now)'). In the Turkish languages we find still traces of this peculiar fuller form of words, not only in some of the oldest and most common nouns, e.g. *giche* 'night' (Sum. *gig*), *ata* 'father' (Sum. *adda*), *ana* 'mother' (Sum. *anna*), *kiši* 'man' (Sum. *giš*), *küni* 'straight, upright, right' (Sum. *ginna* or *ginni*),[1] etc., but also in the vocative (comp. Vambery, Uigurische Sprachmonumente, p. 37), and especially in the so-called gerundive of the Eastern and Siberian Turkish idioms, preserved in Western Turkish even now before the endings of conjugation.

Concerning the formation of nouns and adjectives by external elements, we have a *pre*fixed vowel in *one* case only. It is a repetition of the root-vowel, but was originally, as it seems, an *a*, e.g. *bur* 'vessel,' *ubur* 'breast, bosom' (Turk. *obur* the same); *nim* 'to be high,' *inim* 'high,' and many other instances. That we have (beside the above-quoted *ubur*) still traces of this formation in the Turanian languages, esp. before *r*, e.g. *irak* beside *rak* 'wide' (comp. Sum. *rag* the same), but also in other cases, the late Franç. Lenormant has already shown. Further research will, I am convinced, find out many more instances in the Altaic idioms, though those already quoted are sufficient to show the striking coincidence. Beside this prefixed vowel, we have still some substantives and pronouns, forming, with a noun or adjective, *abstracts* (so *ki* 'place,' *nan* or *nam* 'destiny, thing') or *agent nouns* (nomina agentis, so *nin* 'what,' Neo-Sum. *yim*, *im*, and *nu*, Neo-Sum. *lu* 'somebody,' orig. 'man'), e.g. *ki-agga*

[1] Words having *u* or *i* as root-vowel often take, in the state of prolongation, the same vowel instead of the usual *a* (vowel harmony); for such forms as *gar-i* (*gayi*) for *garra*, *sag-i* (*sayi*) for *sagga*, see above, p. 354.

'love' from *ag* 'to love,' *nam-tilla* 'life' from *til, ti* 'to live,' *nin-ǵulla* 'hostile' from *ǵul* 'to be hostile,' *lu-kamma* 'sorcerer' from *kam* 'to bespeak,' etc. That these are not real prefixes (which would be contradictory to the tendency of the agglutinative character of the Sumerian and the whole Turanian family) will easily be seen from their original meaning (e.g. 'place of loving,' 'destiny of living,' 'whatever is hostile,' 'whoever is bespeaking'). The only strange thing is the position of the genitive and adjective after the noun, so common in Sumerian, even in the oldest period; but when the Sumerian says *urra-anna* 'servant of heaven,' this is an abbreviation of *urra-annâ-gi* (with the postposition, in Turkish *-ing*), and when he says *dingir-gal-gallini-ta* (not *dingirra-gallini-ta*!) = god + doubled adjective + plural ending + postposition, *i.e.* 'from the great gods,' it is quite another way of putting the adjective, as *e.g.* in the Semitic *ina ilâni rabûti*; comp. also *ur-gallâ-ba-ku* 'to its great foundation place' with Semitic *ana išdi-šu rabi.*

Real suffixes however are *-gal* (Neo-Sum. *-val, -ul*, orig. 'being') and *-tug, -tu* (Neo-Sum. *-ti*), orig. 'possessing,' e.g. *ǵul-gal* 'hostile,' *a-tug* (from *a* 'might, power') 'mighty,' etc.; comp. the endings *-ul* (e.g. *kara-ul* 'watchman') and *-ti* (e.g. *kabor-ti* 'sedition, trouble') in Eastern Turki (from *kara-mak* 'to look' and *kabor-mak* 'to make a noise').

Other *suf*fixes are the inseparable endings *-g* (Neo-Sum. *-k*), *-n* (sometimes *-m*), *-r* (sometimes *-l*) and *-š*, with which so many roots are compounded, e.g. *dini-g* 'mighty,' *utug* (beside *ud*) 'sun,' *bala-g* 'hatchet,' *šili-g* 'leader,' *annag* 'tin,' *biri-g* (Semitic *gunnuṣu*), *Illa-g* and *Karra-g*, names of towns, etc.; *zagi-n* 'bright' (from *zag*), *timi-n* 'foundation' (from *tim, ti*), *sumu-n* 'old,' *giri-n* 'fruit,' *nigi-n* 'circle,' etc.; *ama-r* 'young bull' (from *am* 'ox'), *zaǵar* 'bright' (Neo-Sum. *zabar*, from *zag*), *aga-r* 'field' (from *ag* 'to make'), *dingi-r* 'God' (from *din* 'spirit'), *ǵubu-r* 'low land,' *sumu-r* (Semitic *kimmatu*), etc.; *amaš* 'hurdle for cattle' (from *am* 'ox'), *guruš* 'high' (from *gur* 'to elevate'), *sigi-š* 'offering,' 'libation' (from *sig, si* 'to pour out,' perhaps a secondary Neo-Sumerian formation from *diri-g* 'full,' which perhaps

became *siyig*, *sig*, as *girin* could become *giyin*, *gin*), *gara-š* 'straw' (from *gar* 'to build'), *igi-š* 'eye' (Turk. *gös*), *sunuš*, *giriš*, *zaǵaš* and some others. Now, the same elements are found to form the nouns in the Turk languages, e.g. *bili-k* 'knowledge' (from *bil-mek* 'to know'), *doda-k* 'lip' (comp. Neo-Sum. *su*), *ulu-k* 'great' (from *ul* 'great,' comp. Sum. *gal*, Neo-Sum. *vul*), *eše-k* 'ass' (from *ešše*, *elše*, *enše*, comp. Sum. *anši* and Mong. *eldsi-gen*), *jaru-k* 'bright' (comp. Sum. *gar* 'to be bright'), etc.; *tüka-n* 'thorn' (from *tük-mak* 'to sew, to fix'), *qula-n* 'wild ass' (from *qula* 'reddish dun'), *koyu-n* 'sheep' (Mong. *khoni-n*,[1] comp. Sum. *gug*, Neo-Sum. *udub*, *idib*), etc.;[2] *yasha-r* 'aged' (from *yaš* 'age'),[3] *timu-r* 'iron,' *baki-r* 'copper,' *chuqu-r* 'a pit, a depression,' *qotu-r* 'itch,' Mong. *edo-r* 'day' (Sum. *ud* 'day,' Uig. *üt*, *ët* 'time'), as also some nouns and adj. in *-il* (out of *-ir*), e.g. *yeshi-l* 'green,' *kizil* 'red,' etc.; *yawa-š* 'slow,' *tini-š* 'a sigh' (from *tin-mak* 'to sigh'), *tapu-š* 'earnings, gain' (from *tap-mak* 'to find'), as also some words ending in *-s*, *-z*, e.g. *khoro-s* 'cock,' *saky-z* 'resin,' etc.

The *pronouns* of the 1st and 2nd person were in Sumerian originally *man* and *zan*, as is seen from the writing *mal-i* and *zal-i* (pronounced *mayi*, *zayi*), comp. Turkish *men* and *zen*; the pronouns for the 3rd person are *ini* 'he' (plural *ini-nĕni*) and *nan*, both used absolutely, and *ni* 'this,' in connection with substantives. *ǵi* 'he, it,' the Turkish *-ki* in *mening-ki* 'the mine' (lit. I-of-that, i.e. that of mine) is very seldom used in Sumerian. The possessive suffixes are *-mu* 'my,' *-zu* 'thy,' *-ni* 'his,' *-bi* 'its,' *šin*, *ši* 'he, it' (only as subject prefix before verbs). Now we have in the Turkish exactly the same distribution of pronominal stems:

m for the 1st,[4] *z* for the 2nd, *n*, *b*, and *š* (or *s*) for the 3rd

[1] Originally *khongi-n*, comp. the Mong. genitive ending *-in*, *-un* with the Turk. *-ing* (Sum. *-gi*).

[2] The Turkish participle in *-an* belongs also here; also some words ending in *-m* (e.g. *yaty-m* 'position,' *soku-m* 'a fat ox,' *tari-m* 'cultivated,' in which the concluding *-m* (as in Neo-Sumerian) has originated from *-n*.

[3] Compare also the Turkish participle in *-r*, forming with the pronominal endings the present of the verb.

[4] I take this occasion to make some remarks on the so-called subject- and object-prefixes of the verb. The Sumerian can say, besides the simple *garra* 'he made' (lit. making scil. was he), also, fuller, 'him (or it) he made,' in the order,

person; compare *ol*, gen. *an-ung* 'he' absolutely, *bu* 'this' (as adjective, comp. in Sum. *-ni* 'his,' but *-bi* 'its'), *šu* 'this,' and *-si* 'his' as suffix after vowel stems beside *-ni* after consonant stems. Very remarkable, also, is the fact, that in Sumerian, as in Turki, every pronoun-stem can be strengthened by *n*, e.g. *ma-n* 'I,' *za-n* 'thou,' *na-n* 'he,' *šin* (later *šib*) 'he,' *nin* (later *nib*) 'he,' *ba-n* (later *mu-n*) 'it' (accusative only and in most cases neuter), *ra-n* (later *ra-b*) out of *za-n* (*za-b*) 'thee,' as is also the case with the verbal stem elements *ta*, *da*, *ra*, which occur usually in the fuller forms *tan-*, *dan-*, *-ran* (later *tab*, *dab*, *rab*), e.g. *ba-ra-uddu* '(he) it brings out' and *ba-ran-uddu*, *ib-tan-gar* (as only *ib-ta-gar*), etc. etc.

The *interrogative* pronouns are *aba* 'who' (probably from *aǵa*) and *mi'a*, *ana* 'what,' the *indefinite nami* 'some one,' *nin* 'somewhat, anything'; comp. Turki *na* (Osm. *nè*) 'what?' *kim* 'who' (from *ki-me*, comp. *nime* beside *nè*), *nime* 'what?' *neme-r-se* 'what it may be' (*neme*+*er-se*, the latter 'it may be').

The *Numerals* have already been referred to when discussing the phonology, and they would alone be sufficient to prove the closest relationship of Sumerian with Turki. They are, shortly repeated, *giš* (*bir*) one, as also *aš* (comp. *aš* in Uig. *aš-ni* 'at first'); *ǵaš* (*ikir*) two, as also *min*; *biš* (out of *guš*), *iš* (Turk. *vis*, *üch*) three; *nin* (Chagatai *nil-au*), Neo-Sum. *šin*, *šib* four; *ia* as also *vaš* (*beš*) five; *iaš*, *aš* (*al-ta*) six; *šisin* (Ugr. *sisem*) as also *imin* seven; *ussa* (out of *ia*+*vis*) eight; *išimmu* (out of *ia*+Neo-Sum. *šim*) nine; *gun*, Neo-Sum. *vun*, *un* (Turki *von*, *on*) ten; *min*, *mi* (Uig. *mün*) hundred.

as it seems: object+subject+verb, e.g. *in-nan-gar*, *in-nab-gar* (also without the subject-prefix: *in-gar* '(he) it made'). We find also *imman-gar* (out of *innan-gar*), *immigar* (out of *inni-gar*), *an-gar* and *al-gar*, *ba-gar*, *ban-gar*, *ba-nin-gar*, *ba-nib-gar* and other variants. As for the strange *mun-gar* '(he) it made,' we have here the same law of sound as in Turkish (comp. above, p. 355, note 1), for it is for *ban-gar* (as in Turkish *munu-ki* 'this here,' *mun-da* 'here,' *mun-ga* 'to this,' for *bun-*, and this for older *ban*). It is only with the pronoun of the second person before the verb that we have the order: subj. + obj. + verb, e.g. *mu-ran-sum* 'he gives to thee,' forms, which are apparently of later origin, as is seen from *mu* (out of *mu-n*, and this for *ba-n*), otherwise and originally only for 'it' (accusative), but here for 'he' (nominative); the same order seems to be in *mun-nišin-aggiš* 'he them sent out.'

The same is the case with the *verb* (oldest forms: *garra* 'he made,' *garrâ-mu* 'I made,' *garrâ-zu* 'thou madest,' *garrîni* 'they make,' *garrish* 'they made'), comp. especially p. 360, note 4, and other places above (in treating the pronouns). We have here only to add, that the precative or optative prefix *ǵi-* is just the same as the optative suffix in Turki, comp. *ǵi-gal* (Neo-Sum. *-ral*) 'he may be' with Turki *bol-ǧai* (Osm. *olà*), that the prefixed stem-forming elements *ta*, *da*, *ra*, prefixed to the verb in Sumerian, occur in Turki alone (e.g. *kol-da-mak* from *kol* 'arm,' *köte-r-mek* from the root *köt*, *ari-t-mak* 'to let make clean' from *ari-mak* 'to make clean') as also combined in *tir*, *tur*, e.g. *kil-tür-mek* 'to bring' from *kil-mek* 'to come,' that also the Turki reflexive stem with *n* (e.g. *taula-n-mak* 'to become fat' from *taula-mak* 'to make fat') has its analogy in Sumerian (comp. *garinnâ-zu* 'thou hast been,' Sem. *tabšt*, from *gar* 'to make'), that forms like *aggiš* (not plural!) 'he sent out' (from a verb *ag*) are the prototype for the Turki reciprocal stem with *š*, e.g. *sor-uš-mak* 'to ask one together' from *sor-mak* 'to ask.'

Where we and the Semites have prepositions, the Sumerian has, like the Turkish idioms, *postpositions*, of which the most common are: *-ku* (Neo-Sum. *šu*) 'to,' *-gi* (Neo-Sum. also *-di*) 'of,' *ka* 'of' (but originally for the dative, as is shown by M. Amiaud's ingenious remarks on the difference of *-ka* and *-gi*), *-ra* and *-ru* 'to,' *-ta* 'in, out of,' *-da* 'with, for,' *-gim* (also *gimmi*, Neo-Sum. *-dim*) 'like.' Compare the Turki genitive *-ing* (for *-igi*, *-ingi*), the old dative *-ra* and *-ru* (Vambery, Cag. Sprachstudien, p. 20), the common dative in *-ka*, *-ga*, the Turki *ta*, *da*, 'in' and *tan*, *dan*, 'out of' and lastly *gibi*, *kimi* 'like.'

In addition I should like to remark that of negative particles in Sumerian there existed two, the most common *nu* 'not' (before verbs also *na*, e.g. *nan-gar* 'he did not make'), the other *ba*, this latter only before verbs, and here, as it seems, in a prohibitive sense, e.g. *baran-gar* as also *ban-gar* 'he may not do.'[1] Now we have in Turki the

[1] The discovery of *ban-gar* in this sense belongs to Dr. Zimmern.

particle *nè-nè* 'neither—nor,' and besides it, but only in composition with verbs, *ma*, e.g. *sev-mek* 'to love,' *sev-me-mek* 'not to love.' The Sumerian *ana* 'what' bears the same relationship to the negation *nu* or *na* (comp. also Turki *nè* 'what' and *nè* negative particle) as the Arabic *mâ* 'what' to the secondary *mâ* 'not.'

In conclusion, to meet any objections that may be made as to the difference of order in the verbal particles, which are prefixed in Sumerian, but suffixed in the Turki languages, it must be remembered that there are no less than three thousand years' interval between the latest Sumerian text and the oldest Turki document (the Uigurian Kudatku Bilik, *circa* 1050 A.D.), and if, between the earliest and the latest Sumerian texts, such changes in the syntax could take place as e.g. *garra-bi* 'he made,' instead of Old Sum. *garra* or *in-gar*, *an-gar*, *nin-gar*, etc., or *idi bar-mun-šib* for *igi mun-šib-bar*, lit. 'eye giving to him' (from *igi*, Neo-Sum. *idi* 'eye' and *bar* 'to give'), it must be admitted that the placing of the verbal particles at the end instead of the beginning is a change not only possible but even to be expected.

In the foregoing pages I have confined myself principally to giving all the newest results of my researches as to the position of Sumerian amongst the languages of the world.[1]

[1] Those who interest themselves in this subject will find much additional information with regard to Sumerian grammar and its affinities with that of the Turki languages in the author's paper "Die sumero-akkadische Sprache und ihre Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse," in the "Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung," vol. i. (1884), pp. 161-178, 195-221, and 323-342.—Ed.

Art. XVI.—*Early Buddhist Symbolism.* By Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

In his "Tree and Serpent Worship," our late honoured Vice-President, James Fergusson, called attention to the similarity observable between certain symbols found on the Buddhist Topes of Sāñchi and Amarāvati, and others found on sculptured buildings and coins of Western Asia and Eastern Europe; and in doing so he expressed a hope that this subject would be taken up and developed by other writers. Discussing the origin of the object known as the *triśula*[1] he said, "It is curiously like the sign of the planet Mercury, or the caduceus of the god of that name; and, if it were not rank heresy even to hint at such a thing, I would venture to suggest that, after all, there may be some connexion between at least the symbolism of the East and West." And later on in the same work the author records the following opinion, in a note on an old Buddhist legend which mentions a Prince of "Rōm,"[2] "It would be absurd to found any serious theory on the mention of the name of Rome if it stood alone and unsupported. The circumstance mentioned in the narrative of the strangers being white men and coming by sea is a small confirmation that the people here mentioned were really Europeans. My impression, however, is that few who are familiar with the arts of Rome in Constantine's time, and who will take the trouble to master these Amarāvati sculptures, can fail to perceive many points of affinity between them . . . . The conviction the study of these sculptures has forced on my mind is that there was much more intercommunication between the east and west during the whole period from Alexander to Justinian than

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 115, 116, and note.
[2] *Id.* p. 177, note 3.

is frequently supposed, and that the intercourse was especially frequent and influential in the middle period, between Augustus and Constantine."

My attention has for some time been given to this subject, but residence in India, inability to consult proper works of reference, and press of official work have hitherto prevented my preparing any paper regarding it. Continued study has, however, not shaken my belief in Fergusson's accuracy, and I hope to be able now to show some reasonable foundation for the theory that most of the early Buddhist symbols, whose origin is not directly traceable to indigenous Indian sources, may have been derived from earlier pre-existent Western Asian forms, introduced into India during the centuries that elapsed between the Aryan immigrations thither and the first construction in stone of places of Buddhist worship.

The first point to which attention must be called is the political connexion between India and the countries of Western Asia during the period in question.

Very little has yet been learned from Indian sources of the early history of India before the time of Chandragupta (B.C. 319). But it seems certain that the country, formerly populated by Turanian hordes, was overswept by Aryan immigrations which brought into India the religion of the Vedas, and, partly by force of arms, partly by the tyranny of priestcraft, ousted the Turanians from civil and religious government. The Aryans, however, powerful though they may have been, never succeeded in crushing out the old Turanian religious beliefs and superstitions. Down to the time of Śākya Muni, though the Vedas may represent the faith of the more elevated and civilized few, fetichism, demonolatry —or rather the fear of demons, leading to demon propitiation —a rooted belief in the existence of snake-deities, fairies, and goblins, and in the power of mystic incantations and charms, had, as it has to this day, firm hold of the ignorant and lethargic masses. Had pure Vedism been the faith of the people, there would have been little need for a Buddha.

The era of Chandragupta may be regarded as identical with the era of Alexander for present purposes. Professor Rawlinson has shortly summed up in the following words the condition in pre-Alexandrian times of Western Asia, of the country, that is, bordering on India:[1]—"For nearly a thousand years, from the formation of the great Assyrian Empire to the death of Darius Codomannus (330 B.C.), Western Asia, from the Mediterranean to Afghanistān, or even to India, had been united under one head, and acknowledged one sovereign. Assyria, Media, Persia, had successively held the position of dominant power." Alexander broke up this unity, and the effect of his schemes was "to introduce in the place of a single consolidated empire, a multitude of separate and contending kingdoms." The kingdom of Chandragupta in India was one of these. Previous to his date, during the period when Western Asia was united under the successive empires, the whole of what we now call Hindustān was divided amongst a number of petty chieftains, mostly at enmity with one another, and probably looking on the vast empire on their immediate west as all-powerful. Is it not possible, or rather, is it not probable, that during this period the inhabitants of India had been drinking in the ideas and superstitions of their great neighbours? It is certain that Northern India had, before the time of Alexander, been subject to more than one invasion from the West; and if there were any commercial activity at all, it is quite possible that the Hindus of that date had in their midst colonies of foreign traders —traders glorying in the fancied possession of superior civilization, and proud of the political ascendency of their nation and sovereign. If there were no commercial activity, how is that the *Vaiśyas*, or merchant-class, came to hold such an important position as they undoubtedly did in the body politic of a Hindu State?

Setting aside the mythical invasions of India by the Assyrian Semiramis, and Diodorus's problematical account

[1] *Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 29.

of the expedition of Sesostris — both of which accounts, however, point to the existence of a belief amongst the Greeks that India was a country that had lain open to, and had suffered from, invasions long anterior to that of Darius Hystaspis, and serve to show that the Greeks, at least, did not consider such a state of things at all improbable, whatever may be the opinion of writers of the present day,—we have evidence that in very early days there was an interchange of commercial relations between Western Asia and India. Dr. Burnell holds it as not to be doubted that India even traded with Egypt in very early times.[1] But there is no necessity for present purposes to go further than Asia.

Sir Henry Rawlinson has pointed out that the early Chaldæan inscriptions make frequent mention of the "ships of Ur," and imply that they navigated to considerable distances. It is not improbable that these ships carried gold from India. Gold could be obtained from both Africa and India, and it was lavishly used in decoration.[2] The Phœnicians also traded with India by sea. Professor Rawlinson[3] points out that for ten centuries prior to the reign of Seleukos Nikator, from a date, that is, as early as the beginning of Assyrian ascendency, the precious metals and the most valuable kinds of merchandize had been flowing from every quarter into the region governed by that monarch. Gold, tin, silks, pearls, spices, and other articles of commerce, had been passing into it from India since the foundation of the first Assyrian empire in the fourteenth century B.C. Whatever may have been the exact date of the Homeric poems, it has been repeatedly noticed that the early Greek bards were acquainted with tin and other articles of Indian merchandize, and called them by their Sanskrit names, and that the Hebrew chroniclers of King Solomon and of the reign of Hiram of Tyre used Indian names for Indian products.

[1] Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, p 3.
[2] Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 101–2.
[3] *Sixth Oriental Monarchy*, p. 33.

That gold was largely exported from India in very early days has been inferred from a number of corroborative facts. MM. Perrot and Chipiez[1] write: "From objects found in the excavations, from inscriptions in which the Assyrians boast of their wealth and prodigality, from Egyptian texts in which the details of tribute paid by the *Roten-nou*, that is, by the people of Syria and Mesopotamia, are given, it is clear that in the great days of Nineveh and Babylon, those capitals possessed a vast quantity of gold, and employed it in a host of different ways. . . . . These accumulations were continually added to, in the case of Babylon, by the active commerce she carried on with the mineral-producing countries, such as the Caucasus, Bactriana, *India*, and Egypt."

The period of Solomon, or say 1000 B.C., is generally considered to have been one of great commercial activity, but it seems unreasonable to assume that that monarch largely increased the trade of the world. We are induced to lay more stress than is perhaps warranted on the commerce of Solomon's date, on account of the high position he holds in the Jewish Scriptures. It is probable that the trade which glorified his age had been carried on with similar briskness by his neighbours for some centuries past. The period of Solomon is one that witnessed the decadence of the great Assyrian Empire, and a corresponding rise to a state of prosperity of the hitherto obscure Jewish nation. This ascendency was, however, very short-lived. Solomon, so it would seem, carried on by the aid of the Phœnicians and with considerable success the old-established eastern commerce. There is little reason to think that he originated or greatly increased, during his very short spell of domination, a commerce which had been non-existent or scanty in previous years.

From the days of Solomon we must pass to those of the second Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria, of Shalmanezer IV., and of Sargon, the same that carried captive the Ten Israelitish tribes, removed them to the cities of "Halah and Habor on

[1] *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, Armstrong's translation, vol. i. p. 125.

the river of Gozan and into the cities of the Medes," and placed Assyrians and Chaldæans in the cities of Samaria.[1] The empire of these sovereigns would seem to have extended as far east as the Indus. The period is B.C. 745-705. The Biblical account of the religious changes introduced by these conquests into Samaria, and the effect of Jewish influence in the further east, is pertinent to the present inquiry. It shows the estimation in which the Assyrians held the gods of their neighbours, and *vice versâ*. It points to religious toleration, and to a state of religious thought and belief such as would directly tend to the acceptance by one people of the superstitions and symbols of their neighbours.

The Chaldæans and Assyrians who were sent westwards to inhabit the desolated cities of Samaria informed their Assyrian sovereign after their arrival that things were not well with them, that they were suffering, so they believed, from the displeasure of the "God of the land" because they did not worship him aright, they "knew not his manner;" "therefore he hath sent lions among them, and behold, they slay them, because they know not the manner of the God of the land." The monarch, desirous of assisting his subjects, and in the firm belief that the "God of the land" was vindictively injuring them, found it necessary in his judgment to propitiate the offended Deity by sending back to Samaria one of the expatriated Jewish priests. "Carry thither," he commanded, "one of the priests whom ye brought from thence . . . . and let him teach them the manner of the God of the land."[2]

Similarly, nearly three centuries later, we find that the Persian king, though firmly believing in Ahura-Mazda as the most powerful of the gods, yet credited the gods of the nations on his borders with not inconsiderable authority and influence. In the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, for instance (B.C. 465-425), we find the sovereign decreeing a number of important concessions to the Jews, and giving the following reason for doing so: "Whatsoever is commanded

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 6, 24.
[2] 2 Kings xvii. 26, 27.

by the God of Heaven, let it be done exactly for the house of the God of Heaven; for *why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons?*"[1] He feared the displeasure of Jehovah the God of the Jews.

These two instances, separated by an interval of 280 years, afford an insight, as I have stated, into the religious feelings of the day. They show the feelings of the Assyrians in the eighth, and the Persians in the fifth century B.C. towards the God of the Jews. When the Assyrians and Chaldæans settled in Samaria in the eighth century B.C., they carried thither their own worship: "The men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children to Adrammelech and Anammelech,[2] the gods of Sepharvaim."[3] It would be mere waste of time to enlarge on the feelings of the Jews towards the gods of their neighbours. Their belief in the power of those divinities was so great that, as the Scriptures tell us, the Jews perpetually excited the wrath of Jehovah by their idolatries. One after another they fell away to the adoration of Egyptian, Chaldæan, and Assyrian deities, in sun-worship even going the length of stabling the horses of the sun in the court of the temple at Jerusalem. It can scarcely be doubted that the use of sun-symbols followed sun-worship.

It does not appear unreasonable to assume that there may have been a reciprocity of superstitious ideas between the Assyrian subjects of the empire and their eastern neighbours the Hindus, similar to that which existed between the same Assyrians and their western neighbours the Jews.

A century after the reign of Sargon, the Assyrian empire was finally destroyed, and Cyaxares the Median established on its ruins the foundation of the great empire that passed in the year 558 B.C. from the Medes to Cyrus the Persian. Cyrus, amongst other conquests, reduced the whole country

[1] Ezra vii. 23 (Revised version).
[2] Sun-god and goddess.
[3] 2 Kings xvii. 30, 31.

up to the Indus, including Afghanistān and Belūchistān, but he does not appear to have crossed the Indus bent on territorial aggrandizement. It is during the reign of Cyrus that we first find mention made of India by any Greek writer. This is Hekataius of Miletus (B.C. 549–486), who, by mentioning several places and cities in Northern India, proves that that country was known to Europeans.

In B.C. 521 succeeded to the throne of Persia Darius Hystaspis, who, fired doubtless by the knowledge acquired by his predecessors of the internal wealth and at the same time of the weakness of Trans-Indus countries, crossed the great river about the year 515 B.C., and conquered and annexed to the Persian empire the rich country of the Panjāb, and the Indus valley. Henceforward that portion of India lay under Persian domination till the breaking up of the Empire at the Macedonian invasion two centuries later. "The results of this conquest," writes Professor Rawlinson,[1] "were the acquisition of a brave race capable of making excellent soldiers, an enormous increase of revenue, a sudden and vast influx of gold into Persia, which led probably to the introduction of gold coinage, and the establishment of commercial relations with the natives, which issued in a regular trade carried on by coasting vessels between the mouths of the Indus and the Persian Gulf." I can hardly concur in the opinion that commercial relations were then "established," if that word be taken to mean *first* established. It would seem more likely that commerce was consolidated and greatly facilitated by the conquests of Darius, while a new and important line of communication was opened up by water-way down the Indus to the Persian Gulf. An additional effect of the conquest and of Persian domination for two centuries would naturally be greatly to increase the spread of Persian ideas amongst the Hindus of that part of India, and still further to undermine the then declining religion of the Vedas.

The conquered portion of India formed the 20th satrapy

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 431.

mentioned by Herodotus, and paid the enormous tribute of 360 talents of gold-dust to the imperial exchequer.[1]

It was about this time that the Buddha arose and founded his system of philosophy. The much-vexed question of Nirvāṇa chronology will not here be entered into; but if Buddha's death occurred after the year 515 B.C., he must have been perfectly aware of the great conquests of Darius Hystaspis, and the representatives of the reigning family of Magadha must have trembled for the safety of their kingdom.[2]

Xerxes, who succeeded Darius in 486 B.C., retained all his father's provinces, including those in India, and a body of troops raised in the Panjāb served under his standard in his fruitless expedition against Greece. Herodotus describes the dress of these soldiers, the first representatives of Imperialism as understood by the Persians.[3] Their leader appears to have been a Persian or a Parthian—Pharnazathres, the son of Artabates.[4] They fought under Mardonius at Platæa.[5] "India" is mentioned in the Jewish Chronicles as forming part of the 127 provinces of Xerxes (Ahasuerus) and his successors.[6]

Herodotus, who flourished in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (465-425 B.C.), the successor of Xerxes, repeatedly mentions India, though his own knowledge seems to have stopped short at the Indus. Ktesias, physician to Artaxerxes Mnēmon (B.C. 405-359), wrote an elaborate though untrustworthy account of India. A few years later, B.C. 330, the Persian empire was completely destroyed by Alexander the Macedonian, and four years afterwards this monarch crossed the Indus, and largely extended the boundaries of the empire. His age synchronizes with that of Chandragupta, the Mauryan, and marks an epoch in the early history of India.

[1] Herod. iii. 94, 95.
[2] Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 131.
[3] We read of no Indian troops being utilized for European warfare from the days of Xerxes to those of Lord Beaconsfield.
[4] Herod. vii. 65.
[5] *id.* viii. 113; ix. 31.
[6] Esther i. 1, viii. 9. 1 Esdras iii. 2, etc.

To summarize the political condition of India up to this period, we see that its frontier marched, for nearly eight centuries, with that of the powerful Assyrio-Chaldæan empire, and that for the two succeeding centuries a considerable portion of India lay actually under direct Persian domination, forming a Persian satrapy, under Persian governors, and paying a heavy tribute to the Persian exchequer. When it is remembered that the original faith of the Turanian inhabitants of both countries was one and the same, and that this was the faith cherished by the masses of the people, it would be natural to assume that this state of things resulted in religious changes and mutual assimilations.

It was owing to the expedition of Alexander that India was first really made known to European nations, for the conqueror took with him a number of learned and scientific men[1] specially selected for the purpose of collecting and recording all available information relative to the reduced tracts and their inhabitants; and their works, condensed by Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny, prove how earnestly they strove honourably to fulfil their task.

Alexander found in the Panjāb and Indus valley a number of petty princes, jealous of one another and practically powerless to defend themselves, but recognizing the King of Persia as their suzerain and paying tribute to him. One only, Porus or Puru, attempted to check the invasion, but he was defeated without difficulty. The Greek armies then pressed on to Amritsur, their leader being determined to conquer the whole of the north of India as far as the valley of the Ganges; but wearied by the heat, and exhausted by the troubles and difficulties of their protracted campaign, they were compelled to abandon this project, and to journey southwards along the banks of the Jhelum. Near the confluence of the five great rivers, Alexander made a long halt, built a city, which he called Alexandria, received there the submission of the neighbouring states, and constituted it the

[1] These were Baeto, Diognetos, Nearchos, Onesikritos, Aristoboulos, Kallisthenes, and others.

capital of the satrapy. Journeying finally down the Indus, the Greek forces retired, partly by sea, partly by land through Beluchistān, and reached Susa B.C. 325.

Corroborative proof of the existence in those days of considerable land trade in India is found in the mention by Herodotus of long lines of highways, marked with what we should call mile-stones, which were deemed so important by Alexander that he had them surveyed.

Northern India was now, after eight centuries of proximity to the Assyrio-Chaldæan empire, and after two centuries of partial Persian domination, subjected to the influences of the Greeks, which, though not felt during a long period of time, yet produced a serious impression on the arts of the country. It is now for the first time, so far as can be gathered, that the Hindus began to carve and construct buildings in stone. During the Greek period detachments of Greek soldiers must have guarded all important Greek points in the north, while in the Alexandrian cities of Bucephalia, near Jabalpur on the Jhelum, Nicæa, on the east side of the same river, Alexandria, the modern Uchch in the southern Punjāb, and Pātala or Haidarābād in Sinde,—there probably resided communities of Greek settlers.[1]

Meanwhile Chandragupta, an adventurer, was acquiring power in Magadha. Everything was in his favour. The Hindu princes were impoverished and enfeebled by internal disputes and Persian requisitions, while on the death of Alexander in B.C. 323, discord ensued in the ranks of the invaders. The Indian provinces fell to the share of Alexander's General Seleukos Nikator, but his weakness was Chandragupta's strength, and when, after several troublous years, the former found time to pay serious attention to the condition of his Indian feudatories, he found himself face to face with an empire. Chandragupta had acquired such power that the Greek was paralyzed, and was forced to come to terms. An alliance ensued. Seleukos abandoned his Indian possessions, and received in return a present of 500 elephants

[1] Article "India," Encyclop. Brit.

from Chandragupta, a present which he commemorated on his coins;[1] he gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta; and sent an ambassador, Megasthenes, to the court of Pātalaputra.[2] This alliance altered the relative positions of the Greeks in India and the natives in the country. Previous to it, there seems to have been a succession of massacres of the new comers by the Hindus. After the alliance, friendly relations were established which must have largely contributed to the spread of western influences, both Greek and Persian. This friendship lasted into the time of Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, who formed an alliance with Antiochus Theos, the grandson of Seleukos, in B.C. 256,—Antiochus Soter, who murdered and then succeeded Seleukos, having in the meantime sent an embassy under Daimachos to Chandragupta's son and successor Bimbisára.

During the preceding two centuries Buddhism had been steadily gaining ground amongst the people, and Aśoka made it the state religion. Proof that more intimate relations existed at this period between the Hindus and the kingdoms of the west is found in the mention by Aśoka, in his 11th edict, of five Greek princes, Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus, while the king boasts that Buddhist ideas were spreading amongst western nations.

Fifty years after the time of Aśoka, Euthydemus, the Græco-Baktrian, and his son Demetrius carried their arms into India (B.C. 191–181), and a city called Euthydemeia was founded on the Jhelum.[3] Eukratides, who succeeded Demetrius, conquered the country as far as Alexander's royal city of Patāla, and appears to have sent expeditions into Cutch and Gujarāt (B.C. 181–151). General Cunningham[4] has expressed the opinion that the Indian provinces remained subject to the Baktrian kings during the reigns of Lysias,

[1] Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Seleucid Kings*, plate i. The coins represent the sovereign in a chariot drawn by elephants.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vi. p. 113, ff. (1877).

[3] Ptolemy Geog. vii. i.; McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 122; Cunningham's *Geog. of Anc. Ind.* pp. 180–7.

[4] *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. IX. p. 150.

Antialkidas, Amyntas, and Hermæus. Menander's influence, indeed, extended still further to the east. Professor Weber thinks that the Græco-Baktrians advanced as far as Oudh.

We have corroborative evidence in the Bible of Indian trade with the west in those days, for it is stated there that in the time of the Maccabees, Antiochus Eupator of Syria had in his army 32 war-elephants carrying Indian mahouts.[1] This was in B.C. 163. The Persian army too, at that time, or only a few years previous, possessed 120 elephants.[2]

To return to Northern India,—the next great political event succeeding the Baktrian era was the invasion of the country by the Yueh-chi, as they are called by Chinese authors, Tartar tribes from the north-west. This took place in the first century B.C. The invaders are variously termed Scyths, Turanians, Śakas, Indo-Scythians. As to their invasion and its effect, I quote from Professor Max Müller's "*India, what can it teach us?*"[3] They swept over the country, overthrew the Mauryan kingdom, and "took possession of India, or at least the government of India, from about the first century B.C. to the third century A.D." The invaders belonged, in a sense, to the religion of the people, the religion that was merged into Buddhism, in opposition to the Vedic religion. "The rise of Buddhism and its formal adoption by King Aśoka had already considerably shaken the power and influence of the old Brahmanic hierarchy. The northern conquerors . . . . were certainly not believers in the Veda. They seem to have made a sort of compromise with Buddhism, and it is probably due to that compromise, or to an amalgamation of Śaka legends with Buddhist doctrines, that we owe the so-called *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism—and more particularly the Amitābha worship—which was finally settled at the Council under Kanishka, one of the Turanian rulers in India in the first century A.D." The four centuries of Turanian domination

[1] 1 Macc. vi. 30–37.
[2] *id.* viii. 6.
[3] p. 85 ff. and 274–277.

caused a complete cessation of literary activity in India, though at the same time this period witnessed the construction in stone of some of the most elaborate and beautiful architectural monuments in the country.

About the year 20 B.C. we find an embassy sent from India to Augustus at Rome, the credentials of which were written on skins, showing how far western usage and Turanian freedom had overcome Brahmanical and Buddhist prejudices. Intercourse with Rome is still further proved by the quantity of Roman coins found in all parts of India.[1] It is possible, even, that a colony of Romans occupied Madura, for it seems that the Pāṇḍyan king sent an embassy to Rome about this period, while a large number of Roman copper coins have been found in the river-bed at that city in various scattered localities.[2] I lay stress on the coins being copper because, while a find of gold or silver coins would not prove much, the discovery of copper coins in scattered localities seems to point to an occupation of the place by persons who used them in daily life. The Peutingerian Tables, if they may be held as an authority, locate a temple of Augustus on the coast near "Muziris,"[3] and certainly nothing would seem more natural than that Roman traders engaged in the gold trade in the Wynaad should have erected a place of worship for themselves.

The testimony of Arrian (A.D. 150) must not be overlooked. His knowledge of India, north and south, was far too extensive and accurate to have been gained in any way but through informants thoroughly conversant with the country, and possibly resident therein.

Mention must also be made of the Syrian colonies on the western coast, whose advent would seem to have occurred in the early years of our era.

The indigenous chronicles of Cuttack on the north-eastern coast of the Peninsula, though their testimony must be

[1] For Southern India see the author's *List of Antiquities, Madras*, vol. i. pp. 144, 190, 214, 218, 220, 222, 226-240, 244, 285, 286, 291.

[2] Mr. Scott, a pleader in the District Court of Madura, has a quantity of these.

[3] Desjardins, *Segment* xi. *Livraison* 11.

viewed with suspicion, contain several allusions to "Yavana" invasions of that tract, and even go so far as to assert that "Yavanas" held possession of that country as conquerors and rulers for 151 years.[1] It is, however, quite possible that this foreign conquest, if true, was a conquest by the Yueh-chi, with whose era it fairly synchronizes according to the compilation of Stirling and Hunter.

For present purposes it is not necessary to carry this cursory view of Hindu foreign political relations lower than the Roman period, since this is the age of the latest and most elaborate Buddhist stone structures. Enough has been said to show that the Hindus of the north lay open to constant foreign influence. I shall now attempt to show that these influences did actually take effect, as it is natural to suppose that they would have done, so that there can be nothing far-fetched in the idea that the symbolism of Buddhist days might have been, in part, of foreign and not indigenous origin.

To this end it is necessary to consider for a moment the state of religious belief in Chaldæa, Persia, and India, in order to ascertain whether it is reasonable to hold that the inhabitants of either of these countries might have adopted the religious ideas of their neighbours.

When the Aryans migrated to India they found in that country a race of non-Aryans—a people of a lower type than their own, long resident in their land. The Vedic hymns characterize these last as "non-sacrificers,"[2] "without gods," "without rites," but sufficiently civilized to possess "castles and forts." They seem to have been worshippers of trees and serpents—their principal deity was an earth-god. They practised all kinds of fetish-worship.[3] The Aryans brought with them their Vedas, and their worship of the manifesta-

[1] Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, vol. ii. p. 205, and the same author's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 65. Hunter's *Orissa*, App. vii.

[2] This, however, would seem to have been a mistake. The Turanians appear to have immolated human victims in propitiation of the bloody and vindictive demons they feared.

[3] *Cave-Temples of India* (Fergusson and Burgess), p. 13.

tions of a soul or spirit in nature—Indra, Varuna, Agni, Ushas, Vāyu and the Maruts, Savitri, Sūrya, Vishṇu and others. Once in India the Aryan religion became gradually corrupted. Ignorant superstition had its natural effect. Fear of evil and dread of the unknown supernatural, acquired by constant contact with people who feared and dreaded, gradually overcame enfeebled confidence and trust in beneficent powers. It is, I think, probable that contact with the races that formed the powerful second Assyrian empire, in the two centuries preceding the age of Buddha, helped to bring about this state of things. This idea seems to have been held by Fergusson, who thought that the idea of Vishṇu was imported from the West, and that the *garuḍa* is nothing more than the hawk-headed divinity of the Assyrians.[1] Fergusson thus sums up the religious question as it stood in the sixth century B.C. "The blood of the Aryans had become so mixed and so impure that the Veda was no longer possible as a rule of faith, and when Śākya-Muni availed himself of the opportunity so afforded . . . . . his call was responded to in a manner which led to the most important consequences." He asserts, though with some hesitation, that as many as nine or ten of the Nandas, the immediate predecessors of Chandragupta, were serpent-worshippers.[2]

The faith of the Chaldæans may be best summarized in the words of Professor Rawlinson:—"The worship was grossly polytheistic. Various deities . . . . divided the allegiance of the people, and even of the kings, who regarded with equal respect . . . . some fifteen or sixteen personages. Next to these principal gods were a far more numerous assemblage of inferior or secondary divinities . . . . recognized generally throughout the country. Finally the Pantheon contained a host of mere local gods or genii, every town, and almost every village in Babylonia being under the protection of its own particular divinity."[3] But this description might actually have been written for Turanian India, if we may

[1] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 76.
[2] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 67–69.
[3] Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 110.

judge of what Turanian beliefs were by considering what they are to this day, notably in the most Turanian tracts in Southern India. It is important for present purposes that this should not be lost sight of. The beliefs of the Chaldæans were almost identical with those of the masses in India. In Chaldæa, however, "the religion was to a certain extent *astral*. The heaven itself, the sun, moon, and the five planets have each their representative in the Chaldæan Pantheon among the chief objects of worship. At the same time it is to be observed that the astral element is not universal, but partial."[1]

The religion of the Assyrians closely resembled that of the Chaldæans.[2]

The early Persians, like the early Indians, were serpent-worshippers, and followed Turanian beliefs. As in India, so in Persia, a higher form of religion spread itself over the land. This last was, indeed, one and the same. I may be pardoned for again quoting Fergusson in this respect:—"At the time when the Greeks became acquainted with Persia, the whole country, under the influence of the Achæmenian kings, had been brought to acknowledge Zoroastrianism with its elemental fire-worship as their principal form of faith. This religion in its purity . . . . . was the faith which the Iranians brought with them from their original seats when they separated from the Indian Aryans, and was practically their common faith both in India and in Persia. In the latter country, however, it was strangely mixed up with Magism, a religion of much more Semitic, or even, it may be suspected, Turanian form, and the two were at that time so blended in the Grecian accounts at least that it is now impossible to separate the one from the other."[3]

Thus, in Persia and in India there was a close similarity of religious belief,—Turanianism overlaid with the purer worship of divine manifestations of Power in Nature. The hostility of the priesthood practically proves the connection, for the great Persian Divinity *Ahura*-Mazda was an *Asura*,

[1] *id.* p. 111.
[2] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. i.
[3] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 42.

or malignant spirit to the Hindu, while the Hindu *Deva* became a demon or *devil* to the Persian.[1] The difference consisted in the development rather than in the germ. The Persians purified their religion into something akin to monotheism, the Hindus sank lower and lower into the depths of Turanian poly-dæmonism. But in their origin their religious beliefs were identical, and there is no reason for rejecting as absurd and fanciful a theory that their early symbolism may have been the same. Sun-symbols especially might have survived to a late date in both countries.

The above summary, however, only goes to prove possibilities. It is necessary, now, to come to more certain and clear proofs that the Hindus of Northern India did actually succumb, and that in no small degree, to foreign influences, in pre-Buddhist days.

Professor Max Müller has noted an abrupt change in Hindu literature between the time of the Vedas and that of the Brāhmaṇas (*i.e.* previous to 600 B.C.). This occurred during the period of the powerful later Assyrian empire, when the frontiers of India and of that empire touched one another along the whole of the north-west and west, from Kābul to Karrāchi, and when Assyrian and Chaldæan influences were likely to make themselves most felt. The change is stated by the learned Professor in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, to have been so important that it led to "a complete misunderstanding of the original intentions of the Vedic hymns." The old Aryan religion was revolutionized. The result is thus epitomized by a recent writer in this Journal,[2] "New gods were invented in profusion, and some of these new mythological personages overshadowed and supplanted the deities of the Vedic age. Monstrous cosmogonies were invented and .... an entirely new mode of describing the world is adopted .... Into this new system of the world, the sun, moon, and stars, together with the zodiac and the twenty-seven lunar mansions, made

[1] "*Ancient Monarchies*," vol. ii. p. 324. *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 632.
[2] The Rev. J. Edkins, J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. N.S. Part I. p. 6 (Jan. 1886).

an entrance, and later the Ptolemaic system." It has also been pointed out that about a century or more after the probable era of the Brāhmaṇas, Śākyamuni found the Hindus believing in the doctrine of metempsychosis, which is by origin an Egyptian, not a Vedic doctrine. Now if all this is not an exaggeration, and there is little reason to suppose that that is the case, it seems to afford direct evidence that India was at that time subjected to some extent to Chaldæan influences.

MM. Perrot and Chipiez, in their admirable work on the *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*,[1] have given a clear account of the Chaldæan system of astrology and numerical calculation, with a description of its origin, which, though it stands unproved, at least seems most reasonable and admissible when viewed theoretically. In early days, say they, in Chaldæa, as in the early days of many families of the human race, fetichism, belief in demons, and spirits both malevolent and beneficent, reigned supreme, and worship or propitiation was associated with incantations and magic. As time passed on the priests added astrology to magic in their search after charms sufficiently powerful to compel to obedience those brilliant genii who inhabited the bright heavens and showed themselves to man at night.[2] But though simple minds might believe in the power of these charms, the priests, with more keen intellectual observation, noticed that neither sun, moon, nor stars ever changed their position in obedience to the command of man. Planetary motion, however, made itself visible, and the regularity of the motion of the sun and moon was also noted; and as all was favourable for study, the air clear, the nights balmy, men set themselves to work out the meaning of the motion of the heavenly bodies. Observatories, raised high above the mists, were built, and lofty platforms erected for the purpose. Students of Astronomy began to believe that the lives of individuals were affected from the time they were born by

[1] *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 65–73 (Armstrong's translation).

[2] "*Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere lunam.*" So Virgil many centuries later (*Bucol.* viii. 69).

the condition of the planets at the moment of birth. Hence arose the whole system of astrology, which has had such an effect on the minds of men that it lasted in full force, even in Europe, down to the sixteenth century of our era, and to the present day claims here some few votaries, while in India it still reigns supreme.[1] Astrology paved the way for Astronomy. In order to profit by the indications of the stars, in order, that is, to foretell success or disaster, it became necessary to foresee the positions the planets would occupy in the sky on a given day or hour—necessary to arrive by repeated observation at an exact knowledge of the route followed by the planets across the sky, and to distinguish them one from another by name. The result was a close, accurate, and patient study, which has been of incalculable benefit to mankind.

[1] The Chaldæan system of Astrology spread far and wide. The "*Magi*" in Persia seem to have been second only to the irresponsible monarch in power. One, indeed, Pseudo-Smerdis, or "Gomates, the Magian," a priest, seized the monarchy and held it firmly for a short time. Originally a Median religious caste, they appear to have adopted and carried on the sciences of the Chaldæan star-gazers, after the fall of Babylon and establishment of the Empire of the Medes; for when the Greeks and Romans come in contact with them, they seem to have been called indifferently "Magi" or "Chaldæans." A good idea of Chaldæan magic, as intimately known to the Jews, who were largely affected by it, is gained from the prophecy of Isaiah (xlvii. 12.), who, apostrophizing the city of Babylon under the title "daughter of the Chaldæans," says,—"Stand now with thy enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries . . . . . Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from the things that shall come upon thee." Though all forms of magic were forbidden by the *Avesta*, and Zoroastrianism was opposed to Magianism, the Magi contrived to pose before the Greeks as the representatives of the religion of Persia. Æschylus mentions them as a tribe. Sophocles writes of them with contempt. Plato held them in honour, and so did Xenophon. All over the civilized world the arts of astrology and divination, as taught by the Magi, came to be practised. The priests thus acquired a recognized position in society, their services being required on all occasions, alike by the king and the peasant. Under the Roman Empire flourished swarms of impostors, professors in the Art of Magic, who were known as "Magi," "Chaldæi," "Mathematici." When Roman chiefs built their villa-residences in the newly-conquered island of Britain, they brought with them the symbols and superstitions of their own country. The old *svastika* emblem was introduced by them into the decorated mosaic flooring of their principal rooms. Specimens are found in the Roman villa at Whitestaunton in Somersetshire, as well as in that at Brading in the Isle of Wight; and in curious connection with it in the latter mosaic is the figure of an astrologer with a divining-rod in his hand, who has, in the field of the design, as if in the air, close by his head—in the place where, under the Assyrians and Persians, an anthropomorphic winged-globe would have been depicted,—an Oriental sun-emblem, the circle or wheel on a pillar, exactly as seen at Amarāvati and Sāñchi. It seems most probable that this design stamps the astrologer as a representative of eastern magic.

The Chaldæans, for purposes of calculation, established an intricate system of numeration. They began by counting on their fingers by units of five. Then they adopted a notation by sixes and twelves as an improvement on the former, since the figure ten could be divided neither into three nor four equal parts.[1] Numeration by sixes led to their division of time into the *sos* of 60 years, the *ner* of 600 years, and the *sar* of 3600 years. Lenormant points out that 60 may be divided by any divisor of ten or twelve. "Of all numbers that could be chosen as an invariable denominator for fractions it has most divisors."[2] Founded on a sexagesimal numeration, the metrical system of Babylon and Nineveh was the most scientific of all those practised by the ancients.

The Chaldæans began by registering the phenomena. They noted seven planets, including the sun and moon, and observed the apparent march of the sun through the constellations that are still called the "Signs of the Zodiac," and it seems that they even went so far as to recognize the annual displacement of the equinoctial point upon the ecliptic, but their instruments were too defective to enable them to go very far. They used for astronomical calculations the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, with which they made themselves acquainted, though for convenience they used the lunar year in civil life. The Greek astronomer, Epigenes, declares that the Chaldæans had preserved their calculations for an incredible number of years, and it is certain that many tablets containing stellar and planetary observations have been discovered. They believed in seven celestial deities, those of the Sun, Moon, and five great planets—*Adar* (Saturn), *Merodach* (Jupiter), *Nergal* (Mars), *Istar* (Venus), and *Nebo* (Mercury).

The modern European system of time-calculation is derived, almost certainly, from Chaldæa. Hence our sexagesimal divisions. We have sixty minutes to an hour, sixty seconds

[1] Aurés, *Essai sur le Système métrique Assyrien*, p. 10 (in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes*, vol. iii.).

[2] F. Lenormant, *Manual d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. ii. p. 177 (3rd edition).

to a minute, sixty divisions to a degree of space. Similarly the Hindus, deriving their method equally from Chaldæa, divide time into cycles of sixty years, and their days into sixty *ghaṭis* of twenty-four minutes each. A similar sexagesimal division of years is in use both in China and Japan, probably carried thither on the introduction of Buddhism from India, for there are separate and distinct indigenous systems in use in both countries.

With regard to the days of the week, the Indians, equally with European nations, divide the days into groups of seven, named in the same order in all countries, after the sun, moon, and five great planets of the Chaldæans. General Cunningham contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* last year an interesting paper on this subject.[1] He writes: There is "good evidence to show that the week days, as named after the seven planets, were in use, both in Persia and in India, at the same time as in the West, and perhaps even earlier We have the testimony of Celsus, who lived during the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, that the Persian temples had seven gates, named after the sun and planets in regular order, from Saturn to the Sun." Proof that this system was early in vogue in India is afforded by a passage in the life of Apollonius by Philostratus. He says: "The Indian sage Iarchas gave Apollonius seven rings, each bearing the name of one of the seven stars, and he wore them alternately, according to the particular name of the day."[2] "As Philostratus derived his information from the Assyrian Damis, who actually accompanied Apollonius, this notice is contemporary with the date of his travels, between A.D. 20 and 50. The use of the week days named after the seven stars was, therefore, already established in India at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era." General Cunningham shows by diagrams how the calculation by Indian *ghaṭis* of twenty-four minutes each results in the same order of the days of the week as the European division. He concludes by saying that though there is no direct evidence to show

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, xiv. 1 (Jan. 1885).

[2] Philost. *Vit Apollonii*, iii. 41. Priaulx's *Apollonius of Tyāna*, p. 53 (see "Postscript" below, p. 405).

the age of the scheme, it appears to have been in use in Media and Babylonia for several centuries before the Christian era. And with this conclusion probably few will be found to disagree.

In treating of the origin of the *triśula*, which he connects with the Chaldæan cuneiform form sign for Taurus , the late Edward Thomas saw nothing fanciful in the supposition that the early Hindus possibly borrowed the *triśula* symbol from their western neighbours. He wrote: "The dawning science of Astronomy, in its concurrent deceptive phase of Astrology, must readily have identified itself with kindred magic in the interchange of signs and symbols, as in other mutual aids." [1]

We find therefore that the Chaldæans succeeded in introducing into India their astronomical and hence their astrological system, their divisions of time and their nomenclature of the days of the week, all of which are in daily use at the present day. The system of astrology has fast hold of the people of India at the present day, as is well known. From highest to lowest, no man who can afford to pay for it ever dreams of entering on any new or important undertaking without obtaining the opinion of the astrologer of the village or family as to when a lucky moment will occur. Most of the villages of Southern India have, to this day, a paid astrologer for domestic use.

Other and very important evidence of foreign influence in India in early days is afforded by the alphabet in use in the days of Aśoka (250 B.C.). No other alphabet has been introduced since that day. All the alphabets at present in use are modifications of that original. Dr. Burnell believed[2] that the alphabet of Aśoka had been derived originally from Western Asia before the time of Alexander, and whether this view is correct or not, it was at least the view of a shrewd and critical scholar. He writes: "I have already mentioned the numerous indications that point to a Semitic origin of the Indian alphabets, and which are generally received

[1] J.R.A.S. (New Series), Vol. I. p. 484.
[2] *South Indian Palæography*, pp. 1–9.

as sufficient; the immediate original is, however, yet uncertain. Three probable sources may be suggested. The first is that the Indian alphabet came directly from Phœnicia, and was introduced by the early Phœnician traders. The second is that the original of these alphabets is to be sought in the modified Phœnician alphabets used by the Himyarites of Arabia, and this has lately been put forward as an ascertained fact.[1] As a third possibility I would suggest that the Indian alphabets may be derived from an Aramaic character used in Persia or rather Babylonia." He concludes his discussion of the subject by admitting that the information at present available is too scanty to justify a more precise inference, but that he inclines to look on the Aramaic character as the original.

Professor Max Müller also believes that the Aśoka alphabet was derived from the West. The Hindus themselves admitted that it was of foreign origin. Pāṇini, whose date is variously assigned to the fourth, third, and second century B.C., calls it the "*Yavanāni lipi*," though the term "Yavana" may apply to any nation of so-called barbarians outside India.

It must not be forgotten that the alphabet was probably introduced long before Aśoka's day; for though there is no known inscription extant earlier than 250 B.C., it is clear that the character must at that time have undergone serious modifications in India since its introduction, for no alphabet exactly corresponding to it has yet been discovered in Asia, though many exist of a date considerably earlier than the great Buddhist monarch.

To turn now for a few moments to the architecture and sculpture of India in the earliest period known to us—a subject which is perhaps more important than all for my present purpose. It will be remembered that no known building or rock-cut cave exists in India of a date older than the third century B.C. Is the architecture of indigenous growth? or does it show signs of Western influence? The

[1] By Lenormant, *Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien*, i. part i. table vi.

Thus the Assyrian winged globe, which in its turn had been borrowed from Egypt as a symbol of Semitic Asshur, was adopted by the Persians as a symbol of Aryan Ahura-Mazda; and thus, I believe, the *svastika*, the *dharmachakra* (so-called), and the *triśula* were borrowed by Hindu Buddhists from pre-existent forms, possibly in use in India in pre-Buddhist days, but ultimately derived from Assyria, Chaldæa, and Persia. And when it is remembered that all three of these symbols were probably sun-symbols, the theory is rendered still less improbable, for of all emblems which would be most likely to survive amidst the fall of old creeds and the upheaval of atheistic philosophies, that relating to the ancient worship of the sun would naturally be the most prominent, offending, as it did, against no prejudices, superstitions, or beliefs. The Jews, for instance, at one period, as I have stated above, saw no wrong in introducing all the paraphernalia of the old sun-worship into the very courts of the house of Jehovah at Jerusalem—and there is no reason to suppose that they had then revolted against their sacred creeds. They merely added adoration of the sun "and all the host of heaven"[1] to the worship of their own Divinity. Similarly, at a time when Buddhists began to use symbols, old-world sun-symbols were those which lent themselves most readily and with least perversion of ideas to the requirements of the new faith,—as it was then accepted by the masses of the Turanian-blooded people, being of necessity mixed-up with a great deal of the superstitions of former days.

The emblems most frequently met with on Buddhist Topes may be divided into two classes—symbols of which the origin is distinctly Buddhist, and symbols of which the shape cannot be traced to a Buddhist origin. In the first

[1] Under some of the kings of Judah the horses and chariots of the sun (2 *Kings* xxiii. 11) were stalled in the precincts of the Temple of Jerusalem. This dedication of horses to the sun was perhaps borrowed from the Persians (*Herod.* i. 189; *Curt.* iii. 3. § 11; *Xen. Cyrop.* viii. 3. § 24). The Armenians and the Massagetæ sacrificed horses to the sun (*Herod.* i. 216; *Xen. Anab.* iv. 5. § 35). It is noticeable that the horse is frequently introduced into the Amarāvatī sculptures in a way not yet satisfactorily explained. Sun-images are frequently alluded to in the chronicles of Israel and Judah (*Levit.* xxvi. 30, etc.).

class must be placed (1) the *dāgoba*; (2) the empty throne of Buddha, probably signifying a spot where Śākya-muni had resided or taught; (3) the feet-impressions, evidently pointing to some locality considered sacred because the feet of the sage had trodden its dust. In the latter class come first, (4) the tree, and (5) the serpent, emblems founded on the popular traditions of the people, and probably Turanian in origin, though the tree may have been adopted by the Buddhists as a symbol of the *saṅgha*, the church, and very aptly so; and, secondly, three emblems, all as I believe of sun-origin; (6) the *svastika*, an Asiatic not merely Indian symbol; (7) the *chakra*, a wheel or fiery circle, generally represented as raised on a pillar; (8) the *triśula*, sometimes placed on a pillar like the *chakra*, and sometimes used, as at Amarāvatī, merely as an ornament,—for instance, when oft-repeated, it forms the crowning cornice of the inner rail.[1]

I am mainly concerned with the *svastika*, *chakra*, and *triśula*.

The *svastika* and *sauvastika* are so well known that I need not dwell long on them. They appear to have been symbols of Western-Asian origin, whether Semitic or Aryan matters little, and to have been adopted as emblematic of sun-motion. The point has been much disputed, but the sun-theory seems to be the one now most generally accepted. The symbol is found profusely amongst the ruins of the third, or burnt, city at Hissarlik, but not amongst those of the two earlier cities. Its use spread, possibly with Aryan emigrations, possibly with Magian astrology, westwards as far even as Britain;[2] and, travelling eastwards, it was, if not introduced by the Aryans, at any rate adopted at an early date by the Hindus, and

[1] Other figures carved on the Tope sculptures have been noticed as bearing a close resemblance to figures carved on monuments further West. Thus Fergusson called attention (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 187, and note 3) to an ornament or design used on the roll-frieze of the outer rail at Amarāvatī—"an ornament new . . . . in so far as India is concerned,"—but which is found on the mystic representations of the Ephesian Artemis. It resembles the upper half of a little demon with upraised arms. A representation will be found in Falkener's *Ephesus*, p. 286. Amongst other points of resemblance between Hindu and Western-Asian symbolism may be noted the fact that in both countries sculptured deities are often represented as holding in one hand a slain deer.

[2] See above, note 1, p. 383.

was made use of in their sculptures and inscriptions. Its general acceptation seems to have been as a token of good-luck and prosperity, while romantic Buddhist teachers feigned that the feet of the Buddha himself were marked with these *stigmata*, proving that they accepted the sign as one of an older date than the birth of Buddha.[1] Pāṇini mentions the *svastika* as a sign branded for luck on the ears of cows.[2]

The symbol called the *chakra* seems to be certainly an emblem of the sun. Its similarity, when raised on a pillar, to Assyrian types, has been repeatedly noticed, and it is useless for me to waste time by further discussion on the matter. As a symbol of the all-vivifying sun it was a most appropriate emblem of the Buddhist *Dharma*.[3]

There remains the doubtful *Triśula*. What was its origin? Was it indigenous or exotic?

The figures given below are taken from Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, and from Fergusson and Burgess's

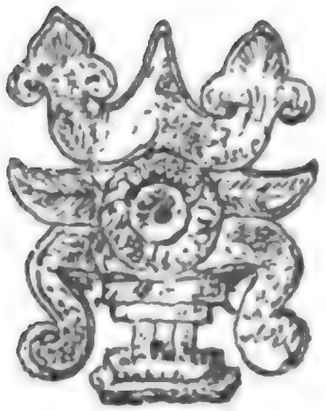


Figure 1.

Figure 2.

[1] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate lxxxvii. p. 229.

[2] Prof. Max Müller, in Schliemann's *Ilios* (pp. 346-7); Goldstücker, *Pāṇini, his place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 59.

[3] The *chakra* occupies the most prominent place on the summit of the north gateway of the Sāñchī Tope, flanked by two triśuls.

Cave Temples. The first (*figure* 1) is the entire emblem, the second (*figure* 2) the mutilated form often seen. It is in the latter form that the emblem commonly appears on coins.

It was an emblem not confined to architectural decoration. It is everywhere seen on the standards and arms of the soldiers, and on most Buddhist coins. It was one of the most favourite emblems of the age.[1] Representations of it, elevated to a most prominent position on a flaming pillar, are to be found at Amarāvatī.[2] Is it possible that, like the *chakra* and the *svastika*, it was an old-world sun-emblem? My belief is—I say it with diffidence, because I am fully aware that the idea will sound at first preposterous to many minds, and I admit myself fully open to conviction should a better origin be eventually suggested—my belief is that this much-discussed *triśula* is nothing more nor less than a conventionalized scarab—a sun-emblem derived from the Assyrians and Persians, and thence remotely from Egypt.

It may not be inappropriate to show how other symbols have spread from nation to nation, and been adopted by creed after creed, in order to afford some basis for the supposition that this theory need not be scouted as wildly improbable, more especially since I have already pointed out the apparently strong influence exercised by the Assyrians and Chaldæans on the early inhabitants of India. I will take, for example, first the old Egyptian *tau*, or the *crux ansata*. Whatever this emblem originally signified, its rise began in Egypt. It was thence adopted by the Assyrians, and is found on sculptures at Khorsābād, on ivories from Nimrúd, and on Ninevite cylinders. It is observed on numerous coins of the Mediterranean coasts at a late period, especially on coins of Cyprus. Ezekiel the prophet was so impressed by the idea that the symbol was one of good luck, that, in his vision, he conceived the *tau* as marked on the foreheads of all those persons who were destined to be saved.[3]

[1] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 115.
[2] *id.* plates lxx. lxxi. lxxii.
[3] Ezekiel ix. 4, 5, 6.

The use of the *tau* somehow spread into ancient America, for it is found on sculptures at Palenque and Copan. A peculiar anthropomorphic form of the *tau*, found at the demolition of the serapeum at Memphis, appears to have given rise to the earlier semi-anthropomorphic form of the Ephesian Artemis, whence it spread into Greece. As a sign of security the *tau* was adopted by the Christian order of St. Anthony of Ethiopia, one of the earliest religious orders ever founded by Christians, dating about 370 A.D. It is found on Hebrew and Gnostic charms, and Joseph von Hammer points to it as the all-potent sign of the Knights Templars.[1]

Similarly the winged globe of Egypt seems to have been accepted as a symbol of divine power and influence by the Chaldæans and Assyrians, as well as by other neighbouring races. Just as it was sculptured over the doorways of Egyptian pylons, so it finds similar place amongst the sculptured remains of those born imitators, the Phœnicians. In an anthropoid form it is universal in Assyria and Chaldæa where it represents the sun-god Asshur, and afterwards in Persia where it stood for Ahura-Mazda, overshadowing and protecting the sovereigns in all their successful undertakings, whether in war or the chase. It is found as a guardian of doorways even in Mexico and Central America, though how it got there is at present a mystery.[2] Whether the

[1] See notes in the *Antiquary* of March and August, 1881.

[2] See Catherwood's *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1854), p. 385, for an example at Ocosingo in Chiapas. Also Lord Kingsborough's *Mexican Antiquities*, iv. 2; Baradère's *Antiq. Mexicaines*, pl. xxix. (*première expédition*), and Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Palenque* (1866), Introd. p. 15, where Catherwood's woodcut is reproduced.

For Phœnician examples see Renan's *Mission de Phénicie* (1864), p. 366, a stone found at Saïda (Sidon), and now in the Louvre. M. Renan states that the winged globe is found on the gates of almost all the temples in Phœnicia. *Op. cit.* pp. 69, 70, for an example at Ain el Hayât, at Amrith on the coast of Syria. One of the latest instances is at Gébeil, on the carved architrave of a Christian church or baptistery, dated A.D. 1264 (*id.* pl. xxxii. 7).

Also Lajard's *Culte de Vénus*, plates i. 16, iii. 9, 10, 11 (Cilicia), iii*a*. 11, iv. 11, v. 13, vi. (Persepolis), xii. 4 (a curious variety), xiv*a*. 1, xix. 16 (Tharsus). The same author's *Culte de Mithra*, plates i. ii. x. 3 to 11, xiii. 2, xvi. 1, 2, xvii. (numerous examples), xviii. 7 (a very remarkable specimen shaped like a bird), xxxvi. 11 (the same, but even more peculiar). Di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, plates xxxv. 20 (where the emblem is clearly a large-winged scarab), xxxvi. etc. Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 4, and note. Perrot and

winged globe had any intimate relation in origin with the scarabæus I will not stop to consider, but certainly the emblem called the *mihir*, as seen in some Phœnician examples, may equally be looked at as a form of the pennate globe, or as a scarab in act of flight, and on the coins of some of the satraps the *mihir* stands in the same relation to the monarch whose figure is depicted on the obverse as the anthropoid winged globe does to the conquering kings of Assyria and Chaldæa. It protects and guards him. In one coin the symbol appears to be a flying scarab (*figure* 3), with its wings extended; in another (*figure* 4) of the same satrap it is shaped like the pennate globe;[1] while the emblem depicted in Di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, plate xxxv. 20, is clearly a large-winged scarab. The *mihir* is found, in some in-

Figure 3.

Figure 4.

stances, on coins of Cyprus associated with Egyptian emblems;[2] and I desire to call especial attention to the emblems in the field of the coins depicted in De Luynes's *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, plate ii. figures 14, 15, and plate vi. figures 7, 8, etc., since these emblems (*figure* 5), both over the lions on the obverse and over the male figures on the reverse occupy the same position as does the *mihir* in other coins, protecting and guarding the principal figure. The emblem in question is often called the *taurus* symbol. It

Figure 5.

Chipiez, i. 87 (Armstrong's translation). De Luynes, *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, pl. iii. (where several examples on coins of Cyprus are given).

[1] De Luynes, *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie* (plate ii. 3, 5).

[2] De Luynes, *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, pl. iii.

is sometimes represented with a perpendicular attachment below, as if elevated on a staff, sometimes without this. It appears to be similar to the half-*triśula* seen so often at Amarāvatī,[1] which half-*triśula*—the *triśula*, that is, minus the lower member and with reduced wings—is the form in which the symbol is depicted on most of the Buddhist coins (*figure* 7[2]), just as it is on these coins of Cyprus,

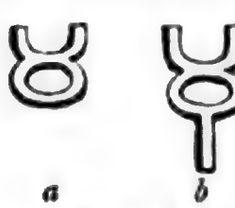


Figure 6.

Figure 7.

where it seems almost certain that its origin is Western Asiatic or Egyptian. The fact that in both countries the symbol is used in a mutilated form, apparently for the sake of simplicity, may be used as a strong argument in favour of a common origin, for it is surely not usual thus to cut a symbol in half. In India the form is most undoubtedly a half-*triśula*, and in the Cyprian examples, though its origin is not so clear, its position on the coin suffices to identify it.

This mutilated form is constantly observed on Phœnician inscriptions,[3] where it is elevated on a pedestal or standard

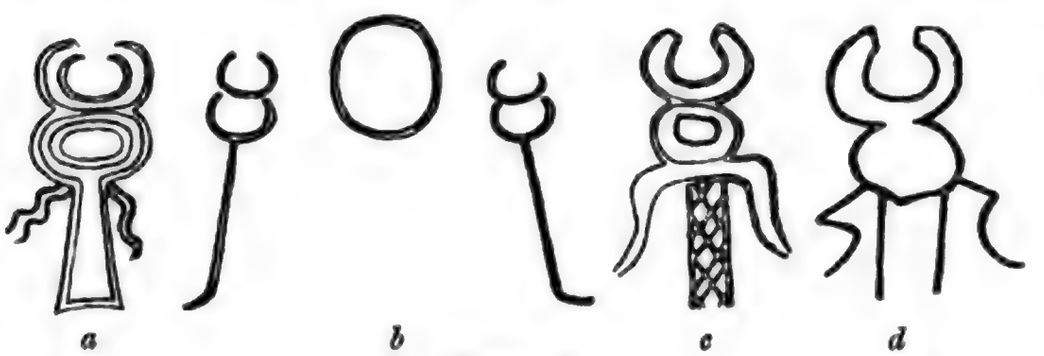


Figure 8.

[1] Above, Figure 2, p. 392.

[2] The coin is from Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* (p. 162, No. 1). a coin of Kraṇanda. The other emblems from Gen. Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*.

[3] Vaux's British Museum *Phœnician Inscriptions*, plates i. No. 2 (*figure a*); iv. 10 (*figure b*) (where the emblem becomes a simple caduceus, and is associated with a sun-symbol), vii. 20 (*figure c*), xiii. 37 (*figure d*), xviii. 52, xxvii. 74—inscriptions found by Nathan Davis on the site of ancient Carthage. Plate ii. fig. 5 gives an excellent illustration of the wheel of the sun as used by the Phœnicians.

(*figure* 8), and sometimes has attached to it under the circle a pair of flying strings, just as the Egyptian winged globe often has the serpents' tails, and as the Assyrian anthropoid form of the same emblem frequently has the flying ends of the god's waist-sash (*figure* 9).

Figure 9.

To show how curiously symbols may be varied by ignorant sculptors, I may point to an instance of the winged globe found near the Limon Mine in New Segovia in America (*figure* 10), and figured in Pim and Seemann's *Dottings on the Road-side in Panama, Nicaragua, and Mosquito* (1869), p. 128. All the elements of the pennate globe are here in its Assyrianized form—the central circular body, in this instance somewhat heart-shaped, the sidewings, the lower fan-shaped tail, and the two dangling ends under the wings. But whereas in Assyria the central body is converted into a wheel (the disk of the sun—whence probably the origin of the idea of the Buddhist *chakra*), and the body of an anthropoid deity, the fan-like tails being the skirts of his robes and the dangling ends being the ends of his sash, here in America the sculptor has ignorantly dealt with the symbol just in the way that a child would. He has converted the central body into a face with roughly-cut nose, mouth, and eyes, and feeling himself bound in some way to account for the two ends that so often formed part of the original emblem, he has made them into two long moustaches depending from the upper lip of the rude face carved on the slab.

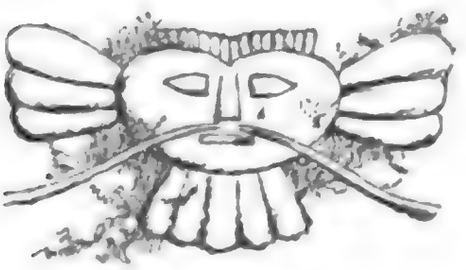


Figure 10.

The above remarks will serve to show how the sacred emblems of Egypt have spread into other countries and

become altered and conventionalized in the process. Now, without going necessarily so far away as Egypt, it is clear that the scarab was an emblem and a very important emblem to the Assyrians and peoples with whom the Hindus came in contact, and it is often found in a highly conventionalized form.

Figure 11.

The original Egyptian type, as used in the hieroglyphs, is given in figure 11, taken from a sarcophagus in the British Museum, and some of its more highly conventional forms in figures 12, 13, both from the work of MM. Perrot and Chipiez.[1] Figure 12 is taken from a scarab depicted on a patera, and Figure 13 from a cup as given by

Figure 12.

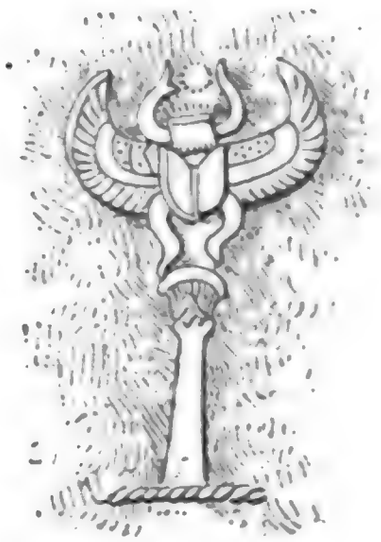


Figure 13.

Layard. In both instances it is represented as elevated on a column or standard.

The scarab was also largely used by the Chaldæans, and they adopted its form for their gems and seals, just as did the Egyptians. Numbers of engraved scarabs are found in Babylonia.[2] That the emblem was in general use amongst the nations of Western Asia is shown by the numbers of scarabæi that have been found, not only in Assyria and Chaldæa, but in early Greek tombs all round the Mediterranean, in Cyprus, and in a hundred different places. One source whence they were derived has lately come to light,

[1] *History of Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus* (Armstrong's translation), ii. 330, 331.

[2] *id.* i. 77.

Mr. Petrie having found at Naukratis several scarab-factories intended for export to the Mediterranean, the isles of Greece, the Phœnician colonies, and Etruria. The scarab was adopted by the Phœnicians at the same time as the cylinder (Assyria), and the cone (Asia Minor) as a pattern for their engraved gems, but the cylinder and cone gave way before the superior charms of the scarab and scaraboid, and the latter forms largely predominated in later years. A large number of scarabs have been found in Sardinia at Tharros. They bear engravings of degenerate Egyptian type, and mostly belong to the period between the end of the sixth and the end of the third century B.C., when Carthage was supreme in the Western Mediterranean, and the Punic cities in Sardinia enjoyed their greatest prosperity.[1]

A very important link between the Egyptian or Assyrian scarab and the Indian *triśula* will be found figured in Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, plate x. figure 3. It is a scarab in a highly-conventionalized form (*figure* 14), engraved on a gem, having in the field the sun and moon, and at the side a Pahlavī legend, showing it to be probably of Sassanian origin. That the figure is intended to represent a scarab is clear from the fortunate representation on it of the ball of dung rolled up by the natural scarabæus, which ball of dung is often found on other figures of the scarab much more closely resembling nature. If to the central member of this figure a pair of wings be added, there will be found at once the entire and unmistakeable Buddhist *triśula* (*figure* 1), complete in all its parts.

Figure 14.

Comparison of the two designs can hardly fail to persuade any one that, if not intentional, the resemblance is certainly extraordinary. The details of course vary, but the form is identical.

The *triśula* is found repeated over and over again at Amarāvatī, at Buddha Gaya,[2] at Sāñchī, and indeed on all

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1886, p. 209.
[2] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 116, where it is figured.

Buddhist Topes. That it was in use before the Sāñchī Tope was erected is shown by the coin, given on *figure* 7 above, of Kraṇanda, brother of Amogha, whom Thomas believed to be one of the nine Nandas, the predecessors of Chandragupta. Fergusson differs from this, asserting that the coin is more modern, but he declares it to be certainly older than the first of the Sāñchī gateways, and his view is probably correct. The coin is figured in *Tree and Serpent Worship* (p. 162, *note* 1). It contains several of the common Buddhist emblems, including the *triśula* in its truncated shape, as in *figure* 2.

Fergusson, as I have already remarked, noticed the similarity between the *triśula* symbol, the caduceus of the god Mercury, and the sign of the planet Mercury.[1] General Cunningham has made the same observation.[2] Describing a coin of Pharaspes or Pharnaspes of the Alexandrian period, he mentions that it bears on it "a caduceus without a handle, which is the zodiacal sign for Taurus." The symbol is, I contend, similar to the Buddhist truncated *triśula* (*fig.* 2), and similar to the Cypriot emblem alluded to above (*fig.* 6). That it is a coin of Persian origin is proved not only by the fact of its bearing a legend in Pahlavī characters, but because the Assyrian man-headed winged bull on the obverse wears on his head a Persian tiara. My impression is that the *triśula* and the caduceus spring from precisely the same original—the scarab.

The form of the Buddhist *triśula* as represented (*figure* 1) at Amarāvatī, for instance, is explainable thus. The body of the scarab is roughly drawn as a circle and often, as such, decorated with the circular lotus-disks of the outer rail with the conventional water-leaf ornament; the upraised fore-legs and the head become conventionalized into rounded raised arms with a prominent central member; the wings are depicted as leaf-like projections on each side of the body; the hind-legs are rendered in form similar to the

[1] *id.* p. 116, *note.*
[2] J.A.S. Bengal, L., part i. p. 171 (1881).

fore-legs, but, as is essential to the general idea, not so much decorated. The hind-legs, as I cannot avoid calling them, of the *triśula*, are specially noticeable, as the Amarāvatī examples give them a strangely animal look, especially about what would be the knee-joint. Moreover, it must be noted that the scarab proper (*figure* 11) is always depicted with certain necessary claw-like projections on the fore-legs, and none, or very slight ones, on the hinder legs. An exactly similar difference is observable in the Indian *triśula*, the extremities of the upper members being ornamented, often in trefoil-shape, while the lower extremities are left less marked. It was, perhaps, this absence of ornamentation about the lower members that led to their being discarded in the intermediate form given in Figure 15—where the upper and middle members are strongly accentuated while the lower limbs have dwindled into mere extraneous adjuncts. This form is taken from the summit of the north gateway at Sāñchī.[1]

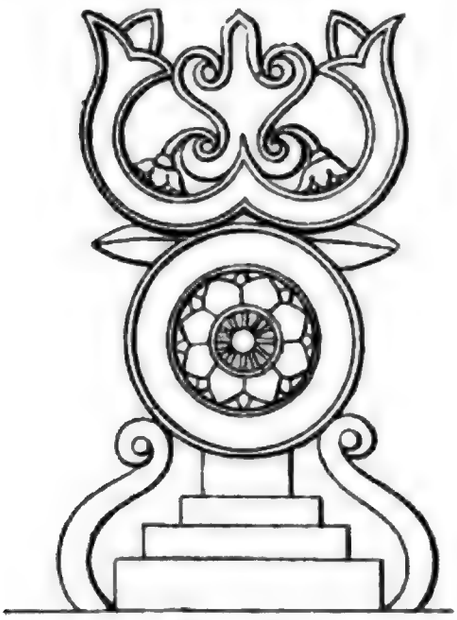


Figure 15.

The form of the *caduceus* may be explained thus. The body of the scarab is drawn as before in a circle, the fore- and hind-legs are placed in the usual position, the extremities of the fore-legs having a certain development wanting in the hind-legs, in accordance with requirements. The wings are are omitted, as, viewing the original form (*figure* 12), they well might be. The whole being elevated on a staff, and the original form being lost sight of, the shape is conceived to represent two snakes twisted round one another, the developments at the extremities of the upper members taking, in this instance, the form of heads, the lower dwind-

[1] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate x. *a*, p. 113.

ling to a point for the tail. *Figures* 16, 17 show the transition.

Figure 16.

Figure 17.

If the lower member be omitted, the caduceus assumes the form in which it was sometimes used by priests. There is a bronze specimen (*figure* 18) in the British Museum, of date 440–430 B.C.[1] Here, it will be observed, the figures can hardly be looked on as twisted snakes, for they have no tails. This has the appearance of a transitional variety —where the snakes' heads are merely introduced as an ornament at the ends of the two curved upper arms of the old *taurus* symbol (compare *fig.* 6*b*). In the Phœnician examples alluded to above (*figure* 8*b*), the same symbol is found. In a coin of Herod I. (B.C. 37–4)[2] the same symbol is depicted, but with two little projections below (*figure* 19). These projections are certainly not snakes' tails. They are more like small wings, yet the whole symbol has been accepted as representing a caduceus. These instances seem to point to the origin of the caduceus being, not serpents twisted round a staff, but the old *taurus* symbol developed.

Figure 18.

Figure 19.

There can be little doubt that the celebrated idol of *Jagannātha* (Vishṇu as Kṛishṇa) at Purī in Cuttack was originally one of these *triśulas*.[3] *Figure* 20, taken from General Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, represents this well-

[1] It bears the inscription ΛΟΝΓΕΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΔΕΜΟΣΙ . . . . "I am the public (herald ?) of the people of Longanē," a town in Sicily.

[2] Madden's *Coins of the Jews*, No. 4, p. 109.

[3] Thomas (*J.R.A.S.* N.S. Vol. I. p. 483) expressed his belief in the identity of this figure with the "Taurus symbol."

known image. It shows an anthropomorphic tendency

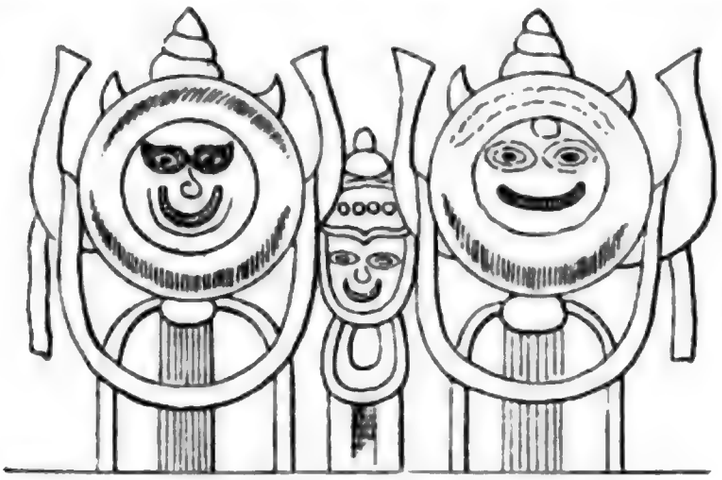


Figure 20.

similar to the instances given above of the Assyrian and Persian symbols of Asshur and Ahura-Mazda, and of the Ephesian Artemis, the former being derived from the winged circle, the latter from the Egyptian *tau*.

Figure 21.

I have in my possession a remarkable Indian copper coin, of which a woodcut is given in *figure* 21. I know of no existing means of identifying this coin, but the form of the figure is archaic. It was given to me by Sir Walter Elliot, who was unable to assign it to any hitherto known series. The figure of Vishṇu here appears with upraised arms in an attitude singularly recalling the triśul emblem, and the *Jagannātha* idol above alluded to. That it is clearly intended to represent Vishṇu, and no other deity, is shown by the Vaishṇava emblem, the tortoise, at the side (the *Kurma-avatāra*). The figures on this coin and at Purī further give rise to the question whether, after all, the mark which Vaishṇavas at the present day place on their foreheads (*figure* 22), and which is generally looked on as some sort of trident, is not another modification of the *triśula*, the central circle being omitted (compare *figure* 7). I know of no other reasonable explanation of its form.

Figure 22.

While recognizing the danger and uselessness of carrying baseless identifications too far—of allowing mere similarities

of form to influence the mind—I cannot refrain from pointing out with diffidence, and I admit without any sanction of proof, a similarity which struck me six years ago, and which I have since seen no reason absolutely to reject as absurd.

On the angles of the base of a bronze statuette found in a tomb in the Polledrara cemetery at Vulci in Etruria, and figured in Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (vol. i. p. 423), and Micali's *Monumenti Inediti* (1844), plate vi. fig. 2, is found the annexed figure (*fig.* 23).[1] This is in all respects similar to the forms represented above. It has all the members of the scaraboid form so often alluded to—the body, wings, fore-legs, and hind-legs—the only difference being that in this instance the curve of the lower members is altered so as to bring the upper and lower limbs into conventional regularity. It must also be noticed that numbers of scarabs have been found in Northern Italy. With reference to its date, the author writes: "The antiquity of this bust is proved, not only by the style, but by the workmanship,—not being cast, but being formed of thin plates of bronze hammered into shape, and finished with the chisel — the earliest mode of Etruscan toreutics." That the ornament was intended to be looked at in the position in which I have depicted it is clear from its place on the bronze plinth. Now, if any one will take the trouble to look at this woodcut from the side of the page, instead of holding the page in the usual way, he will observe that the figure is precisely that of a conventional *fleur-de-lys*. This may be a pure flight of fancy, but still it is noticeable that Northern Italy was, if not the home of the fleur-de-lys, at least one of the sites of its firm adoption. I lay no great stress on this identification, however, contenting myself with simply calling attention to the curious resemblance. The fleur-de-lys has been derived

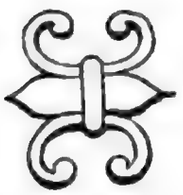


Figure 23.

[1] Most unfortunately the portion of bronze plinth on which the ornament is cut appears never to have found its way to the British Museum, where the rest of the bust is. But Micali is a very accurate and trustworthy copyist, and that the plinth did actually exist is proved by his alluding to it in his text.

from a hundred different originals. This is merely a hundred and first.

Postscript.

The Life of Apollonius of Tyāna written by Philostratus has been alluded to above (p. 385). This work is generally supposed to be historically valueless. It is possible that Apollonius travelled to India about the year 40 A.D., but it is almost certain that this "Life," which never made its appearance till it was presented to the Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Severus (A.D. 222–235), was a concocted fabrication, based on the information recorded by previous writers. As such, however, it has an importance of its own, which must not be lost sight of. The author of such a work is more careful than even a *bonâ-fide* traveller to write nothing that will not be believed. He may exaggerate accepted fallacies, but only because they have been accepted. From this point of view certain passages of this apocryphal "Life of Apollonius," written possibly as late as the third century A.D., become very valuable for our present purpose. I quote from Priaulx's work.

Apollonius is represented as having his first interview with Phraotes, king of Takila;—"The king ordered the Babylonian guide to be treated with the hospitality wont to be shown to travellers from Babylon, and the satrap guide to be sent back home with the usual travelling allowance," while he converses with Apollonius in Greek and treats him with most marked courtesy. This shows at least that the Alexandrians of the third century A.D. believed that the overland journey from Babylon to India was a journey constantly made by travellers, that Babylonians were in the regular habit of making this journey, though Greeks seldom; that the Indian kings showed much courtesy to the travellers, and that such visits were so frequent that the travelling allowances paid to guides formed a recognized and well-known item of the expenditure of frontier sovereigns. We further learn from the story that the author considered

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it probable that Greek influence in Northern India had been very extensive.

We learn from the narrative that the Greek and Indian Philosophers were mutually acquainted with each other's systems, and held one another in honour—a state of things that confirms the boast of Aśoka alluded to above (p. 375). The same king, Phraotes, tells Apollonius that he had been "brought up by his father in the Greek fashion till the age of twelve; that he was then sent to the Brahmans, and treated by them as a son, for 'they especially love,' he observed, 'those who know and speak Greek, as akin to them in mind and disposition.'" Passages from Nicolaus Damascenus, Diodorus, Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Ælian, corroborate this account of the spread of Greek ideas, and the Greek language, amongst the Hindus.

Later on we are introduced to a dull-witted and unenlightened monarch, who insults Apollonius. Being afterwards convinced of his error, we are told, "the king burst into tears . . . . and attributed his prejudices against the Greeks to the tales and falsehoods of Egyptian travellers, who, while they boasted of their nation as wise and holy and author of those laws relating to sacrifices and mysteries which obtain in Greece, described the Greeks as men of unsound judgment, the scum of men . . . . etc. . . ." Third-century authors, then, believed that India was frequently visited by Egyptian travellers, as well as by Babylonians.

It is clear, then, that the author of this "Life of Apollonius" conceived that he would best impose on the credulity of his age by accepting a very close and frequent intercommunication between India, Babylon and Egypt, before and up to the date of Apollonius (40 A.D.), as in the regular nature of things. Had there been no such regular intercommunication, he would not have written the passages quoted above.

Note by Sir George Birdwood on the above Paper.[1]

Every article of Hindu manufacture, excepting the nondescript curiosities made for Europeans, had a religious significance, and their ornamentation was all symbolical. For himself, he had no doubt that nearly every symbol in use in India came originally from Mesopotamia. This could not yet be demonstrated in every case; but he hoped the book he was preparing for the press would prove it in a great many cases: and it might be inferred, without direct proof, from the commercial history of India. He could not attribute much to the direct influence of Egypt, for it was operative millenniums before the appearance of the Aryas on the scene of history, yet indirectly it must have had a great initial influence on the development of Aryan arts. Egyptian caravan commerce became continuous with that of Mesopotamia about B.C. 2000, and thus helped to propagate a common Egypto-Mesopotamian type of industrial and decorative art from Inner Africa to Central Asia; and when the Aryas began to move into Persia, and India, and Anterior Asia, and Europe, they moved directly across this line of propagation of Egypto-Mesopotamian handicraft art, and this, probably, largely accounts for the obvious resemblances between the household arts of all the civilized and semi-civilized countries of the Old World. But the abiding influence of Mesopotamia on India, as still manifested, particularly in the arts of Southern India, where the effects of the Macedonian conquest were not directly felt, was not developed until the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., when Psammetichus I. in Egypt, and Nebuchadnezzar III. in Babylonia, first organized the navigation and commerce of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, as it was carried on down to the conquests of the Saracens. Buddhism itself was the direct result in his (Sir George Birdwood's)

[1] This note is the substance of Sir G. Birdwood's reply to the President's question whether he had observed any indications of symbolism in Indian textile fabrics, when Mr. Sewell's paper had been read at the Society's Meeting on the 21st June, 1886.

opinion, as he had some years ago stated in the *Athenæum*, of this enlarged commercial intercourse; for Buddhism was simply commercialized, internationalized Hinduism, which reverted at once to the national, strongly anti-commercial type, formulated in "The Code of Manu," as soon as the old overland trade between the East and the West began to be broken up by the Mahomedans. Obviously as Buddhism itself, so its ritualistic symbolism also, must have owed much to the intercourse of the ancient Hindus with Mesopotamia. As to the *swastika* and the *triśula* being sun-symbols, they were phallic symbols before that. He (Sir George Birdwood) took no interest in phallic symbols until they assumed the poetic form of the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life; but there was no doubt in his mind that the *swastika* was the first symbol of the Garden of Eden, or before that of woman, and the *triśula* of the Tree of Life, or before that of man. It was a most interesting circumstance that the latest broché silk manufactured for the present London season was all over diapered with the *swastika* symbol, of the same askew type as is stamped on the leaden image of the Asian Venus found by Schliemann in the ruins of "the 3rd," or "burnt city" ("the Homeric Ilios") at Hissarlik.

18*th Aug.*—Since writing out the above I have purchased at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition a very primitive-looking wooden ladle from Junágahr, where it is used to pour the libations of *ghi* in the sacrifices to Agni, "the god of fire," "the south," etc. The bowl is fashioned as the *yoni-lingam* symbol, and immediately over it is carved the symbol *Anandavarta*, "the Country of Bliss," in which the *swastika* is represented within a square or four-sided enclosure, while at the back of it is carved a tortoise, the universal emblem in the East of fecundity.—G.B.

Art. XVII.—*The Pre-Akkadian Semites.* By G. Bertin, M.R.A.S.

Existence of a Pre-Akkadian Semitic Population in Mesopotamia.—Accepted Notions.—Priority of the Semitic Civilization.—Names of Stars wrongly Explained by Akkadian.—Primitive Syntactical Order in Akkadian and in Semitic Babylonian.—Mutual Reaction.—Both Populations adopt the Same.—Examples of Primitive Semitic Babylonian.—Intermediary Stage.—Use of Permansive.—Pronoun-Suffixes.—Mimmation.—Formation of Abstracts.—Feminine Verb used with Masculine Subject.—Proposed Explanations.—Origin of the Syllabary.—Akkadian Reform.—Phonetic Determinatives.—Inversed Reading of Compound Signs.—Material for Writing.—Arrangement of the Groups on the Inscriptions.—Groups Partly Reversed.—Semitic Names of Stars and Gods.—Akkadian Phonetically Spelt.—Semitic Words Borrowed by Akkadian.—Akkadian Ideograms.—Akkadian and Semitic Orientation.—Semitic Period Forgotten.—Everything Attributed to the Akkadians.—Greek Traditions.—Legend of Ninus.—Sargon.—Royal Canon.—Antediluvian Kings, Semitic.—Second Period.—Akkadian Establishment.—Third Period.—Struggle of the Sumero-Akkadians and the Kassites.—Legend of Semiramis.—Fourth Period.—Semitic Supremacy.—The so-called Secret Writing.—Conclusion.

Assyriology offers such a vast field still unexplored that it is hardly possible to open a new tract without falling on some unexpected discovery. That is how, studying Babylonian astronomy, a subject so difficult that few scholars have ventured to take it, I arrived, after many doubts and hesitations, at the conclusion that, when the Akkadians appeared in Mesopotamia, the country was already occupied by a Semitic population possessing a certain degree of civilization and the art of writing.

It required many strong evidences to bring me round to this opinion, for I, like most Assyriologists, accepting the statement of the Babylonians themselves, and also through an excusable and natural enthusiastic desire to attribute all the highest achievements to the Akkadians, looked at them as the inventors of the Cuneiform writing, and the first civilizers of Western Asia.

Though the Assyriologists were unanimous on the matter, they held very different opinions as to the way in which this Akkadian civilization was developed and imparted to the Babylonians, for the Babylonians attributing indeed everything to the Akkadians make no clear statement as to the origin of their civilization. Two opinions prevailed. Some thought that the Akkadians were in possession of the country, and had made the first steps in civilization, and invented writing, when the Semites invaded it either violently by force of arms or peacefully by slow colonization, substituting themselves little by little for the previous inhabitants. Others thought that the Akkadians invaded Babylonia, bringing "with them along with their religion, their legends and traditions, their laws, their art, their building knowledge, agricultural skill, and that great civilizer of nations—the art of writing." These were, however, mere suppositions, for, as far back as we can go, we see Semites and Akkadians living side by side on friendly terms, all remembrance even of the period of struggle of the two races seeming to have been lost in the Babylonian literature.

It is the study of the names of the stars in astrological texts of the Cuneiform inscriptions which revealed to me first the priority of the Semitic civilization. As already noticed by the late F. Lenormant,[1] several names of stars are evidently Semitic, and these Semitic names are found in the Akkadian column of the bilingual list as:

D.P. *da-pi-nu*,[2]

D.P. *bi-ib-bu*,[3] etc.

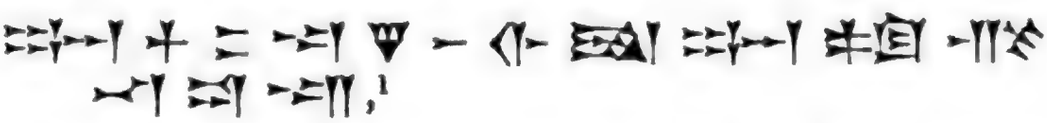
More often, however, the names of stars are written ideographically, but their Semitic reading is made certain by the presence in the compound of prepositions, of the relative *ša*, and of the phonetic complements. For instance,

is explained by *mus-ta-bar-ru mu-ta-nu*,[4]

[1] Who however admits inability to detect the cause of this anomaly.
[2] W.A.I. vol. ii. pl. 48, l. 50.
[3] *ibid.* l. 53. These words are also found in the Semitic column in other lists.
[4] W.A.I. vol. v. pl. 46, l. 42. In the following pages, in the quotations of this work, the first number will indicate the volume, the second the plate, and the third the line.

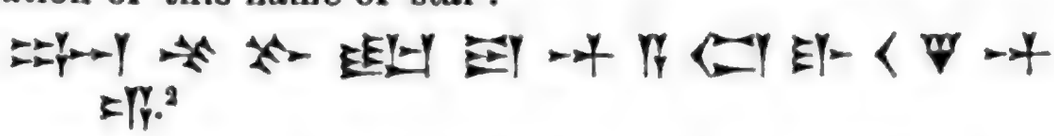
therefore this name must be Semitic, as *anu* is the formative of the plural in Semitic Babylonian, and not in Akkadian; and are ideograms to be read in the Semitic language.

There is still less doubt in this name:

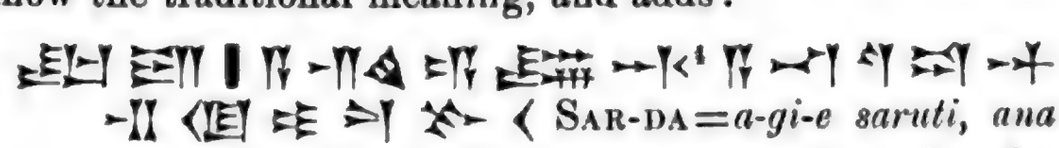


which must be read *kakkab maš tabba ša ina ši-id kakkab sib-zi-na izzuzu* 'the double twin star which is fixed by the side of the star sibzina.' In this sentence we have the relative *ša* and the preposition *ina*, *ši-id* written phonetically, and the ideogram with the phonetic complement *zu*.

In many cases the Babylonians, themselves attributing all their knowledge to an Akkadian origin, have tried to explain these Semitic names of stars by the Akkadian, and often failed to give an explanation in agreement with the meaning preserved traditionally. We have a striking example in W.A.I. vol. ii. pl. 47, l. 15 to l. 23. The tablet reproduced there contains part of a commentary explaining some astrological works. The scribe therefore tries to give an explanation of this name of star:



The scribe gives as translation[3] for *maladdu*, and compares it to translated by *mar-rim*; for he gives three different readings with three translations; but he seems to know the traditional meaning, and adds:



SAR-DA=*a-gi-e saruti*, *ana aṣu ilu bel kī qabū*, 'SARDA=crown of royalty, for the rising of God, the lord, as they say.'

[1] W.A.I. iii. 37, 58.

[2] W.A.I. ii. 47, 16; and v. 46, 12, in this last list is added after *šame*, to be read *rabu* 'great,' qualificative of *šame*, with the determinative prefix of divinity, *divinely great*, so to say.

[3] W.A.I. ii. 47, 17-23.

[4] This tablet is written in a peculiar style; *ti* is always written instead of .

The name of the star is, however, clear enough: the scribe would not have had to dismiss it in this off-handed way, if he had not obstinately looked at it with the preconceived idea that it was Akkadian, and is to be read:

nabu sarda D.P. anim rubu ša šame 'it proclaims the royalty of Anu, prince of heaven.'

bu is the phonetic complement of the ideogram 'a word,' and here for 'speak, proclaim, announce,' *u* that of 'prince,' and that of 'heaven' (this last is often found so written), *sarda* is the accusative in the construct state regimen of the verb and written phonetically, *anim* genitive with mimmation is also written phonetically, *ša* is the relative used as in Assyrian to express the emphatic genitive.

The scribes had even, in some cases, lost the tradition of the meaning. We have, for instance, the name , ideogram explained by *ḫa-ba-ṣi-ra-nu*,[1] and translated 'tail' by Prof. Sayce, who is probably right; the phonetic reading was no doubt used in the astrological texts, as is the case for other names.[2] The scribe who wrote the tablet published in W.A.I. vol. v. pl. 46, seems, however, to have forgotten that, and tries to explain the word by treating it as Akkadian phonetically written.

ḫa-ba is rendered by *aḫbut*, the Assyrianized feminine form of the supposed Akkadian word *ḫaba*, and *ṣi-ra-nu* is explained by *ṣir Anu* 'the field of Anu.'[3]

Many other examples could be added.

As already noticed by the late F. Lenormant,[4] Akkadian contains many Semitic words; it is what we should expect.

[1] W.A.I. ii. 49, 47.

[2] We find and , the first group being a compound ideogram, and the second the phonetic rendering, both used in connected texts.

[3] This explanation is the more curious because Akkadian is never written phonetically in this way, and in this supposed compound the god Anu would be written in a very abnormal way, and the scribe had to neglect the name of another god *Nin-gir-su*, one of the oldest, whose name is found on the earliest inscriptions, and the great god of Gudea. The group of stars designated by the compound ideogram represented, no doubt, the tail of this god.

[4] In his *Etudes Akkadiennes*.

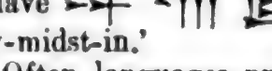
He, however, explains it by a long intercourse, but in this case the oldest texts would be purer and freer from borrowed words, which is not the case; in the oldest inscriptions we find already these Semitic words more or less Akkadianized, as in the later times. These words besides, as we shall see further on, indicate a more advanced state of civilization. If we accept the priority of the Semitic civilization, and their occupation of Mesopotamia previous to the Akkadian invasion, everything is easily explained, and we see how the syntactical order of the languages of the two populations, which has been a puzzle to the philologist, is the result of mutual influences, both having as formula V 2 4 5 8.

When the Akkadians invaded Babylonia, the formula[1] of their grammar was I 1 3 5 8, this is shown by the order of the incorporated pronouns.[2] The grammar of the Semitic population in possession of the land had the formula IV 2 4 6 7. This is shown by the position of the pronouns when united to the verb at the permansive, which is the verbal noun in the construct state. For instance, in *saknāt-ka* 'she places thee,' we have *sakna* the verb, *at* the suffix of the 3rd pers. feminine subject, and *ka* the suffix of the 2nd pers. in regimen.[3] This ideological order is the one preserved in Hebrew and Arabic which has escaped to the Turanian influence.[4]

[1] I adopt the ingenious formulæ designed by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie for his syntactical comparative study in his course of lectures at University College. The indices are:

I a.+s.+v.
II a.+v.+s.
III v.+a.+s.
IV v.+s.+a.
V s.+a.+v.
VI s.+v.+a.

1 gen.+n. 2 n.+gen. 3 adj.+n. 4 n.+adj.
5 a.+v. 6 v.+a. 7 v.+s. 8 s.+v.

[2] The primitive position of the Akkadian genitive and adjective, which is given in this formula, is preserved in the compound expressions, as usually happens, so we have  *ana-saga-šu* 'in the midst of the sky,' word for word 'sky-midst-in.'

[3] Often languages preserve in the verbal forms traces of the different stages through which they have passed. For instance, in French *Le chat tue la souris* gives s.+v.+a. of formula VI, which is the one of modern French; but, when the nouns are represented by pronouns *il la tue*, it gives s.+a.+v., which is the Latin formula; if now we consider that in the verb *tu-e* the subject is expressed by the suffix *e*, we have *la tu-e* a.+v.+s. formula II, which is that of the early Aryan languages.

[4] I say Turanian influence, because I accept the Turanian affinity of Akkadian.

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When the two populations came in contact, they must have found in the different, nay opposed, ideological order of their languages a great impediment in their intercourse. The Akkadian conquerors imposed their language; but, to be understood, they had to modify their syntax, and little by little these changes passed into the pure Akkadian. The Akkadians adopted partly the syntactical order of their Semitic subjects. The order of the nominative and genitive, of the noun and adjective, were reversed; the verb was left at the end of the sentence, but with the position of the subject and object reversed. The primitive ideological order was preserved in the verbal incorporation, no doubt, because the Semites having no such incorporation, it escaped their influence. The Akkadian texts give few, though very few, examples of the primitive syntactical order.[1]

The language of the primitive Babylonian Semites, which caused such a perturbation in the Akkadian grammar, was also deeply affected, as we see by the Assyrian of the literary period. It kept, when it was only a popular vernacular dialect, for a longer period its primitive syntactical order.[2] The proper names of the Semites preserved in the earliest commercial documents give us indeed specimens of the intermediary stages through which it had to pass. In these proper names we have many examples of verbs followed by their subjects, as *nidin-Nana*[3] 'N. gave,' *bani-Sin*[4] 'S. created,' *erib-Sin*[5] 'S. came,' *iribam-Sin*[6] 'S. increased,'

[1] These examples, already noticed by F. Lenormant, were considered by him as abnormal constructions.

[2] At Nineveh, which was far from the Akkadian centre of civilization, and where the Akkadians had remained, perhaps, in smaller number, the writers followed less closely the Babylonian syntactical order. Even in the official records of the Ninevite kings there is a great liberty in the arrangement of the words, the regimen of the verb is often rejected after it, etc. We have also in the Babylonian Semitic texts examples of similar inversions; but, of course, in literary works we must take into account the desire of the author for giving variety to his periods and the licence in which he indulges.

[3] B. 66, l. 34, and B. 83, l. 8. The private tablets of this early period (Rim-Sin, Hammurabi and Samšu-Iluna) have been copied by Dr. Strassmaier and published in the Transactions of the Orientalists' Congress held at Berlin.

[4] B. 57, l. 14.

[5] B. 42, l. 35.

[6] B. 65, l. 14; 71, l. 31; 91, l. 22, etc.

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ibni-Sin[1] 'S. created,' *igmil-Sin*[2] 'S. favoured,' *ibus-Ea*[3] 'E. made,' *izkur-Ea*[4] 'Ea recorded,' etc. The proper names giving a complete sentence with an object are naturally rare; the examples we have show, however, that the object, being less intimately connected to the verb, was first rejected before; this is the intermediary stage, the formula of this construction being II:

arda-luštamar-Šamaš[5] 'may Shamas enlighten the slave.'
Samaš-ia-banīt-Beltu-Gula[6] 'the lady Gula has created my light.

To understand well the transformation of the early Babylonian grammar, we must not forget how the tenses of the Semitic verb were developed.[7] The Assyrian permansive, which took such a great importance in the cognate languages, was primitively the verbal theme, or a kind of verbal noun in the construct state followed by the pronominal suffixes forming a genitive of position: *nasa-ku*, 1st pers. permansive of *nasu*, is 'the bringing of me' or 'my bringing,' *i.e.* 'I bring or brought.' The name *Bani-Sin* gives an example of a noun being attached to the verb as the pronoun; the meaning is 'Sin created,' but really 'the creating of Sin.' This way of expression not being found clear enough, the Semites, by the use of auxiliaries, developed another tense, the aorist;[8] but, as the auxiliary became in time agglutinated

[1] B. 32, l. 7; 62, l. 34; 78, l. 27, etc.
[2] B. 65, l. 22; 73, 30.
[3] B. 57, l. 43; 84, l. 21; 89, l. 18, etc.
[4] B. 89, l. 18.
[5] B. 52, l. 15; 73, l. 9. See also Pinches, S.B.A. Proceedings, 1st December, 1885, p. 9.
[6] S.B.A. Proceedings, 1885-6, p. 48, l. 33. In this name *Samaš* means not the Sun-god, but the 'guiding light,' as we say 'his guiding star,' and the French *astre* or *étoile*.
[7] See Bertin, *Suggestions on the Formation of the Semitic Tenses*, Journal of the R.A.S. Vol. XIV. pp. 105–118.
[8] This tense is called present or future by those who wrote Arabic grammars, but this name cannot suit, as in Assyrian it designated generally the past, and became the historical tense. I have proposed, in the paper quoted above, the name of aorist-past for the permansive or preterit of the Hebrew, and aorist-present for the other tense, in imitation of the terms adopted by de Rougé in his Egyptian Grammar. The permansive, as we know it in the late inscriptions, was not the one used in the early period, the first person in *ku*, and the third (this being the verbal theme in the masculine or feminine) may be the primitive forms, but the second person appears to be a later form introduced by Aramæan in-

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to the verbal noun, and was considered as forming only one word with it, the subject was placed after by the Pre-Akkadian Semites, as in Arabic and Hebrew; we have, therefore, such names as Igmil-Sin, Izkur-Ea, Ibni-Sin, etc. The nearly complete loss of the permansive in Babylonian and Assyrian is due, no doubt, to Akkadian influence. The preformatives of the aorist were, by false analogy, compared to the incorporated pronouns of the Akkadian verb, and this tense, being more easily understood by the Akkadian conquerors, was the one mostly used by the conquered Semites.

The force and origin of the suffixes of the permansive and of the prefixes of the aorist were lost at an early date, and that is not due to Akkadian influence, as the same thing happened in the cognate Arabic and Hebrew. We found, therefore, the pronominal suffixes of the accusative attached to the verb and followed by the noun subject:

etel-ka-Sin.[1]

The most important conclusion to which the study of these early proper names brings us is that the Babylonian Semites, before the arrival of the Akkadians, possessed already the fully-developed Semitic grammar: construct state and cases in the nouns as in Arabic, abstracts formed by the feminine suffixes, permansive, aorist and voices formed by affixes,[2] etc., as in Hebrew and other cognate tongues. The difference with later Babylonian is indeed most trifling, as the use of the mimmation with the verb as in *iribam-Sin*, which is still noticed in the inscriptions of Hammurabi, and the use of *d* (perhaps *ṭ*) by the side of *t* in the formation of abstracts, as in *sarda*, construct of *sarutu*.

There is, however, a peculiarity which would be of very great importance, if it could be established beyond doubt,

fluence; the primitive forms of the permansive, which are composed by suffixing the personal possessive pronouns, must have been very similar to the aorist of Ethiopian.

[1] B. 42, l. 12; 53, l. 13, etc.

[2] The form *luštamar*, which we have seen above, is the precative of the secondary Shaphel voice or Istaphel.

that is, what appears to be the use of the feminine for the masculine in the third person of the permansive, we have:

nabat kakkabu[1] 'the star proclaims,'

where the masculine noun in the nominative *kakkabu* seems to be the subject of *nabat*, third person fem. of the permansive of *nabū*.

nidnat Sin[2] 'Sin gave,'

where the verb is also in the feminine. There are other examples, but, as stated before, we have also the 3rd pers. masc.; the use of the feminine would not, therefore, be exclusive, and these examples would only indicate a tendency.[3]

Was there, we may ask, in Mesopotamia, when the Semites arrived in it, an older population having a different grammatical conception, and under the influence of which this tendency would have been developed? or are we to see in it the result of an Akkadian influence, the Akkadian not being a sex-denoting language? or has it, after all, come simply from a natural decay, as in Egyptian?

There may be still another explanation. As we have seen, the permansive was not properly a tense, but the verbal theme followed by the suffixes of the pronouns, these being in the genitive by position. *Bani-Sin* 'the creating of Sin,' came to mean 'Sin created' only by development, as it happened also in Egyptian. The 3rd person of the permansive, for the same reason, has no suffix, for the noun subject was, so to say, suffixed to the verb, and ought to be followed by a feminine noun as well as by a masculine one. We find among the proper names, indeed, *gamil-Gula*,[4] which may be considered as the 3rd pers. of a permansive, followed by the name of the goddess, and 'the favour of Gula' is 'Gula favours,' as in the case of *Bani-Sin*. The use of this tense, formed by means of suffixes with the noun as subject,

[1] W.A.I. v. 46, l. 40. There exists in Syriac a feminine form for the word 'star,' but here the termination shows that we have a masculine word.

[2] B. 30, l. 24; 36, l. 24; 42, l. 29.

[3] On the other side, we have feminine noun with verb in the masculine, as *Nidin-Nana* and *Gamil-Gula*.

[4] Strassmaier, No. 24, l. 23.

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must have arisen in the Semitic tongues only when the notion of its formation had been lost, or perhaps also from the emphatic repetition of the subject.[1] In early Babylonian, as in the other Semitic tongues, the abstract nouns were formed by the suffix *at*, which is also the suffix of the 3rd pers. fem. of the permansive. In the cases mentioned before we may have abstracts in the construct state, *nabat kakkabu*[2] would be 'the proclamation or proclaiming of the star,' *nidnat-Sin* 'the gift or giving of Sin,' which carry to the mind exactly the same sense as the permansive.

What, however, seems to contradict this explanation is the fact that in the proper names of the earliest commercial documents we often find names composed with the same elements, but reversed, as *Sin-turam*[3] and *turam-ilia*,[4] *Gamil-Sin*[5] and *Sin-Gamil*,[6] and also the same root as the aorist form *igmil-Sin*;[7] if *turam* and *gamil* are verbal forms, so are no doubt the forms in *at*.

If we now turn to the syllabary, we find a great many proofs of the priority of the Semitic civilization.

It has been said that the Cuneiform syllabary is very badly adapted to Assyrian, but the same may be said with still more reason as regards Akkadian; the vowels, for instance, which play an important part in this language, are often doubtful. When the Akkadian conquerors tried to apply to their language the system of writing, partly ideographic and partly phonetic, of their Semitic subjects, they had to modify and reform it in a certain measure. The ideograms were taken bodily, but read in accordance with the Akkadian vocabulary; these new pronunciations were taken as new phonetic values, though in many cases the Semitic value was retained; hence the polyphonism. In practice, however,

[1] In the Latin tongues, and especially in French, the subject is expressed in the same way, though the person is implied by the flexion.

[2] We should expect the genitive *kakkabi* in this case, though the Babylonians often neglected it; we find *Belit biri* and *Belit biru* 'the lady of Wisdom,' one of the names of Tasmetum.

[3] B. 24, l. 25.

[4] B. 55, l. 24.

[5] B. 52, l. 60; 95, l. 22.

[6] B. 97, l. 2.

[7] See above.

all the values were not accepted by the two populations, some remained exclusively Akkadian, and some exclusively Semitic.[1]

It may even be that at first there were two distinct syllabaries, and that the phonetic values passed from one syllabary into the other slowly, as words passed from one vocabulary into the other.

The Akkadian scribes seem to have felt the want of precising more accurately the pronunciation of the words expressed by the ideograms. In a great many cases they wrote the pronunciation inside or by the side of them, as:

and *a-lim.*[2]

u-ru.[3]

za for *aza.*[4]

and a great many others.

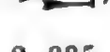
This system of explaining the pronunciation of an ideogram by another group has been also resorted to by the Egyptian scribes: it is what is called phonetic determinatives.

When the Akkadians had to borrow a Semitic word, expressed by an ideogram, they felt more than ever the want of determining its pronunciation. For example, the word for 'price' *šimu* in Assyrian passed into Akkadian, its Akkadianized form is therefore written inside *še-am.*[5]

[1] F. Lenormant has already pointed out this, and lays a great deal of stress on it. Many values used in the Babylonian Semitic texts must have come through Sumerian, as they indicate the phonetic changes of the two dialects. This arises, perhaps, because the Semitic renaissance took place when the Sumerian had acquired the supremacy, and some of the phonetic peculiarities of Sumerian may be due to the Semitic influence.

[2] T. G. Pinches, *Archaic Forms of B. Characters*, in the Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung, vol. ii. p. 153. As the author here notices, the Sumerian texts give *e-lum*, written phonetically without the ideogram, that is one of the peculiarities of Sumerian, which being a dialect has developed the phonetism more than Akkadian. In Sumerian texts, when the words are expressed by ideograms, they are to be read in their dialectical forms, and it is when the Semitic Babylonians adopted these ideograms that they introduced Sumerian values in their syllabary.

[3] W.A.I. i. 1, 99. The name of the character is *ugudili* (W.A.I. iii. 70, 33); but as Prof. Sayce has noticed (S.B.A. vol. vi. p. 469), when the characters of the syllabary were classified and named, the Babylonians had lost all idea of their primitive form and origin.

[4] W.A.I. iii. 70, 82. No doubt such is also the origin of the ideogram for 'tongue' *eme* , that is  with *me* inside, indicating the pronunciation.

[5] W.A.I. ii. 2, 335 This ideogram is of very common use in the commercial documents down to the latest period. I have been very careful not to speak of the Semites as the inventors of writing, for I wish not to treat of this question

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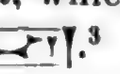
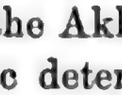
All the pronunciations written in this way are Akkadian, which shows that the reform was done by the Akkadians; the Semites, however, adopted these signs so modified as mere ideograms, retaining the Akkadian explanations added to the primitive groups, no doubt to maintain terms understood by both populations.

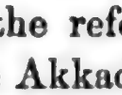
There is a very interesting group, full of revelation; the ideogram for 'mother' *umu* in Assyrian; the primitive Semite term was no doubt *ama*, preserved in the Hebrew אָמָה 'handmaid,' triliteralized form of *ma*, which has been preserved in Egyptian. The Semites before the Akkadian invasion had the group *ma* [1] for 'mother.' When the Akkadians adopted the writing, they wrote in the group the pronunciation of *an* or *ana*, which was their term for 'mother,' thus:  [2] and  .[3] The Semites adopted this reformed group as an ideogram; but the Semitic word was in course of time adopted by the Akkadians, so that the group remained with the phonetic determinative of a word, abandoned only as a witness of the reform of the syllabary. It might be objected that the Akkadians would not borrow such a word as 'mother,' but it is easily explained for the Akkadians, as all the successful invaders must have taken wives from the conquered population; the Semitic mother of the young Akkadians taught their children to call them *ama* and not *ana*,[4] so the word passed into Akkadian.

The priority of the Semitic knowledge of writing explains the Akkadian reversed reading of certain compound groups. The Semites, to give the ideographic idea of 'king,' formed

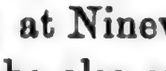
now, though there is evidence to show that they borrowed this art. When the Semites used it, they never reformed it, and till the latest period they employed the same cumbrous and ill-fitted syllabary.

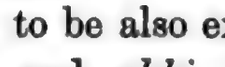
[1] We have no example of the use of this group with the meaning of 'mother,' but we have no document of the early period in which it would have been in use.

[2] W.A.I. iv. 14, 24.

[3] Sayce's Syll. No. 147. In the early texts the phonetic complement is written outside, thus:  .

[4] In our modern languages we see foreign words for other reasons taking the place of such fundamental native ones, as in English *papa* for *dada*, the infantine appellation for 'father,' in French *babé*, is now mostly used; this came through fashion. In Akkadian *ama* was substituted for *ana*, because the mother's language is that of home, as the language of the priest is that of church; all the Mahomedan countries have for this reason adopted the word *Alla* for 'God.'

the group ,[1] analysed , the sign for the great one, the prince *rubu*, and the sign for 'men,' *nišu*.[2] When the Akkadians adopted the Babylonian syllabary, they translated the two compounds according to their ideological order, not yet modified by Semitic influence, *lu-gal* 'men's chief'; but treating the compound group as a single ideogram, they did not change the order of its two elements; on account of this there always was from the earliest period a tendency to fuse the two characters into one, so that it became in time at Nineveh, and  at Babylon.

So is to be also explained  , composed of *gal* 'chief,' and *ukḳi* 'assembly,' in Assyrian *puḥru*.[3] The Akkadian following this primitive ideological order said 'assembly's chief' *ukḳi-gal*, which became *ḳigal*, explained in Assyrian by *muhiru*[4] 'leader.' In the same way is no doubt to be also explained the other compound ideograms with reversed reading.[5]

The words or ideographical compound groups in which parts of their elements, generally the second and third, are reversed, have, however, another origin, and proceed from the primitive system of arranging the groups together.

The earliest documents appear to have been written on narrow strips of papyrus, bark, or leaves,[6] divided in small columns containing two or three, rarely four, characters in their width, the groups forming one expression, as 'son of so and so,' 'my god so and so,' 'strong king,' 'I built it,'

[1] I give here the archaic form, which has preserved clearly the compounding elements.

[2] *Nišu* means 'men' as a collective, for this reason it also translates *kalamma* 'country.'

[3] W.A.I. ii. 2, 398.

[4] *ibid.* ii. 1. 126.

[5] There are few compounds in which the position of the elements indicates that they must have been created by the Akkadian before they had changed their grammar; these compounds represent ideas which did not exist among the Semites previous to the Akkadian invasion.

[6] Sayce, *Use of Papyrus*, etc., S.B.A. Trans. vol. i. p. 343 *et seq.* The use of papyrus or other similar materials was kept at all periods (see Pinches, S.B.A. Trans. vol. vi. p. 210). I take the opportunity to notice that the form of the characters depends very much on the material used. The lineary characters are traced on soft stones, as sand-stone, for instance, and are no proof of the higher antiquity of the document. We find inscriptions of the same king written some in lineary and some in cuneiform characters.

etc., were separated by a line. This primitive arrangement was retained when other materials were used for writing, stone, clay, etc., though the new materials afforded the means of a better arrangement; so we see the cylinder of Gudea divided in these narrow columns, many words having to be divided when larger columns would have enabled the scribe to write easily the whole of the words in one line. The columns followed one another from top to bottom, and the divisions of each column from right to left, but the groups of characters in each division of the column were arranged rather irregularly, though always beginning in the right-hand top corner, the second character was placed either on the left of the first or under it. This margin left to the scribe has thrown a certain confusion in the grouping of characters. The following diagram[1] will give an idea of these variations:

2 1 3 4	3 2 1 4	1 4 2 5 3	4 1 3 5 2	2 1 4 3	3 1 4 2
3 2 1 4	2 1 3	4 1 2 6 5 3	1 3 2	3 1 2	1 2 3
				etc.	4 3 1 2

Col. I.

Col. II.

Col. III.

So we find in the early inscriptions, for instance:

[2] and [3]

[1] The irregular arrangement of the characters in each division reminds us of the Maya system of writing, sometimes called calculiform writing. There was the same or still greater hesitation and incertitude as to the sequence of the various elements in each division. There was, however, it seems, a greater tendency to arrange the characters in columns in Cuneiform as in Egyptian, especially if their forms fitted to this arrangement; as for the name of Lagaš (see above). It must be borne in mind that at a later time the Babylonian scribes altered their way of writing, so that the characters were placed on the side; therefore, the columns ran from left to right, and the groups followed one another also from left to right. It is thus that we print it in our quotations.

[2] Unpublished inscription, but this order is rare for this name.

[3] De Sarsec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 4, A; pl. 6, No. 4. It is the grouping mostly used no doubt because the characters fitted better in this order.

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It must also be granted that, if the Semites had adopted a syllabary already invented by the Akkadians, they would have either borrowed bodily the ideogram corresponding to the Akkadian gods, or would have written the name of theirs phonetically. This is not the case; the Semites, though they seem to have identified their gods with those of the Akkadians, have a different set of ideograms to represent them. The ideograms of the Akkadian gods can besides often be explained by the Akkadian phonetic reading of their components, and the names of the Semitic gods are rarely explained by reading the characters phonetically; but when it is so, the Semitic, not the Akkadian, value of the signs must be taken. In other cases the names are compound ideogrammatic groups.

As already noticed, many words passed from Akkadian into the Semitic Babylonian, and from the latter into the former. Many Akkadian words were borrowed at the earliest period, when they had not yet lost their ending in *ka*, and before it had been weakened into *ga*.[1] On the other side, certain words which had no ideogram, because they expressed ideas unknown to the Semites, had to be written phonetically in Akkadian, as 𒁀 𒂗 𒋫 *pa-te-si*.[2]

The words borrowed by the Akkadians from their Semitic subjects indicate a more advanced state of civilization, like *sîm* 'price,' *ma-na* 'a mine' or 'measure,' always written phonetically even in the earliest Akkadian texts,[3] *amel* 'slave,'[4] etc.

Before leaving the syllabary, another group of evidence

[1] See S.B.A. Proceedings, vol. v. p. 20.

[2] The word is always written phonetically even in the inscriptions of Ur-Baû, and in the lineary inscriptions. It is a thorough Turanian word, representing an idea unknown to the Semites, and for which there was no ideogram in the Semitic hieroglyphic writing. From this word very likely came the eastern *Padisha* (De Sarsec, *Déc. en Chaldée*, pl. 8; also pl. 6, No. 4, etc.).

[3] De Sarsec, pl. 8, inscription of the Ur-Bau, also in the lineary inscriptions in the B.M. 82-7-14.

[4] I have no doubt of the Semitic origin of this word, which meant a man as a worker. The word in Hebrew and Arabic has, as first vowel, the guttural ע, which is often represented in Babylonian by a simple vowel. I do not give any more examples, which would require too much space in order to prove by comparison that the words are really Semitic. Akkadists are too prone to admit that words have been borrowed from Akkadian.

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of the priority of the Semites in the knowledge of writing must be pointed out, that is, the very formation of the ideograms. The Akkadians brought with them the 'horse.' If they had invented the writing, they would have had an ideogram for such an important animal. This is not so. They use the Babylonian sign for 'ass,' which denotes a great many large quadrupeds, followed by the sign for 'country.' The horse was therefore in their eyes the animal *of* the country *par excellence*. It is written in Babylonian :

The sign for 'behind' represents the two heels, and designates also the West, that is, the country which the Semites left 'behind' when they arrived first in Mesopotamia.

This raises the interesting question of the orientation of the temples and other buildings. The orientation plays an important part in all religions. If the Semites had a conception different from that of the Akkadians, they must have had a different orientation, and traces ought to be found in the monuments. In a note published several years ago[1] I pointed out the difference of orientation of the oldest monument of Babylon, that is, the temple of Bel, known as the temple of Nimrod by the Babylonian Jewish and Arabic writers, the temple of the Lower World, or the Lower Land. The monuments in Babylonia are all such as to be certain as to the points of the compass. The only question is, Is the temple of Bel oriented after the points of the compass, or after the points of the horizon?

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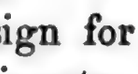
The sign for 'behind'  represents the two heels, and designates also the West, that is, the country which the Semites left 'behind' when they arrived first in Mesopotamia.

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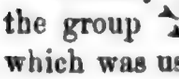
[1] It may be that we have here another example of phonetic determinative, as the group  *kur-ra* gives the Akkadian pronunciation of the word, which was used till a very late date, sometimes without the prefix (S.B.A. Proc. vol. iv. p. 13, l. 8, 11, 16, 19, 20 and 23, and p. 14, etc.).

[2] S.B.A. Proceed. vol. v. p. 75. I will repeat here what I said then, for I was, I am afraid, misunderstood. The ancients had primitively no idea of the cardinal *points* as we understand them. The north, for instance, was not a *point* to which they could direct from several places their eyes, but a region. In fact two people might have walked towards the north (*mer-t-meh* in Egyptian) though walking obliquely from one another. The more accurate notion of the Egyptians as to the *cardinal regions* is due to the position of the valley in which they dwelt spreading from south to north, and the less accurate Babylonian notion on account of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates spreading from north-west to south-east.

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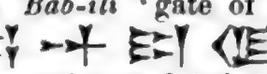
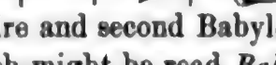
tion of the Egyptian monuments. Though we must admit a different influence to explain the different orientation, we can hardly admit that of Egypt in a later time, for the temple of E-sagil is always designated by the Babylonians as the oldest temple; round it seems to be gathered the most ancient legends; it is in fact the starting-point from which the growing city developed, as Rome did from the Capitol.[1] It is therefore likely, not to say certain, that this temple was built and orientated according to the Semitic notions before the arrival of the Akkadians. These barbarians, who knew no building but the huts in which they used to dwell, were struck by the height of the temple of Babel, and called it *e-sag-il* 'house of the high head.' During their long rule the name was adopted by the Semites; but from the traditions reported by the classics, it seems that an older name, 'Temple of Bell,' clung to it in the popular mind.

The Akkadian and Sumerian supremacy lasted such a long time that we cannot be surprised if the Babylonians had lost even the remembrance of the Semitic period of independence

[1] The name of the citadel of Rome has a similar etymology to the Babylonian temple, *e-sag-il*. As for the name of Babylon itself, there are many explanations. Some follow the Jews, and take it from *Babel* 'confusion,' on account of the many languages spoken there; but this fact would prove that it is not primitive, as, if there were people of many languages in the town when it was named Babel, this name is not primitive. Others say that this name is a play on the name *Bab-ili* 'gate of God,' which is itself a translation of the Akkadian  *Ka-dingir-ra-ki*. At the time of the second Ninevite empire and second Babylonian Semitic empire, we find  , which might be read *Bab-ilani* 'gate of gods,' and the name phonetically spelt is *Ba-bi-il-u*, *Ba-bi-i-li* or *Ba-bi-i-lam*. Sometimes the double *i* is not expressed, *Ba-bi-lu*, etc. Perhaps on account of the different spellings some argue that the Akkadian name is the translation of a Semitic expression, but only of the sounds, not of the meaning (as we have seen for *habaṣiranu*); but this does not explain the etymology of *Babel*. I will venture in adding two more explanations to the several already given. 1. *Ba* is the primitive Semitic word for 'house' (see Bertin, *Origin of the Phœnician Alphabet*, p. 12; it has been preserved in בָּבָה 'cavity, aperture, gate,' and in the preposition בְּ, see Gesenius's Dict.), and the god *par excellence* of the Semites was *Bel* 'the lord'; we have therefore *Ba-bel* 'the house of Bel,' as we have בְּעֶשְׁתְּרָה 'the house of Istar,' towns often taking for name that of the temple round which they grew (the etymology of *bab-bel* 'the door of Bel,' has been proposed long ago, see Gesenius Dict., *sub voce*). 2. It may be taken from the verb *babalu* 'to dispense,' with the idea of 'to benefit'; if applied to the temple, it would be the participle *babilu* 'the benefactor, 'the dispensing one.' We have *Babilat nuḫsi* as one of the names of the Tigris, on account of his bringing fecundity to the land (W.A.I. ii. 1, 25).

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before the Turanian invasion. At the time of the Semitic renaissance the scribes attributed everything to the Akkadians, and regarded them as their masters in every branch of sciences and arts. They borrowed Akkadian words wholesale. All the traditions were carried back and attributed to the Akkadians, the names of the gods, the names of the stars, and even many other thorough Semitic words, were explained by Akkadian. In other cases the Semitic words and names were translated into Akkadian badly Semiticized, and these hybrid forms used in preference to the real Semitic expressions.[1] Akkadian became the language of the learned, as Latin in the Middle Ages. Even at the highest period of the Semitic supremacy Nebuchadnezzar, in his inscriptions, affects to use Akkadian words in their oldest form, and Akkadian expressions found in the texts of the earliest rulers, and as late as the reign of Seleucus we see the scribes using an imitation of the most ancient style of writing.

Something similar happened in England after the Norman Conquest. The Normans, being in a minority, could only for a time impose their language, and little by little the Anglo-Saxon element came up again to the surface. The Norman rule was, however, long enough to influence deeply the language. At the renaissance of letters the savants of the time, imbued with the classical literature, especially as French had remained the court language, looked for everything to Latin sources, even to explain the etymology of words: 'heir' was written with an *h* to assimilate it to the Latin *heres*.

What contributed, no doubt, to propagate the false notion of the Akkadian origin of the Babylonian civilization is the transformation through which the Akkadians themselves passed. When they appeared in Babylonia, they were mere barbarians; but, like the Goths in Italy and Spain, and the Franks in Gallia, they adopted the civilization of the con-

[1] The same thing happened in Egypt; but there it was a Semitic invasion of words which threatened the language of the Pharaohs. It became the fashion to Semiticize everything; if the word did not exist in the Semitic language, an Egyptian word was disfigured to give it a Semitic appearance (Maspero, Histoire Ancienne, p. 337).

quered population, with the changes necessary to suit their genius. Their kings encouraged science and literature; their and the Semitic legends and folklore were an inexhaustible mine exploited by the poets and artists; the traditions and religions of the two populations were assimilated or incorporated. It is difficult, if not impossible, for us to separate the two elements, as is the case with the Greek and Latin mythologies, so much mixed by the Roman poets that, with more documents than in the case of the Semitico-Akkadian legends, it requires all the criticism of modern science to extricate one from the other.

Though we do not find bilingual inscriptions before Hammurabi, the Semitic language was not despised and excluded. We see the early poets writing works in the Semitic as well as in the Akkadian language,[1] just as happened in England under the Norman kings when the same authors used to write in French as well as in English.

The Greek authors, who wrote about Assyria and Babylonia, never consulted the learned Babylonian scribes, but seem to have gathered their information from ignorant dragomans; these always gave the popular accounts and traditions, and we may find in these faint echoes of the first period. The Semites came into Mesopotamia, not through the Syrian Desert, but probably through the ordinary way of Northern Syria, the road of commerce at later times. They peopled, naturally, Assyria first, and after extended southward in the fertile regions of Babylonia; so it was related that Ninus founded Nineveh before the existence of Babylon. When the Semites had arrived at a certain degree of civilization, the barbarians, attracted by the wealth of this country, invaded it, and overran all Western Asia, from the Mediterranean Sea to the 'Mountains of the East.'[2]

[1] An unpublished fragment of a tablet in the British Museum gives a portion of a list of classic authors, with the names of their works; these show that the same authors have written poems or relations in Akkadian and also in Semitic Babylonian. Prof. Sayce has, in the preface of the second edition of G. Smith's Chaldæan Genesis, given a translation of the greatest part of this fragment.

[2] This name is the one given by the Babylonians to that mountain chain extending from Armenia to the east side of the Persian Gulf. It seems to mark the limit which the Semitic element never passed to settle in a permanent way.

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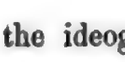
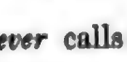
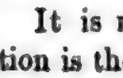
These barbarians were called by the classics under the convenient name of Scythians, but they called themselves *Uri* 'the strong ones,' translated by the Semites by *Akkad*.[1] Coming from the north, as their object was at first plunder, they crowded the Southern Mesopotamia. In the popular account Ninus was placed after the Scythian rule, because it represented the Semitic element. Justin says that Ninus was the first who shook off the yoke of the Scythians, these having ruled for fifteen centuries.[2]

In the Cuneiform inscriptions we find a legend which might be brought back to the same source. This is the one of Sargon. As very acutely shown by Mr. Pinches, there appears to have been a legend in Babylonia about an ancient king named Sargon, who would reappear and raise again the power of the country, as the legend of Arthur in England.[3] Now, though we have Akkadianized forms of the name of Sargon, it has all the appearance of a Semitic name. The historic King Sargon of Agane[4] or Agade was a Semite, so was Sargon of Nineveh. Most probably the first or legendary Sargon was a Semitic king of the Pre-Akkadian period, or of the forgotten period of the Semitic resistance to the Akkadian invasion, who was deified, and whose return was expected as the signal of a Semitic restoration. The second Sargon who reigned at Agade was perhaps considered

[1] A syllabary (W.A.I. ii. 70) gives for the ideogram of Akkad,  , that is, *gur* thrice repeated, of the Akkadian reading *uri* the Assyrian is lost, but an unpublished fragment in the B.M. gives the Assyrian *Akkad*; *gur* is the oldest form of *ur* 'strong'; so 'gur-gur' twice repeated represents the plural. Gesenius, it is to be noticed, had hit on the right explanation of the word Akkad, which is Semitic. Smith seems to have been of this opinion, for he transcribed the group by *ur* in the Akkadian line and *Akkad* in the Semitic (S.B.A. Trans. vol. iii. p. 336). The national name of these people is therefore *Urians*, but I preserve the usual name of Akkadians in respect for Sir H. Rawlinson, who was the first to detect (in 1852) the existence of the non-Semitic language of the syllabaries, and therefore of the non-Semitic population, and gave to this language the name of *Akkadian* (see Hicks's paper in the Royal Irish Ac. Transactions).

[2] Justin i. 1.

[3] S.B.A. Proc. vol. vii. p. 71. This idea of a kind of Messianic political prince is met with in a great many countries. The Servians expect the return of the ancient king, who will re-establish the great Servian Empire; so the Abyssinians, the Soudanese, etc.

[4] The reading is still uncertain. Sargon *never* calls himself king of  *Akkad*, but always of  . It is not proved that these two names designate the same town; the presumption is the reverse.

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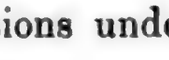
as the promised champion of the Semitic population; all his inscriptions are written in Semitic Babylonian, and in later times he was called the king *par excellence*. His reign is the turning-point in the dual civilization of Babylonia, and marks the beginning of the period in which the Semitic element regains power.[1] For these reasons we may consider the inscriptions of Sargon of Agade as giving a fair idea of the system of writing of the Pre-Akkadian Semites: use of numerous ideograms with phonetic complements.[2]

The Babylonian royal canon gives us also evidences of the priority of the Semites, if we analyze the meaning of the names. Though we do not possess this canon, but only one fragment published by G. Smith,[3] it can be partly restored by means of the indications of Berosus, and the two lists published by Mr. Pinches.[4]

This royal canon, the fragment of which was published by G. Smith, gave, it appears, the dates of the kings from the earliest period. We cannot unfortunately restore these dates, but we can at least reconstruct the great lines of the Babylonian history as written down by the Babylonians themselves. It can be divided provisionally into four long periods. The first or pre-diluvian period is known to us principally by the fragments of Berosus; the names of the ten kings which compose the dynasty have been shamefully mutilated, but a few of them have been preserved in the Cuneiform documents: these leave no doubt as to their Semitic origin.

The hero of the Flood is called by Berosus, according to his Greek copyists, Sisithros or Xisythros. This name is, as pointed out by G. Smith,[5] found in the Flood-story of the Cuneiform inscriptions under the form of 

[1] The king Sargon seems to have extended his rule over the whole of Western Asia, from Elam to Syria, and all the neighbouring countries were paying tribute to him; he built at or near Babylon a town or citadel called *Dur-Sargani*.

[2] The texts of Sargon are principally known by Ninevite copies; in these the syntactic order is the same as in later times, being affected already by the Akkadian influence. The greatest part that has come down to us is astrological, for astrology was an especially Semitic science.

[3] S.B.A. Trans. vol. iii. p. 357.

[4] S.B.A. Proc. vol. iii. p. 37, and vol. vi. p. 193.

[5] S.B.A. Trans. vol. v. p. 532.

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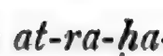
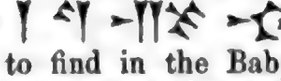
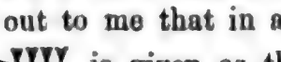
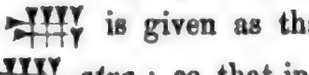
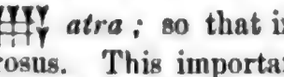
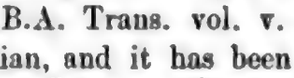
 *at-ra-ḫa-sis* 'come back wise one,'[1] but the two elements of the name have been transposed either by Berosus himself to conform the name to the Assyrian grammar, which put the verb at the end, or by the Greek copyists for reasons unknown. But Berosus, or his Greek copyists, have made another mistake. Atra-ḫasis is not the Babylonian Noah, but a god who acts as messenger of Ea to him;[2] at any rate his name is undoubtedly Semitic. The name of the hero of the flood is written in the Babylonian document , two ideograms with phonetic complement; that is what we should expect for a pre-Akkadian Semitic name; it is read by Dr. Delitzsch *Pir-napistim*, 'the offspring of life,' and more correctly by Mr. Pinches *Um-napištim* 'day of life.'[3] With either reading we have again a thorough Semitic name. Berosus gives Ardates for father to the Babylonian Noah, who is the of the Deluge tablet; this name is composed of the ideogram for 'servant' *ardu* in Assyrian, and the name of the god *Tutu*. The repetition of the three dentals has been avoided by Berosus or his copyists, as pointed out also by Smith.[4] The real name was *Ardu-Tutu*.

[1] *Atra* is the imperative of *ataru* 'to come back,' a well-known Assyrian word. The form *atra-ḫasis* is the primitive form, no doubt with the verb at the beginning; *ḫasis-atra* would be the form adopted after the Semites had, under the Akkadian influence, changed the order of their syntax (see next note).

[2] In the Babylonian Flood-story the tale runs in the first person. Um-napištim relating to Gisdubar how he was preserved from the general destruction, in Column IV. Atra-ḫasis is introduced (l. 22) as messenger of Ea, and pronounces the blessing of Ea (l. 27–29). Then Um-napištim speaks again in the first person, having merely repeated the words of Atra-ḫasis. If Smith has assimilated this god to  Um-napištim, it is an oversight, or through the desire to find in the Babylonian document an equivalent of Berosus's hero; but there is no evidence for the assimilation of the two names. Mr. Pinches points out to me that in an unpublished bilingual text the ideogram  is given as that of the name *at-ra-ḫa-sis*,  is *ḫasis* and  *atra*; so that in the ideogram of the name we have the form adopted by Berosus. This important passage shows also that this name cannot be the same as , as the same name could hardly have two ideogrammatic ways of being written.

[3] *Philological Society*, Presidential Address, for 1882, p. 80, note.

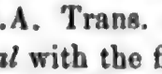
[4] S.B.A. Trans. vol. v. p. 532. The ideogram  is read *umbara* in Akkadian, and it has been suggested that the Akkadian reading of the name *Umbara-Tutu* was the name transcribed by *οτιαρτης* (a variant of Ardates in Berosus' fragments); but we have then to suppose a mistake of transcription or restitute *οπαρτης*; but even with this correction it is difficult to explain the loss of the *m* of *umbara*; *οτιαρτης* is more probably mistranscription for *ἀρδατης*.

It would be dangerous to try to explain the names known to us only by the Greek copyists of Berosus when we know how names are often mutilated by them. However, Daonos, the sixth antediluvian king, is no doubt *dainu* 'the judge'[1] in Assyrian.

Of the second period we know only a few names given in the oldest list of the British Museum, and from the remark of the scribe its chronology seems to have been uncertain. The names preserved are some Semitic, some Akkadian; it is probably the period of establishment of the Akkadian invaders; the old Sargon is in this period.

The third period is subdivided into three epochs: the first contains almost exclusively Kassite names; the second epoch contains three series of names, Sumerian, then Akkadian and Sumerian again; the third epoch gives a new line of Kassite kings. This is the period of the Akkadian and Sumerian supremacy, interrupted twice by a Kassite conquest.[2]

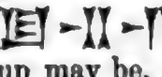
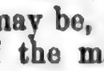
The succession of the names explains clearly the course of events. The first Kassite dynasty was overthrown by an Akkadian population of Southern Babylonia, called by the Assyrians Sumer,[3] and speaking a dialect less pure than

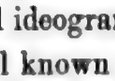
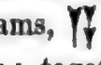
[1] The Greek transcriptions of the names known to us show what we may expect: *aparanadios* for *asur-nadin*, *saosduchinos* for *Samas-sumu-ukin*, etc. Smith's assimilation (S.B.A. Trans. vol. v. p. 353) of  , which he read *amil-uru-gal* with the fifth king *amegalaros*, comes from an error, this group being an ideogram of the name of a priest or religious officer, not a proper name. The name of the fifth antediluvian king is besides read also *megalaros* et *metalaros*. Some names suggest no doubt Assyrian ones, but it is difficult to reconstruct them. In *Euedoreschos* or *Euedorachos* we may detect for instance the name of Merodak, as in *Ilouardam* for *Emil-Merodak*; but the whole name escapes us. Sargon of Nineveh gives the name of the first Babylonian king as *a-di-i-D.P. ur* 'my covenant (is) of Ur' (the god Ur is the Moon-god), which is also a Semitic name, and in this King Adi-Ur we have perhaps the original name of the first king of Berosus ἄλορος for ἄδορος. This name, 'my covenant is of the Moon God,' is very appropriate for the first king, who, according to the legend, was chosen by God to instruct and conduct the Babylonians. The names of Annedotos or Oannes and his successors Euedokos (Merodak?), Eneubulos, etc., seem also to be Semitic.

[2] The series of names are, in the tablet, interrupted by several gaps, the ends and beginnings of the columns being lost. In one of them must be placed Sargon of Agade. To this period must also belong the hero Gisdubar (this reading is still uncertain), who slew the foreign tyrant Humbaba. It is probable that the Kassite conquest contributed largely to weaken the Akkadian and Sumerian element, and hastened the return of the Semitic supremacy.

[3] This name, as that of Akkad, is Semitic, and means 'guardian' (there are a great many places called so in the Bible); it answers to the old word 'march' in

Akkadian proper. After this first Sumerian dynasty came an Akkadian restoration,[1] that is, return of the northern supremacy, of that population which had preserved the purer language; then the Sumerians, or the Southern population came to power again till the second Kassite conquest. We might find in this succession of rules the explanation of another classical legend. The Akkadians were in time assimilated to the inhabitants of Northern Babylonia, no doubt because the purer dialect was maintained there longer; for this reason, the informers of the Greeks represented allegorically the people of Akkad (confusing the Akkadian and

English, and designated the borderland, and especially that on the south. The name of شمر (*shomer*) is still applied to the north-western portion of Arabia bordering on what was Babylonia. The compound ideogram which represents this word is  ; but we have no syllabary giving its pronunciation. This group may be, after all, a compound ideogram to express the idea of the population of the marshy country at the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris. is 'place,' 'lord,' sometimes replaced by , same ideographic meaning, and  'reed.' *Sumer* would therefore be the 'place' or 'land of the lord of the reed.' It would be, in fact, the 'lowland,' in opposition to Akkad, 'the highland,' though the primitive meaning of the latter is 'strong.' The pronunciation of the group *ki-en-gi* may, however, be very different from that of the characters, as *zir-gul-la* is pronounced *lagaš*.

[1] This proves the co-existence of the two populations and dialects. The vocabulary gives us also many proofs. The Akkadian texts have *til*, the dialectic form, instead of *tin* (change of *n* into *l*), which must have been borrowed from the southern population (Pinches, *Academy*, 1882, July 22). The name of the Tigris gives us another striking example. It is written by means of two compound ideograms,  and  ; the first is read *idi* 'river,' and is well known; together they are read *idigna* (W.A.I. iii. 70, 46) or *idignu* (*ibid.* v. 22, 30) in Akkadian, and *i-di-ik-lat* (*ibid.* iv. 12, 7) in Assyrian, reading proved by the Hebrew *Hiddekel*, Aram. *diglah*, Syr. *deqlat*; it shows the reading of the second compound to be in Akkadian *gana*, and if we found *gala* as the form from which the Semitic name is borrowed, it is that the Sumerian or dialectic influence has changed *n* into *l*, but not yet *g* into *d*. The full dialectic form is given as *dalla* (*ibid.* iii. 70, 47), and translated *šupū* (also in a text iv. 5, 61–62), the Shaphel of *apu* (cf. יָפָה) 'to shine,' 'to be light,' and consequently 'to make shine,' or 'to cause to be light,' that is, 'to pour forth light.' The Tigris is therefore 'the river shining or bright.' This explanation has escaped Dr. Delitzsch, because he has not taken into account the meaning of the second compound ideogram as such (*Wo lag das Paradise*, p. 170–172); but he is right when he says that the explanation given by the classics (Pliny vi. 127, Quintus Curtius iv. 9, 16, and Strabo x. 14, 8) is a folk-etymology of the Persian period. The *l* of *diglat*, being under the Aryan influence changed into *r*, we have the old Persian *tigrā* (Zend *tegĕr*, Pelv. *tegĕra*), a name used for the river at the time when the classics came in contact with the people of Mesopotamia. The form *di-ik-lat*, given in the inscription of Darius (W.A.I. iii. 39, 35), is the Aramæan form from which the Persians derived the name *tigrā*. The final *t* mark of the feminine, which was added to the Akkadian primitive name, is of course neglected.

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Semitic invasions in one) as Ninus, the supposed builder of Nineveh; going further, they represented the people of Sumer by his wife and successor, the supposed builder of Babylon. When they were asked for the name of this queen, they wrote in Aramæan שמר and pronounced *šumer*. The Greeks from this seemingly double word composed the name *Semiramis*, being the word pronounced with its inverted spelling at the end, a single *r* serving for both.[1]

The fourth period of the Royal canon may be called historical; it extends from B.C. 2232 to the Persian conquest, and contains nine dynasties. This is the Semitic period.[2] The way had been prepared by many wars, foreign and civil. We know that the Elamite Nanḫunti towards the end of the last period (B.C. 2280 *circa*) took and plundered Babylon. During the long struggle against the Kassite sway, the Akkadians and Sumerians had been considered as the champions of Babylonian independence, with this difference: the Akkadians were the instructors and teachers of all, and their dialect was taken as the classic tongue; the Sumerians, who had twice broken the Kassite power, were considered as politically superior, and for this reason the early kings put Sumer first.[3] Under Hammurabi, the sixth king of the first dynasty, Akkadian is the official language; but the translation in Semitic Babylonian is given by the side of it, and many of the private contracts are entirely written in the Semitic dialect.

I cannot here refrain from noticing the folly of a certain school of Semitic scholars, who, through a rather too exclusive enthusiasm, will not admit the possibility of the Babylonian Semites having received their civilization from

[1] It may be argued that the explanation is too ingenious to be true; but all the other explanations brought forward till now have failed to satisfy all the points. Some have assimilated the legendary queen to Istar, without much ground; others to *Hammurabi* with only a faint similarity of sound; others to *Sammuramat*, the wife of Riman-Nirari, King of Nineveh; but this queen never ruled at Babylon, much less built it. This name, besides, does not correspond to that of the classics; it would have become in Greek either *Samoramis*, the Greek adding always the termination to the foreign name, as in *Beltis* from *Beltu*, or *Amormitis*, the Greek dropping the initial *s*, as *Arkeanos* for *Sargon*.

[2] A strong Kassite party maintained itself still for a long time in Babylonia, and they gave a long dynasty. The Kassite power seems to have been entirely broken down only by the Ninevites.

[3] They call themselves 'King of Sumer and Akkad.'

a Turanian population, and had therefore to suppose Akkadian, Sumerian, Kassite, etc., to be as many secret systems of writing.[1] If they had only waited without preconceived ideas the progress of science, they would have found that the Babylonian Semites were in possession, before the Akkadian invasion, of the art of writing and the first elements of civilization.

Conclusion.

At a very remote date, impossible now to determine even approximately, a numerous tribe of Semites, having left their first home in passing through Northern Syria, took what became in later times the route of commerce, and invaded Assyria, and from there advanced into the fertile region of Mesopotamia and Southern Babylonia, where they met, according to some, a negroid population, which was absorbed or exterminated. These Semites had already the fully developed grammar peculiar to their race; they brought with them into their new country the first elements of civilization, and most probably the art of writing, in its Pre-Cuneiform hieroglyphic stage,[2] their religion, their legends and traditions, and a faint remembrance of their first home. Once in Babylonia, they developed from these materials, according to the new conditions imposed by the country, a peculiar civilization. The most important science was augury from the atmospheric phenomena, principally the appearance of the stars. The art of building took a special character; through the absence of wood and stone, the architects having to use exclusively bricks. Agriculture flourished, the husbandman making use of irrigating canals, and commerce took a great extension.

[1] The ludicrous notion of kings having their own praises and mementos written on their monuments in a secret writing, which their own subjects could not read, ought to have stamped out this theory at the outset. It must be said, to the credit of British common sense, that it never had one partizan in England.

[2] Perhaps we have, in the carved stones found at Hamath and other places of Syria, the remnants of this hieroglyphic stage. In this case the Cuneiform signs would have their prototypes in this hieroglyphic writing, and might give us the key to it.

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Art. XVIII.—*The Arrangement of the Hymns of the Adi Granth.* By Frederic Pincott, M.R.A.S.

Exactly two years ago it was my good fortune to lay before this Society my discovery of the system on which the hymns of the Rig-Veda were arranged,—a discovery of the highest interest to the student of the Vedas, not only by throwing unexpected light on ancient philosophical theology; but by giving back to the world the Liturgy of the ancient Brahmans,—all knowledge of the true character of which had been lost, even in India itself, for about 3000 years. Again I appear before you in the character of Veda-Vyâsa, in order to lay before you the system on which the hymns of the *Adi Granth* are arranged.

Special difficulties have presented themselves in the present task from the fact that the *Adi Granth* contains 3384 hymns, or considerably more than three times the bulk of the Rig-Veda; and also from the circumstance that the metrical system followed by the writers of the *Granth* appears to have been forgotten by the Sikhs themselves. Dr. Trumpp made earnest inquiries into this subject, and he says, "The Sikhs themselves seem now to have lost all knowledge of the metrical laws of the Granth, for I never met a person who could give me the least clue to them."[1] Not only are the metrical laws apparently lost, but the entire system on which the *Adi Granth* was arranged is also unknown. I need only cite the following words of the learned Dr. Trumpp, whose statement must be accepted as conclusive. After giving a list of the Râgs into which the book is divided, he says, "The verses of the different Gurus have

[1] Translation of the *Adi Granth*, Introduction, p. cxxviii.

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been distributed into these fore-mentioned Râgs, apparently without any leading principle, as hardly any verse is internally connected with another. The name of the Râg is, therefore, a mere superscription, without any reference to its contents. . . . . No system or order is, therefore, to be looked for in any of the Râgs. In the first four Râgs the most important matter was collected, and they are, therefore, also comparatively of the largest compass; the following minor Râgs seem to be a second gathering or gleaning, as materials offered themselves, no attention being paid to the contents, but only to the bulky size of the Granth. By thus jumbling together whatever came to hand, without any judicious selection, the Granth has become an exceedingly incoherent and wearisome book."[1] This is sufficient to show that Dr. Trumpp had no inkling of the system on which the book was arranged; and if the able translator of the text, who spent many years in its study, considered the *Adi Granth* to be a mere promiscuous heap of verses, it is safe to conclude that the principles on which the book is arranged are quite unknown.

I shall now proceed to show that the book is arranged on a definite plan from end to end, that it does not consist of two or more "gatherings or gleanings," that each hymn is placed where we find it in accordance with fixed principles; and hence it follows that the latter portion of the book, which Dr. Trumpp did *not* translate, is just as important as the earlier portion which he did translate. It is not generally known that the Translation we possess gives little more than one-third of the entire book. The Adi-Granth contains 15,575 stanzas, of which Dr. Trumpp has translated 5,719; and of these all but 472 stanzas occur at the beginning of the book, where they were placed, not from any specially interesting characteristics of their own, or because they were a first gleaning, or considered older, or more genuine; but simply because they properly fell into that position according to the principle on which the book was arranged.

[1] Translation of the *Adi Granth*, Introduction, p. cxx.

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The *Adi Granth* is divisible into three parts, the first of which is liturgical, the second contains the general body of the hymns, and the third part is supplementary, consisting of heterogeneous matter which could not well be included in the former portions. The Sikhs are fully aware of this distribution of the contents of the *Adi Granth*. They know that the first part contains the *Jap-jî*, or general confession of faith, together with selections from the body of the book to be used at evening-prayer, etc.; the second part is known to consist of different clusters of hymns sung to a variety of Râgs or tunes; and the last part is named the *Bhog*, probably because it comprises certain panegyrics on the various Gurus. This arrangement it will be seen accords with that of the Rig-Veda; the first Maṇḍala of which is liturgical, followed by various sets of hymns, and ending with the long and short hymns, or miscellaneous collection.

The liturgical portion of the *Adi Granth* requires no explanation. It begins with the confession of faith, or *credo*, and ends with the prayers offered before retiring to rest at night. The Râgs which follow are more complicated in their arrangement. Their order depends on the musical system of India, of which, unfortunately, I have very little knowledge; but I can state sufficient to show that the arrangement is methodical.

The characteristic peculiarity of Indian music is that it is based on the theory that each musical sound corresponds to some emotion of the human heart. When any particular sound predominates in a tune, that tune is supposed to give rise to a peculiar Râg, or emotion; hence it follows that there can be as many Râgs as there are musical notes. The number of Râgs in Sanskrit treatises, is, however, uncertain; there being generally reckoned six primary Râgs, each of which has five (sometimes said to be six) assistant Râginîs, and eight subordinate Râgs. This would give a total of 84 or 90 Râgs and Râginîs; but the *Sangîta-Pârijâta* illustrates no less than 122 species. In modern Indian music (which was, probably, the only kind of music known to the compilers of the *Granth*) there are about 32 Râgs, and each is con-

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sidered specially applicable to some season of the year, or some time of the day. With the minuteness of detail which characterizes Indian science, the day is divided into numerous portions, providing accommodation for Râgs applicable to midnight, early morning, sunrise, etc., etc., down to evening and night again.

Now, the Indians divide the full day into 8 *pahars*, each of which contains 8 *ghaṛîs*, giving a total of 64 *ghaṛîs* for the entire day. If we allow 2 *ghaṛîs* for every Râg, we get 32 Râgs, just the number which modern Indians consider necessary. It happens, however, that the *Adi Granth* contains 30 or 31 Râgs; the doubt as to the number arising from the fact that, after the book had been arranged by the Fifth Guru, Arjun, the Ninth Guru, Tegh Bahâdur, composed four hymns in a peculiar strain, which have been classed as a separate Râg and inserted, sometimes in the middle of the book, and sometimes at the end. This Râg is named Jaijâvantî, and the authorities accessible are evenly divided as to its position, there being four[1] which insert it as the 12th Râg, and four[2] which place it at the end. This, taken in connection with the fact that this Râg was composed long after the *Adi Granth* was originally arranged, is sufficient to show that it is in the nature of an excrescence. Still it deserves remark that if the day be divided into 32 portions of 2 *ghaṛîs* each, there will be 31 points of division; and the 31 Râgs which the *Adi Granth* contains would provide a separate Râg for each such period of the 24 hours.

If we consider the 30 Râgs, which must have been the entire number dealt with by Guru Arjun, we find that they exactly correspond with the 30 semitones of the Indian *stabaka*, or musical staff, reckoning the minor intervals as single tones. There are nine major tones on the *stabaka* each divisible into semitones, or 18 half-notes; there are also six natural semitones, and six natural minors; making

[1] India Office MSS. 2477, 2483, 2484, and British Museum MS. Or. 2158.
[2] Dr. Trumpp; India Office MS. 2868; and British Museum MS. Or. 1125; Addit. 25,680.

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a total of 30 tones, each of which might form the basis of a special Râg.[1]

It would seem from the foregoing that, as originally arranged by Guru Arjun, the *Adi Granth* had a collection of poems for every musical semitone of the *stabaka*. There can be no doubt that the basis of arrangement was musical, for directions as to the tunes and the keys in which the poems are to be sung occur throughout. There is scarcely a hymn in the book unaccompanied by musical directions, as will be shown further on when setting forth the arrangement of the individual hymns. Furthermore we know from the biographies of the Gurus that their poems were always sung to an accompaniment of the *rabâb*.

The character of each Râg depends upon the use made of some particular note, technically called the *anśa* (ਅੰਸ), from which two other notes are deduced, called the *grâha* (ਗ੍ਰਾਹ) or inceptive, and the *nyâsa* (ਨ੍ਯਾਸ) or closing notes. These three notes forcibly remind us of the dominant, subdominant, and tonic, of Europe. The *anśa* exercised a predominating influence over any melody played in the Râg which it governed; for it must be remembered that a Râg is not a tune, but a tune dominated by a particular note. Every tune governed by the same note is in the same Râg; and this explains the fact that poems of various metres are found classed under the same Râg in the *Adi Granth*.

The order in which the Râgs occur in the *Granth* in all probability depends on musical laws at present unknown; but there are verses in the book itself which prove that the arrangement is methodical. In the very first Vâr, at the end of the First Book, Guru Amar-Dâs says, ਰਾਗਾਂ ਵਿਚਿ ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗ ਹੈ *râgâñ vichi Sirî Râg hai*, "Among Râgs, the Sirî Râg is chief." This was written before the book was compiled, and it satisfactorily accounts for the leading position accorded to the Sirî Râg. The last poem in the book also repeats the assertion that the Sirî Râg is the first

[1] In this calculation I omit the *śrutis*, or quarter-notes, and thirds of notes, as being too minute to serve as bases for separate Râgs. They would yield a total of 66 intervals.

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of the Râgs. It is followed by the Râg called *Mâjh*, or Middle; and then comes the *Gauṛî*, or Râg peculiar to the evening. The first three Râgs may then represent morning, mid-day, and evening. Towards the end of the *Granth* a similar indication of method is observable; for the Râgs Bhairau, Basantu, Sârang, and Malâr, follow each other in succession; and these Râgs are held to be respectively appropriate to Autumn, Spring, Summer, and the Rains.

The reason for the order in which the Râgs are found is not so apparent as that which regulates the order of the hymns themselves. Here, happily, we are on solid ground; and whatever may be thought of the foregoing speculations on the Râgs, there can be no doubt about the principles on which the poems themselves are classified. The hymns which are to be sung in a particular Râg were first placed together; and were then arranged under the following heads:

1. *Chaupadâs*, containing an average of four verses each.
2. *Aṣṭpadîs*, containing an average of eight verses each.
3. Special long poems.
4. *Chhants*, consisting of 6-line verses.
5. Special short poems.
6. *Vârs*, consisting of two or more Sloks, and a Pauṛî, or concluding stanza.
7. Poems of the Bhagats, or Saints.

There is absolutely no deviation from this clearly-defined principle, as will be seen by the following analysis of the Râgs. All the Râgs do not contain the whole of these kinds of versification; but, whether short or long, whatever they do contain, is invariably arranged on this system.

Under the foregoing seven heads the poems are yet further classified according to their authorship; the poems of the Gurus being placed first in chronological sequence, followed by those of the Bhagats, according to a tolerably well-defined order of precedence, in which all the Hindû writers come before the Muhammadan faqîr Shekh Farîd; who is only followed by the solitary female composer Mîrî Bâî.

The following is a list of the authors comprised in the Râgs, in their order of precedence :—

1. The First Guru.
2. The Second Guru.
3. The Third Guru.
4. The Fourth Guru.
5. The Fifth Guru.
6. The Ninth Guru.
7. The Tenth Guru.

The Bhagats—

8. Kabîr.
9. Nâmdev.
10. Ravidâs.
11. Trilochan

The Bhagats, cont.—

12. Beṇî.
13. Jaidev.
14. Bhîkhan.
15. Sadhnâ.
16. Saiṇu.
17. Dhannâ.
18. Paramânand.
19. Surdâs.
20. Pîpâ.
21. Shekh Farîd.
22. Mîrî Bâî.

The general Table of the contents of the Râgs which follows shows that, however many or few of these authors are represented in a Râg, they invariably occur in the foregoing order.

The hymns having been collected under their appropriate Râgs, and separated into *chaupadâs*, *aṣtpadîs*, etc., and under these heads arranged in the order of their respective writers, were yet further classified according to the *gharu*, or musical clef, in which each hymn was to be sung. According to the Indian method of singing, the accent falls, and the voice rises and falls, in different positions, according to the *gharu* in which the verses are sung. It is needless to describe this matter further; for my object is simply to show that the hymns are arranged on a definite system; and the foregoing remarks will enable any one to understand the following list of the contents of the entire *Adi Granth*, which gives the hymns in the order in which they occur in the book itself. This list gives the Râg, the nature of the hymn, the author, the *gharu*, the number of the hymns, and the number of verses contained in each cluster. A simple inspection of the list (now that its principle is explained) will show that every part of the *Adi Granth* is arranged methodically; and the list will also indicate where the compositions of any author can be found in the book. It is of considerable importance

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for a correct appreciation of the development of any faith to read the statements of its founders in the chronological order of the writers; and this list will enable the student readily to pick out the passages ascribed to any particular author from any part of the *Adi Granth*.

Table of Contents of the Adi Granth.

Liturgical.

1. *Japu*, by the First Guru, 39 stanzas.
2. *So daru* (extracts from Âsâ and Gûjrî Râgs).
3. *So Purkhu* (extracts from Âsâ Râg).
4. *Sohilâ* (extracts from Gauṛî, Âsâ, and Dhanâsarî Râgs).

The Râgs.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
		Sirî Râg.			
Chaupadâ	I.[1]	i.	23		
		ii.	2		
		iii.	2		
		iv.	5		
		v.	1		
				33	122
	III.	i.		31	127
	IV.	i.		6	24
	V.	i.	21		
		ii.	2		
		vi.	3		
		vii.	1		
		i.[2]	3		
				30	118
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.	16		
		ii.	1		
				17	138
	III.	i.		8	64
	V.	i.	1		
		v.	1		
				2	16
Special Poems	I.	iii.		1	24
	V.			1	21
Pahara	I.	i.		2	9
	IV.			2	9

[1] The capital letters indicate the Gurus, as I. = the First, or Guru Nânak.

[2] These three in *gharu* i. apparently out of order, are panegyrics on Nânak, and no doubt placed at the end of the *Chaupadâs* for that reason.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
Chhant	IV.	ii.		1	5
	V.			2	10
Vanjârâ	IV.			1	6
Vâr					
Pauṛî	IV.				21
Slok	I.				6
,,	II.				3
,,	III.				33
,,	V.				1
Bhagats	Kabîr			2	7
	Trilochan			1	5
	Beṇî			1	5
	Ravidâs			1	3
		Râg Mâjh.			
Chaupadâ	IV.	i.		7	28
	V.	i.		43	172
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.		1	8
	III.	i.		33	257
	IV.			1	4
	V.	i.	3		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
				5	40
Special Poems	V.			2	18
Vâr					
Pauṛî	I.				27
Slok	I.				47
	II.				11
	III.				3
	IV.				2
		Râg Gauṛî.			
Chaupadâ	I.			20	83
	III.			18	72
	IV.			32	128
	V.			172	668
	IX.			9	20
Aṣṭpadî	I.			18	153
	III.			9	72
	IV.			2	20
	V.			15	120
Chhant	I.			2	8
	III.			5	20
	V.			46	323

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
Vâr					
Pauṛî	IV.				29
	V.				25
Slok	III.				7
	IV.				53
	V.				50
Bhagats	Kabîr			76	327
	Nâmdev			1	2
	Ravidâs			5	21

Râg Ásâ.

So daru	I.	i.		1	22
So Purkhu	IV.			1	25
Chaupadâ	I.	ii.	30		
		iii.	2		
		iv.	1		
		v.	1		
		vi.	5		
				39	158
	III.	ii.	12		
		viii.	1		
				13	54
	IV.	ii.	8		
		vi.	3		
		viii.	2		
		xvi.	2		
				15	57
	V.	ii.	37		
		iii.	1		
		v.	1		
		vi.	12		
		vii.	51		
		viii.	18		
		ix.	2		
		x.	7		
		xi.	6		
		xii.	5		
		xiii.	9		
		xiv.	2		
		xv.	5		
		xvii.	7		
				163	581
	IX.			1	2

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
Aṣṭpadî	I.	ii.	10		
		iii.	2		
		viii.	10		
				22	132
	III.	ii.	3		
		viii.	12		
				15	49
	V.	ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
		iv.	3		
				5	40
Special Poems	I.			1	35
	III.			1	18
Chhant	I.	i.	3		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
				5	20
	III.	i.	1		
		ii.	1		
				2	14
	IV.	i.	2		
		ii.	5		
		iv.	6		
		v.	1		
				14	62
	V.	i.	2		
		iv.	1		
		vi.	6		
		vii.	4		
		viii.	1		
				14	56
Vâr					
Pauṛî	I.				24
Slok	I.				49
	II.				12
Bhagats	Kabîr			37	143
	Nâmdev			5	17
	Ravidâs			6	20
	Dhannâ			1	11
	Shekh Farîd			2	12

Râg Gûjrî.

Chaupadâ	I.	i.		2	8
	III.	i.		7	30
	IV.	i.	6		
		iii.	1		
				7	28

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
	V.	i.	7		
		ii.	18		
		iv.	5		
		ii.[1]	1		
				31	93
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.	4		
		iv.	1		
				5	40
	III.	i.		1	10
	IV.	ii.		1	8
	V.	ii.	1		
		iv.	1		
				2	16
Vâr					
Pauṛî	III.				22
Slok	III.				44
Pauṛî	V.				21
Slok	V.				42
Bhagats	Kabîr	ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
				2	8
	Nâmdev			2	7
	Ravidâs			1	5
	Trilochan			2	9
	Jaidev			1	5
	Râg Dev-gandhârî.				
Chaupadâ	IV.	i.		6	12
	V.	ii.	26		
		iii.	4		
		iv.	1		
		v.	2		
		vi.	4		
		vii.	1		
				38	79
	IX.			3	6
	Râg Bihâgṛâ.				
Chaupadâ	V.	ii.		1	4
	IX.			1	3
Chhant	IV.			6	24
	V.	i.	3		
		ii.	6		
				9	37

[1] This hymn is placed a little out of order, at the end of the *chaupadâs* of the 5th Guru, on account of the nature of its contents.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
Vâr					
Pauṛî	IV.				21
Slok	III.				40
	Mardânâ				3
		Râg Vaḍ-hansu.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
				3	9
	III.	i.		9	37
	IV.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
				3	15
	V.	i.	8		
		ii.	1		
				9	37
Aṣṭpadî	III.			2	16
Chhant	I.			2	12
	III.			6	24
	IV.			6	24
	V.			3	16
Alâhaṇî	I.	v.		5	24
	III.			4	16
Vâr					
Pauṛî	IV.				21
Slok	I.				3
	III.				40
		Râg Soraṭhi.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.	11		
		iii.	1		
				12	48
	III.	i.		12	48
	IV.	i.		9	41
	V.	i.	11		
		ii.	39		
		iii.	44		
				94	279
	IX.			12	32
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.		4	34
	III.	i.		3	24
	V.	i.		3	28
Vâr					
Pauṛî	IV.				29
Slok	I.				3
	II.				1
	III.				48
	IV.				6

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
Bhagats	Kabîr			11	33
	Nâmdev	ii.	1		
		iv.	1		
		iii.	1		
				3	11
	Ravidâs			7	27
	Bhîkhan			2	5

Râg Dhanâsarî.

Chaupadâ	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	5		
		iii.	2		
				9	38
	III.	ii.	8		
		iv.	1		
				9	35
	IV.	i.	6		
		v.	7		
				13	40
	V.	i.	21		
		ii.	7		
		iii.	2		
		vii.	1		
		viii.	21		
		ix.	2		
		xii.	4		
				58	163
	IX.			4	8
Astpadî	I.	ii.		2	16
	V.	vi.		1	8
Chhant	I.	i.		3	14
	IV.	i.		1	5
	V.			1	4
Bhagats	Kabîr			5	17
	Nâmdev			5	18
	Ravidâs			2	6
	Trilochan			1	6
	Saiṇu			1	4
	Pîpâ			1	2
	Dhannâ			1	2

Râg Jaitsirî.

Chaupadâ	IV.	i.	6		
		ii.	5		
				11	44

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
	V.	iii.	4		
		iv.	9		
				13	28
	IX.			3	7
Chhant	V.	i.	1		
		ii.	2		
				3	17
Vâr					
Pauṛî	V.				20
Slok	V.				40
Bhagat	(no name)			1	6
	Râg Jaijâvantî.				
Dupadâ	IX.			4	8
	Râg Ṭoḍî.				
Chaupadâ	IV.	i.		1	4
	V.	i.	2		
		ii.	13		
		iii.	2		
		iv.	2		
		v.	11		
				30	67
	IX.			1	2
Bhagat	Nâmdev			3	8
	Râg Bairâṛî.				
Dupadâ	IV.	i.		6	12
	V.	i.		1	2
	Râg Tilang.				
Chaupadâ	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	3		
				5	16
	IV.	ii.		2	4
	V.	i.		5	18
	IX.			3	8
Râ,isâ	I.	i.		1	10
	IV.			1	22
Bhagat	Kabîr			3	11

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
		Râg Sûhî.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	1		
		vi.	5		
		vii.	2		
				9	36
	IV.	i.	4		
		ii.	3		
		vi.	4		
		vii.	4		
				15	46
	V.	i.	6		
		iii.	35		
		iv.	5		
		vi.	1		
		vii.	11		
				58	222
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.	1		
		ix.	1		
		Kâfî	3		
				5	34
	III.	i.	2		
		x.	2		
				4	58
	IV.	ii.	1		
		x.	1		
				2	46
	V.	i.	1		
		ii.	1		
		ix.	1		
		Kâfî	2		
				5	40
Kuchajî	I.			1	1
Suchajî	I.			1	1
Guṇ-vantî	V.			1	1
Chhant	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
		iv.	2		
				5	25
	III.	ii.	1		
		iii.	6		
				7	28
	IV.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
		v.	2		
				6	24

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
	V.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	8		
				11	44
Vâr					
Pauṛî	III.				20
Slok	I.				22
	II.				9
	III.				16
Bhagats	Kabîr			5	19
	Ravidâs			3	10
	Shekh Farîd			2	7

Râg Bilâvalu.

Chaupadâ	I.	i.		4	16
	III.	i.		6	25
	IV.	iii.		7	26
	V.	i.	3		
		ii.	2		
		iv.	25		
		v.	50		
		vi.	6		
		vii.	30		
		viii.	9		
		ix.	2		
		Paṛtâl	2		
				129	370
	IX.			3	7
Astpadî	I.	x.		2	16
	III.	x.		1	8
	IV.	xi.		6	48
	V.	xii.		2	18
Thitî	I.	x.		1	20
Vârsat	III.	x.		2	20
Chhant	I.			2	8
	IV.			2	9
	V.			5	22
Vâr					
Pauṛî	IV.				13
Slok	I.				1
	III.				25
	IV.				1
Bhagats	Kabîr			12	35
	Nâmdev			1	2
	Ravidâs			2	6
	Sadhnâ			1	4

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
		Râg Gauḍ.			
Chaupadâ	IV.	i.		6	24
	V.	i.	2		
		ii.	20		
				22	86
Aṣṭpadî	V.	ii.		1	8
Bhagats	Kabîr	i.	3		
		ii.	8		
				11	43
	Nâmdev	i.	4		
		ii.	3		
				7	29
	Ravidâs	ii.		2	8
		Râg Râmkalî.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.		11	43
	III.	i.		1	6
	IV.	i.		6	25
	V.	i.	11		
		ii.	47		
		iii.	2		
				60	229
	IX.			3	9
Aṣṭpadî	I.			9	96
	III.			5	111
	V.			8	77
Anandu	III.			1	40
Sadu	III.			1	6
Chhant	V.			5	20
Rutî	V.			1	8
Oaṅkârî	I.			1	54
Sidh-gosṭi	I.			1	73
Vâr					
Pauṛî	III.				21
Slok	I.				18
	II.				7
	III.				27
Pauṛî	V.				22
Slok	I.				1
	V.				43
	Rai Balvandî			1	8
Bhagats	Kabîr	i.	9		
		ii.	3		
				12	48
	Nâmdev	i.	3		
		ii.	1		
				4	15
	Ravidâs			1	3
	Beṇî			1	9

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
		Râg Naṭ-nârâ,in.			
Chaupadâ	IV.	i.	6		
		Paṛtâl	3		
				9	30
	V.	i.	9		
		Paṛtâl	1		
				10	21
Aṣṭpadî	IV.			6	48
		Râg Mâlî-gauṛâ.			
Chaupadâ	IV.			6	24
	V.			8	26
Bhagat	Nâmdev			3	8
		Râg Mâru.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.	11		
		v.	1		
				12	52
	III.	i.		5	21
	IV.	ii.	2		
		iii.	4		
		v.	2		
				8	34
	V.	ii.	9		
		iii.	7		
		iv.	7		
		vi.	7		
		vii.	2		
				32	113
	IX.	i.		3	6
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.	8		
		ii.	3		
				11	91
	III.	v.		1	10
	V.	iii.	3		
		iv.	3		
		viii.	2		
				8	64
Solahâ	I.			22	352
	III.			24	384
	IV.			2	32
	V.			14	218
Vâr.					
Pauṛî	III.				22
Slok	I.				18

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Ghar.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
	II.				1
	III.				23
	IV.				3
	V.				2
Paurî	V.				23
Ḍakhanâ	V.				69
Bhagats	Kabîr			11	41
	Nâmdev			1	4
	Jaidev			1	2
	Ravidâs			2	5
	Mîrî Bâî			1	3
	Râg Tukhârî.				
Bârah Mâhâ	I.			1	17
Chhant	I.			5	22
	IV.			4	18
	V.			1	4
	Râg Kedârâ.				
Chaupadâ	IV.	i.		2	6
	V.	ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
		iv.	6		
		v.	7		
				15	30
Chhant	V.			1	4
Bhagats	Kabîr			6	20
	Ravidâs			1	3
	Râg Bhairau.				
Chaupadâ	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	7		
				8	30
	III.	i.	9		
		ii.	12		
				21	91
	IV.	i.	4		
		ii.	3		
				7	28
	V.	i.	13		
		ii.	43		
		iii.	1		
				57	224
Astpadî	I.	ii.		1	8
	III.	ii.		2	21
	V.	ii.		3	24
Bhagats	Kabîr				
Chaupadâ		i.	8		
		ii.	10		

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Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
Aṣṭpadî		ii.	2		
				20	91
	Nâmdev				
Chaupadâ		i.	6		
		ii.	4		
Aṣṭpadî		i.	1		
		ii.	1		
				12	76
	Ravidâs	ii.		1	4
		Râg Basantu.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.	8		
		ii.	4		
				12	46
	III.	i.	17		
		ii.	1		
				18	72
	IV.	i.	2		
		ii.	5		
				7	28
	V.	i.	18		
		ii.	3		
				21	82
	IX.	Hinḍolu	1		
		i.	4		
				5	14
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.	7		
		ii.	1		
				8	66
	IV.	ii.		1	8
	V.	i.		2	16
Vâr Slok					3
Bhagats	Kabîr	i.	6		
		ii.	2		
				8	28
	Nâmdev			4	13
	Ravidâs			1	4
		Râg Sârang.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.		3	12
	IV.	i.	6		
		iii.	1		
		v.	6		
				13	40
	V.	i.	14		
		ii.	5		
		iii.	4		

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Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
		iv.	105		
		v.	1		
		vi.	10		
				139	313
	IX.			4	8
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.		2	16
	III.	i.		3	24
	V.	i.	1		
		vi.	1		
				2	20
Chhant	V.			1	4
Vâr					
Pauṛî	IV.				36
Slok	I.				33
	II.				9
	III.				23
	IV.				6
	V.				3
Bhagats	Kabîr			2	8
	Nâmdev			3	8
	Paramânand			1	3
	Sûrdâs			2	4
	Kabîr[1]			1	2
		Râg Malâr.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.	5		
		ii.	4		
				9	37
	III.	i.	9		
		ii.	4		
				13	55
	IV.	i.	7		
		iii.	2		
				9	35
	V.	i.	18		
		ii.	4		
		iii.	8		
				30	76
Aṣṭpadî	I.	i.	3		
		ii.	2		
				5	43
	III.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
				3	24
Chhant	V.			1	4

[1] The position of this short hymn *seems* anomalous; if really so, it is the only anomaly in the *Adi Granth*.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Ghar.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
Vâr					
Pauṛî	I.				28
Slok	I.				25
	II.				4
	III.				28
	V.				1
Bhagats	Nâmdev			2	8
	Ravidâs			3	9
		Râg Kânaṛâ.			
Chaupadâ	IV.	i.	6		
		v.	6		
				12	36
	V.	ii.	11		
		iii.	8		
		iv.	13		
		v.	1		
		vi.	3		
		vii.	1		
		viii.	2		
		ix.	5		
		x.	1		
		xi.	5		
				50	122
Aṣṭpadî	IV.	i.		6	48
Chhant	V.			1	4
Vâr					
Pauṛî	IV.				15
Slok	IV.				30
Bhagat	Nâmdev			1	2
		Râg Kali,ân.			
Chaupadâ	IV.			7	26
	V.	i.		10	22
Aṣṭpadî	IV.			6	48
		Rag Prabhâtî.			
Chaupadâ	I.	i.		17	72
	III.			7	29
	IV.			7	26
	V.	i.	12		
		ii.	1		
		Paṛtâl	2		
				15	54
Aṣṭpadî	I.			7	56
	III.			2	19
	V.			3	24
Bhagats	Kabîr			5	21
	Nâmdev			3	11
	Beṇî			1	5

Bhog.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Total Stanzas.
Slok Sahañskriti	I.	4
	V.	67
Gâthâ	V.	24
Phunhâ	V.	22
Chaubolâ	V.	9
Slok	Kabîr	244
	Shekh Farîd	130
Saveyai	V.	20
	Various Bhaṭṭs	122
Sloks in excess of Vârs	I.	33
	III.	68
	IV.	30
	V.	22
	IX.	56
	X.	1
Mundhâvaṇî	V.	2
Sloks	I.	19
Ratanmâlâ	I.	25
Story of Rai Mukâm		1
Râg Mâlâ		12
Unclassified		12
	Total stanzas	15,575

It will be seen that the *Bhog*, or last division of the *Adi Granth*, contains what are called Sanskrit Ślokas, Gâthâs or semi-secular songs, Sloks of the Bhagats, Sloks in excess of Vârs, that is to say, Sloks which have not been worked up into Vârs by the addition of Pauṛîs; also Saveyais or Panegyrics on the various Gurus; ending with a Râgâ Mâlâ, and a few unclassified fragments. It must be mentioned that the last cluster of 19 Sloks, the Ratan Mâlâ, and the story of Rai Mukâm, are held to be of doubtful canonical authority, and are not included in all copies of the *Adi Granth*.

The following list collects the totals in the foregoing tabular statement; and it shows at a glance the amount which each writer contributed to the book. The Fifth Guru Arjun was the collector and arranger of the *Adi Granth*; and we see from this list that he actually himself wrote nearly half the book he was engaged on arranging.

Author.	No. of Stanzas.	
Fifth Guru	6204	
First Guru	2949	(including the Jap-jî)
Third Guru	2522	
Fourth Guru	1730	
Kabîr	1146	
Nâmdev	239	
Ninth Guru	196	
Shekh Farîd	149	
Ravidâs	134	
Second Guru	57	
Trilochan	20	
Beṇî	19	
Dhannâ	13	
Rai Balvandî	8	
Jaidev	7	
Bhîkhan	5	
Saiṇu	4	
Sadhnâ	4	
Sûrdâs	4	
Mardânâ	3	
Paramânand	3	
Mîrî Bâî	3	
Pîpâ	2	
Tenth Guru	1	
Various Bhaṭṭs	122	
Unnamed Bhagat at end of Râg Jaitsarî	6	
Râg Mâlâ, etc.	25	
Total stanzas	15,575	

The orderly statement of the contents of the *Adi Granth* given in this paper conclusively proves that the book is arranged on a clearly traceable system, depending, firstly, on the tunes to which the poems were sung; secondly, on the nature or metre of the poems themselves; thirdly, on their authorship; and, fourthly, on the clef or key deemed appropriate to them. It follows, as a corollary, that the positions of the hymns have no reference to their antiquity or dogmatic importance; and, also, that the *Adi Granth* is a single systematic collection, into which the later additions (as those of the Ninth and Tenth Gurus) were inserted in their appropriate places.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

It is proposed to commence, from the 1st October, a paper under this head, at the conclusion of each number of the Journal. Its object will be:

1. To report the Society's meetings, papers read, and any discussions which may ensue. Such papers as are published in the Journal *in extenso* will be very briefly summarized.
2. To supply an abstract of the Proceedings of Foreign and Branch Societies on matters within the legitimate province of the Royal Asiatic Society.
3. To publish letters or notes from correspondents conveying information, making inquiries, or correcting errors.
4. To supply a list of books in all languages on subjects coming within the scope of the Society, reviewing such as appear to merit special notice.
5. To give currency to miscellaneous information which would naturally interest our Members, whether in the form of extracts, notices, or otherwise.

Advantage is taken of the space provided in the present number by this announcement to enter three communications received during the past quarter. One is from our late President; the second from Mr. Sidney Churchill, at Tehran: the third from our Member and contributor, Dr. Theodore Duka.

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1. Muir's Life of Mahomet.

Edinburgh University, 24th April, 1886.

Sir,—I find that at p. cclxvi of vol. i. of the large edition of the *Life of Mahomet* (1861), I mistook the word *Allâh* for *lâ lahu,* in the couplet at the top of that page:

اين المفر والاله الطالب * والاشرم مغلوب ليس الغالب

Whither will ye flee while the Lord is pursuing? Al Ashram is vanquished, not the Vanquisher.

(*Ashram* is Abraha, the Abyssinian Viceroy of Yemen, who attacked Mecca in the year of the Prophet's birth, and whose army perished miserably of small-pox.)—Yours faithfully,

W. Muir.

The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society.

2. The Alchemist.

Note.—Mr. Sidney Churchill has favoured the Society with a note on Mr. Guy Le Strange's translation of the above play, which appeared in the Journal, Vol. XVIII. Part I. for January, 1886. After conveying his assurance that Mírzá Ja'far Karájedaghí is living, and has verbally expressed his regret that he is not the inheritor of the fortune attributed to him,[1] he gives the Mírzá's own account of his relations with the Akhúndzádeh, Mírzá Fath 'Alí. He (the Mírzá) was not fortunate enough to make his (the Akhundzádeh's) personal acquaintance, but, by correspondence with him, discovered that he was not only a native of Karájedágh, but a relation of his own. Mr. Churchill adds:

"Mírzá Ja'far is—according to his own statement, and by appearance—about fifty-four years of age. Some years ago he was in the employ of Jelál-ud-Dín Mírzá, author of the Persian history called 'Námeh Khusrauván.' When the

[1] M. Barbier de Meynard, in his Preface to the "Trois Comédies," published in Paris this year, mentions the authority on which he also accepts the account given to Mr. Guy Le Strange.

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history was completed and lithographed, copies were presented to different friends of its author. One of these—perhaps only by reputation—was the Akhúndzádeh. A copy was sent to him, and in return he presented the prince with a copy of his plays, expressing the hope—on the lining paper inside the copy—that it would be found interesting enough to be translated into Persian. For a long time this little book lay unnoticed in a niche, until one day, by some chance, Mírzá Ja'far got hold of it. Charmed with the perusal of it, he determined to put into execution the author's wish that a Persian version of it should be made. 'The Alchemist' was the first piece he attempted. On its completion, he showed it to the prince, who was so pleased with it that he urged on him the translation of the remaining plays. Eventually the translation was finished, and the whole was lithographed at odd times, as will be noticed by the dates borne by the several pieces. The translator was considerably out of pocket by the whole affair. His patron died, and for some years he wandered about from one post to another, never getting a permanent berth anywhere. For a little over two years he has been entirely without employ, living retired, unknown and unheeded, fretting away the remainder of his life in sorrow at the thought that what he considered a great educational, and, to his countrymen, a universally beneficial work, has been too often rejected and doomed to oblivion by them.

"The Akhúndzádeh, in his correspondence with Mírzá Ja'far thoroughly approved of the translation, and entirely shared the translator's ideas regarding their purpose of exposing pernicious customs and elevating the vulgar intellect to a higher standard.

"Mírzá Ja'far has two hobbies: the one of which is the rôle that the drama bears as an agent in civilization; the other is to do away with the present system of elementary education, whereby, after a child has been taught his letters, he is made to read the Korán for some years, thereby losing all opportunity of getting at a sound knowledge of his own language. He is convinced that the child should first learn his alphabet, and then read some of the very elementary reading books

lately published at Tehrán, after which he would make it read some of the plays or some other entirely Persian work. This second pet notion of his he has wedded to his only friend and companion, a little girl, left alone in the world with her father, to cheer his waning years.

"As to the English translation, I would make one remark: it is that the word مناات *manát* is the Persian name for a rouble.

"SIDNEY J. A. CHURCHILL.

"*Tehrán, March*, 1886."

3. NOTE ON THE TURKO-TATÁR AND FINN-UGRIC CONTROVERSY.

In connection with, and as a supplement to his great work on "The Ethnology and Ethnography of the Turkish Race," published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1855, Professor Arminius Vambéry gave a discourse on May 4th, this year, at the annual meeting of that scientific body, which excited great interest. The occasion afforded an opportunity to the opponents of his teaching, of which they readily availed themselves, to protest against his conclusions. It may interest the readers of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal to obtain a short *resumé* of the proceedings at Budapest.

Professor Vambéry maintains that "all the ancient theories regarding the origin of the Magyar" nation are based on mistaken assumptions, because the propounders of them seek to connect it with tribes which either never existed at all, or at best played a very subordinate part in the eventful migration of those nations located between the Altai Mountains and the Karpathians. He asserts, moreover, that, instead of obtaining from such studies the light that might have been expected to clear up the dark ages of history, the subject has become more than ever clouded in confusion and uncertainty. To quote his own words, "It is only at the present moment that the veil has been lifted, thanks to the assistance we have obtained from the study of ethnography, history, geography, and philology. The fatal mistake consists in this, that during

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the search after the origin of the Hungarian nation it was assumed that the language of the present day was the only true criterion to guide us. Yet we ought to know that the spoken language of a nation passes through greater changes than does its physical character. We cannot indeed sufficiently deplore that, in setting up such an a priori philological argument, the eyes of a certain class of investigators should be closed to all other arguments. Having thus set aside the lessons of anthropology, psychology and ethnology, they have preserved to us the Hungarian ancestors and their deeds, migrations, and fundamental national characteristics, under an entirely false aspect."

Professor Vambéry further declares that his mode of inquiry into this important subject differs in toto from those hitherto pursued. He starts with the proposition that the study of the question should be commenced at a period when the Hungarians first moved from their original home, which was on the slopes of the Altai Mountains. Commencing with those prehistoric times, the mighty wave of the Turco-Tartar migration subdued the Finnish-Ugric elements, which at that time had also their home there, and drove them to the north-east and the north-west. From the period of this important ethnographic revolution, which effected manifold admixtures between Turkish and Ugric elements, Professor Vambéry dates the origin of the "Magyar" nation, and, owing to the moral and physical advantages thus acquired, and always observed in cross-breeds, he considers that the Magyar element assumed a more favoured position than that of the sister nations which remained purely Turkish.

Space will not admit of a full analysis of the Professor's argument. He admits the hypothetical nature of the starting-point or primary origin of the mixed race, but proceeds to the discussion of its development. The Magyar stem, he contends, remained Turkish, while the branches, by the process of engrafting, assumed an Ugric character. This peculiarity should, however, be noticed—that whereas, in other instances, the conquerors identified themselves with the conquered *en masse*, often losing their own nationality, here the original

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language only (Turkish) was changed under Ugric influence; but the Magyar nation was for centuries preserved in its pure type and characteristic originality.

At the next meeting of the Academy, on May 24th, M. Hunfalvy severely criticized M. Vambéry's theory. A brief summary of the purport of his criticism will be more appropriate in these pages than a repetition of language which called forth a special protest.

Not a single authority, it is urged, is quoted for deducing the origin of the Hungarian from non-existing tribes, nor is the course of reasoning explained by which such conclusion is reached. As to the assertion that the seed from which the Magyar nation sprung was Turkish, but that it became Ugric through contact with the Ugers, the proposition is stated to be at variance with all philological experience. The Magyar tongue, like the properly so-called Ugric dialect, differs from the Finnish and Turkish by peculiar verbal affixes. Moreover, the verb is the bone and marrow of every language, which cannot be exchanged, altered, or transplanted from one into another. If therefore, it is argued, the seed of the development of Magyar national growth were Turkish also, this last could, under no circumstances, undergo a change—that is to say, the Turkish verb could never have received the peculiar verbal inflection mentioned, being the characteristic of the Magyar tongue. Lastly, M. Hunfalvy points out the relationship which existed between the Magyars and a tribe of the Kazars in the eighth and ninth centuries, warranting the hypothesis that the Turkish words found in Magyar were derived from that source: words, for instance, with a terminal *z* change the *z* into *r*, as *öküz* T.=*ökör* Hung.; *Tengiz*=*Tenger*; and so on.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIX.—*Ancient Sculptures in China.* By R. K. DOUGLAS, M.R.A.S., Professor of Chinese at King's College, London.

HITHERTO China has yielded few sculptured figures which can be regarded as of importance by students of comparative archæology. More than usual interest therefore attaches to a set of engravings collected in a Chinese work entitled *Shih Soh* (1806),[1] in which are represented a series of sculptures which stand on the walls of the sacrificial temple of the Wu family in the neighbourhood of the district city of Kia-seang in the province of Shan-tung. These works of art were executed in A.D. 147, at the cost of the two sons of Wu Liang, whose sacrificial temple they were intended permanently to adorn. By a change in the course of the Yellow River, however, the temple was reduced to ruins, and it was not until the reign of K'ien-lung (1736–1795) that the sculptured stones were dug up and recovered. Their discoverer, Hwang Yi by name, carefully numbered the stones as they were found, and built the present temple for their reception. The subjects of which they treat differ from all other Chinese sculptured designs that we know of, in that many of the scenes they depict bear a curious similarity to some of those to be met with in the mythologies of Egypt, Babylonia and Greece. Rubbings have, I believe, been taken of them, but not having had an opportunity of comparing a copy with the engravings in the

[1] A copy of this work was, I believe, presented by Dr. Bushell of Peking to the Oriental Congress of Berlin, 1881. The British Museum also possesses a copy.

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Shih Soh, I am unable personally to answer for the exact accuracy of the Chinese artist. I have, however, the authority of the Marquis Tsêng, who had visited the Wu temple, for saying that the engravings are truthful reproductions of the originals. In the following notice I propose to refer to some few out of the many scenes depicted, which obviously suggest comparisons with mythological ideas anciently current in countries further westward. The art, it will be at once seen from the accompanying plates, is purely Chinese; but there is much in the attitudes of the figures and of the architectural surroundings to remind us of the sculptured remains of other lands. The sculptures in question are arranged in double tiers round the hall, and though in some instances the scenes immediately above and below each other appear to have some connexion, this is not so in all cases. The series begins with a sculpture (see Plate I.) of three figures, two of which represent a man and a woman with human bodies and heads and with serpents' tails which are intertwined. The male figure holds in his hand a carpenter's square, which he appears to be handing to the female figure, while between these two, hanging in the air by their sleeves, is a boy with two shapeless legs. The Editor's note at the side has reference to the male figure only and reads, "Fu-hi Ts'ang-tsing was the first to practise royal duties. He drew the (eight) diagrams, and knotted cords in order to govern the people within the seas." The female figure is recognized as that of Nü-kwa, who by some historians is said to have been Fuh-hi's sister, and is here represented as his wife, and by others to have been separated from him by many generations. Of the boy the Editor can make nothing.

Now we know that according to Chinese legends both Fuh-hi and Nü-kwa had human bodies and dragons' or serpents' tails; that they instructed men in the rudiments of civilization, the use of letters and the arts of common life; that they taught the people to clothe themselves, to cook food, and established marriage.

The benefits they thus conferred upon mankind forcibly remind us of those attributed to the Fish God of Babylonia,

who rose from the sea every morning and who instructed the people bordering on the Persian Gulf in the arts and sciences. But we are further told in the Chinese legendary history that Nü-kwa had the head of a cow, and this peculiarity leads us beyond Babylonia to the banks of the Nile, where we read of the Goddess Isis, who wore an ox-headed helmet, and who, curiously enough, in combination with the God Osiris and their son Horus, form a triad, many of the features of which could not be more accurately represented than by this sculpture in Shantung. In this well-known triad Osiris and Isis are commonly represented as husband and wife, and sometimes as brother and sister, and Horus, as a boy. Osiris holds in his hand a crook and a whip and he stands on the cubit of truth. Isis, we know, as a punishment for having befriended Typhon in his battle with Horus had her diadem torn off and a helmet made in the shape of an ox's head substituted for it.[1] It will also be observed that in the Chinese sculpture the boy hanging from the sleeves of the two larger figures has two shapeless legs. This detail acquires interest when we find in Plutarch's account of Egyptian mythology that Horus, also, suffered the consequences of an irregular birth in a weakness in his lower limbs.

Plate No. II. represents an artificially-trained tree, banked up at the base of the stem. On the branches are a number of birds, at which an archer is shooting. Two boys or monkeys are in the act of climbing the tree, while a wicker basket hangs from the lowest branch. In this connection it is curious to find that in the Egyptian orchards[2] the trees were trained into particular shapes, that they were surrounded at the base of the stem with a circular ridge of earth; that in the case of vines "great care was taken to preserve the clusters from the intrusion of birds; and boys were constantly employed, about the season of the vintage, to frighten them with a sling and the sound of the voice. When the

[1] Wilkinson, new edition, vol. iii. p. 77.

[2] Wilkinson, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians." New edition, vol. i. p. 275.

grapes were gathered, the bunches were carefully put into deep wicker baskets. . . . Monkeys appear to have been trained to assist in gathering the fruit, and the Egyptians represent them in the sculptures handing down figs from the sycamore trees to the gardeners below."[1] It is difficult to identify the kind of tree represented in the Chinese sculpture, but in the accompanying illustration (Plate III.) from Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 107, which, together with the succeeding plates from the same source, I am, by the kindness of Mr. Murray, allowed here to reproduce, a number of birds are depicted as resting on lotus flowers, identical in shape with those on the Chinese tree, while at the side a man is hurling a 'throw-stick' at them.

In Plate IV. is shown an object which strikingly resembles an Egyptian obelisk. It will be remembered that obelisks were built to keep off the evil influence of the air, and were, it is believed, dedicated to the sun.[2] In the Chinese sculpture we have, as will be seen, a being with shapeless legs, similar to that shown in Plate I., in opposition to a figure which may possibly be intended to represent a spirit of evil. The Editor of the *Shih Soh* describes the subject of this Plate as being in appearance a man cutting a tree. But this, in common with all the other notes supplied by the Editor, is merely a guess, hazarded without any special knowledge, and in complete ignorance of every thing beyond the frontiers of China.

The 5th Plate to which I would draw attention shows the arch of heaven formed by a double-headed dragon. The same idea we find frequently represented in Egyptian mythology. In the accompanying plate (Plate VI.) from Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 206, the goddess Pe, whose emblem was the firmament, is depicted bending forward with outspread arms overshadowing the earth and encompassing it in imitation of the vault of heaven, reaching from one side of the horizon to the other. Again, in the 17th chapter of

[1] Wilkinson, new edition, vol. i. pp. 380, 381.

[2] Hatshepsu erected two obelisks of *smu* metal and dedicated them to Amen-Rā. See Records of the Past, vol. xii. p. 135, line 135.

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Naville's Book of the Dead, the vault is formed by a serpent whose head a cat, which is seated within the semicircle, is cutting off with a knife.

Plate VII. represents a triad consisting of a female figure with the head of an animal producing a boy from her mouth, while opposite to her is a figure with a somewhat similar head which, in this case, is surmounted by a serpent. In its right hand this figure holds a weapon, and in its left a sceptre. On the ground by the first figure is a large bird.

It is impossible not to be reminded by these figures of the goddesses Mut and Bast of Egypt. Mut, as we know, was the mother of all things, and had the peculiarity, according to some authorities, of producing men from her mouth and things from her eyes. In the Egyptian sculptures she is represented as wearing on her head a double crown, placed upon a cap ornamented with the head, body, and wings of a vulture, with which bird she is usually associated in the hieroglyphics.[1] In other instances she is given the head of either a lion or a cat, though which it is intended to be is, as Sir G. Wilkinson remarks, frequently difficult to ascertain. Connected with Mut is the goddess Bast, who is graced with a head bearing these same features; on her head she carries a disk and a royal asp. In her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the Egyptian goddesses. In some of the sculptures the disk on the head is omitted, and the asp alone is represented.

In Plate VIII.[2] is shown the goddess Nut pouring water from a tree into a bowl held by a bird with a human head. A somewhat analogous scene is depicted in the Chinese sculptures, in which a man is receiving in a bowl the "sweet dew," which is pouring from the branches of a tree.

Plate IX. forms a companion picture to a sculpture representing a deity being drawn through the clouds in a chariot by three doves, five horses, and three dragons, formed after the pattern of dragons found in the Assyrian sculptures. The chariot is covered by a canopy which is surmounted by

[1] Wilkinson, vol. iii. pp. 31, 34.
[2] Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 62.

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a dove's head, and the cortége, which is accompanied by winged figures and doves, is met and welcomed by a male figure. In this Plate another chariot, drawn by seven dragons, bears a man in an opposite direction through the clouds into the presence of a winged standard-bearer, who is standing on a dove-headed cloud. It was suggested to me by my friend Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie that these sculptures might possibly bear some relation to the legendary visit of Muh wang (B C. 1001–946) to Si wang mu, the Royal Mother of the West, and of hers to him. On further investigation I am convinced that this is so, and that while the sculpture referred to represents Si wang mu's cortége, that shown in Plate IX. depicts that of Muh wang. Si wang mu, the Royal Mother of the West, was, according to Chinese legend, "a fabulous being of the female sex dwelling upon Mount Kwên lun," where, by the border of the Lake of Gems grows "the peach tree of the genii whose fruit confers the gift of immortality . . . and from whence she despatches the azure-winged birds or doves who serve (like the doves of Venus) as her attendants and messengers."[1] Sometimes she is described as having a human head and a bird's body. The description of this goddess bears a curious resemblance to that of Athor, who was known also as "Ḥet Ḥeru, or Horus's (the Sun's) mundane habitation,"[2] and as Mut or Mother, and especially as Mother of young Horus. This goddess, to whom the cow was sacred, was thought to live behind the Western Mountain, of Thebes, and it was into her "arms that the setting sun as it retired behind the mountain was said to be received.[3] The persea tree which, as Sir G. Wilkinson says, "was often confounded by ancient authors" with the peach, was sacred to her. Like Si wang mu, also, she is said to have been occasionally "represented as a bird with a human head."[4] We find then that these two goddesses both dwelt on or behind the Western Mountains, the home of the sun ;

[1] Mayer's Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 178.
[2] Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 110.
[3] Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 115.
[4] Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 121.

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that the same superhuman form is by some authorities ascribed to both of them; that the peach tree was sacred to both; that the attribute of mother is given to both; and that they both employed doves as their attendants and messengers. But to complete the analogy between the myths of Athor and Si wang mu, we should find some reference to the sun sinking into the arms of the Chinese goddess. And this we do in legendary records which have collected round the career of Muh wang (B.C. 1001–946).

In the history of this prince, which is said to have been found in a tomb of one of the Wei Princes in 281 B.C., we have an account of a journey made by him to Si wang mu, in which so many of the characteristics of the Sun God are introduced that it is impossible not to recognize in him a counterpart of the Greek Phœbus. We are told that he started on his journey amid rain and snow, that passing over the gold-plated hill he reached the Mountains of the Spring, and eventually arrived at the abode of the Royal Mother of the West. In Plate IX. he is represented as being drawn through the clouds by seven dragon steeds which bear a resemblance both in number and significance of name to the celebrated horses of Phœbus, as the following list shows:

Phœbus's Horses.	*Muh wang's steeds.*
Βροντη=Thunder.	Yu lun=A wheel passing overhead.
Ἕως=Daybreak.	K'ü hwang=Wide speading yellow.
Αἰθοψ=Flashing.	Tao li=Fleet racer.
Αἰθων=Fiery.	Ch'ih ki=Red steed.
Ἐρυθρὸς=Red producer.	Hwa liu=Effiulgent red steed.
Φιλόγαιος=Earth-loving.	Shan tsze=Son of the Mountain.
Πυρόεις=Fiery.	Luh urh=Green-eared.

It is curious also to observe that a winged bull or cow figures among the animals forming part of the cortége.

In the text of the work above mentioned an eighth steed is added to the seven, which is called Poh i, which may be translated "Manifested righteousness." The legend also

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states that Muh wang had four jewels which appear to correspond to the four planets anciently known to the Chinese, viz. Mars, Venus, Mercury and Saturn; of these Mars was said to be red in colour, Venus golden, Mercury silver, and Saturn yellow. The colours of the first three are fittingly symbolized by the Suen chu, a Redstone, Hwang Kin kaou 'The richness of yellow gold,' and Chuh yin, 'Bright silver.' But the fourth of Muh wang's jewels is Yuh kwo, 'the perfection of gems,' a name which curiously resembles the title of "beautiful," given to Saturn both by the Egyptians and the Greeks.

Muh wang, we are further told, was, like Apollo, armed with a bow which shot forth darts at men, and was followed by dogs which, as though he were the protector of flocks and herds like the Greek God, were the enemies of beasts of prey.

On the last day of the Sexagenary cycle Muh wang reached the abode of Si wang mu, who entertained him on the shores of the lake of gems with such delights that he forgot to return homewards until reminded of his duties by the goddess, who sang him the following song:

White clouds float across the sky,
The mountain peaks appear on high;
Long and distant is your way,
Where the streams through mountains stray:
Immortal may you ever be,
And oft return to visit me!

Accepting the hint, Muh wang sang in response:

Again to Eastern land I wend my way,
To bend the summer to my general sway;
When men have peaceful and contented grown,
Again I'll turn me to your royal throne:
When thrice the year has run its race amain,
Across the wilds I'll hither come again.

He then ascended his chariot and departed.

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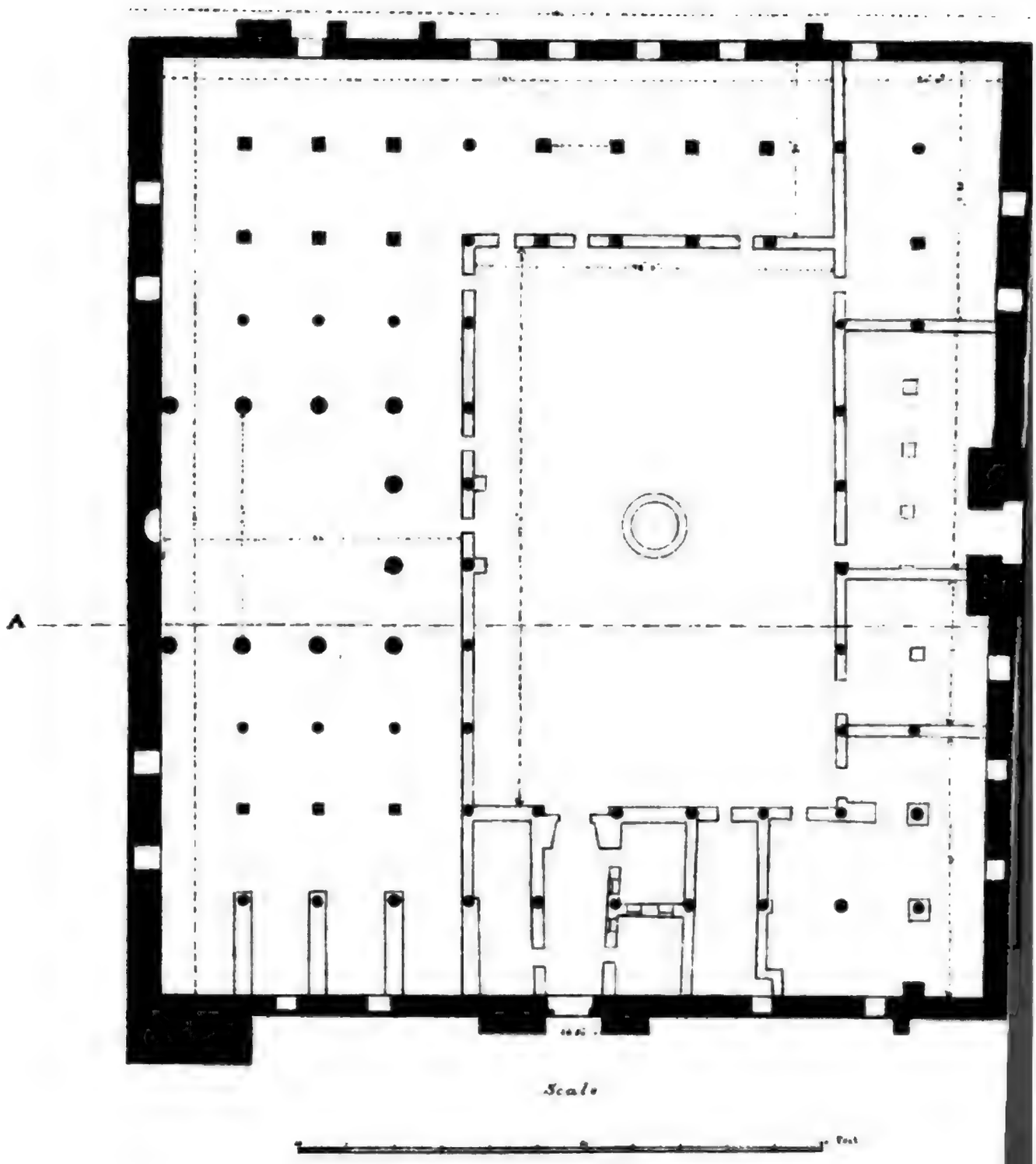

PLAN OF MOSQUE

OF SULTAN NASIR, NASIR ED DIN. MOHAMED EBN KALAOUN.

CAIRO CITADEL.

N.B. Original building shown in black : the rest is modern rubble masonry.

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ART. XX.—*The Mosque of Sultan Nasir Mohammed ebn Kalaoun, in the Citadel of Cairo.* By Major C. M. WATSON, R.E.

(Communicated by H. C. KAY, Esq., M.R.A.S.)

THE mosque of Sultan Nasir ebn Kalaoun, which stands at the centre of Cairo citadel, although one of the most interesting in the city, seems to have received less attention than it deserves. This is probably due to the fact that, for many years past, it has ceased to be used as a mosque, and has been thrown into the background by the great Mosque of Mohamed Ali Pasha, which is visited by at least a thousand persons for every one who takes the trouble to enter the old royal mosque of the citadel.

It was used for a considerable time as a prison, and during recent years has been a military store-house, where heaps of all kinds of articles were piled up in confusion. High walls of rough rubble masonry had been built in between the pillars, in order to divide the space into compartments suitable for prison or store purposes.

In consequence of the position I recently held in the Egyptian War Office, I was able to have the whole of the stores, with which the mosque was encumbered, removed to other places, and to take down a number of the partition walls which closed the intervals between the pillars. Capt. William Freeman, of the Royal Sussex Regiment, gave most material assistance by allowing the military prisoners, of whom he was in charge, to work upon the removal of the walls. Sufficient of these have now been pulled down to show the beautiful interior of the mosque to full advantage. Certain of the walls I was afraid to remove, because, before this could be done with safety, it would be necessary to take measures for the security of the pillars and arches, some

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of which are in a dangerous condition. I applied to the Egyptian Committee for the Preservation of Arab Monuments for a grant of funds for this purpose; but they, while fully acknowledging the importance of the work, were obliged to refuse, in consequence of the small amount available for the restoration of ancient buildings.

It will be seen from the plan of the mosque attached to this paper, that the east and south arcades are now almost completely cleared. In the north and west arcades the partition walls still remain.

I have annexed a set of photographs of this most interesting monument, which give a better idea of its present condition than any written description can do. These photographs, with the exception of two, which were taken by M. Facchinelli, were taken by M. Sebah, of Cairo, at the request of the Committee alluded to above.

The Mosque was built in the year 1318 A.D. by Sultan Nasir Mohammed, the son of Sultan el Mansoor Kalaoun. Sultan Nasir had an eventful reign, having come to the throne at a very early age, and having been twice dethroned and twice restored. It was during the period after his second restoration that he built the citadel mosque.

For some reason that is not quite clear, it is sometimes erroneously called the Mosque of Salah ed Din, and almost every Dragoman who professes to exhibit the sights of Cairo to travellers, calls it by this name. Perhaps Salah ed Din may have built a mosque on the same site which was afterwards replaced by that of Nasir.

Makrizi's notes upon the mosque run as follows:

"This mosque, situated in the citadel of the mountain, was erected by the order of King Nasir Mohamed ibn Kalaoun in the year 718 of the Hegira. He caused a magnificent dome to be placed upon the summit of it. An iron maksourah [1] was also constructed; and, at the entrance of the mosque, was a maksourah of iron, in which the Sultan performed the duties of prayer. The mosque was endowed with funds which largely exceeded the

[1] A kind of screen.

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expenses, and it became one of the richest and most magnificent mosques in Egypt."

The mosque stands in the central court of the citadel, and in plan is approximately square, measuring 206 feet from north to south and 186 feet from east to west. In speaking of the direction of the sides of the mosque, it is convenient to consider that the east wall runs north and south, although, of course, as in all Cairo mosques, it really runs more nearly north-west and south-west.

The principal entrance to the mosque was in the centre of the west wall, but this doorway is now built up. Beside the door is a minaret of a description by no means common, the stones being carved in a very bold zigzag pattern. The summit is covered with green enamelled tiles, beneath which an Arabic inscription encircles the minaret.

The door is in a deep recess, and over it is a tablet upon which is the following inscription :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بانشأ هذا الجامع
المبارك السعيد لوجه الله تعالي سيدنا و مولانا السلطان
الملك الناصر ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد بن مولانا السلطان
الشهيد قلاوون الصالحي في شهور سنة ثمانية وعشرة وسبع مايه من
الهجرة النبوية

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious. He who ordered the building of this mosque, the Blessed, the Happy, for the sake of God, whose name be exalted, is our Lord and Master, the Sultan and King, the conqueror of the world and faith, Nasir Mohamed, son of our Lord the Sultan Kalaoun Es Saleh, in the months and year of the Hegira of the Prophet seven hundred and eighteen."

This corresponds with the year 1318 A.D.

In an upper part of the west wall is a row of clerestory windows which goes all round the mosque. These windows were formerly filled with beautiful tracery and stained glass, but only a few fragments now remain.

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The door which is now used is in the north side of the mosque. Over it is an Arabic inscription, of which the lower half is broken away, but the two lines which remain intact are identical with the two upper lines of the inscription over the west door. At the north-east angle is the second minaret of the mosque. It is of a different pattern to the west minaret, but, like it, the summit is capped with green enamelled tiles.

The exterior of the east wall of the mosque is much concealed by rubbish, and by some mean buildings which have been erected against it, and the south side is in a similar condition. In the latter wall is a doorway into the mosque, which was probably the Sultan's private entrance. This door is now blocked up with masonry. Close to it are some ancient masonry vaults of great strength, which are well worth investigation. They may have formed part of the outer wall of the original fortress, but it is not at present easy to follow their plan.

As I have already stated, the only entrance to the mosque now available is that in the north wall. From this a passage leads into the centre court.

The plan of the mosque is a simple one. An arcade runs round the whole of the interior, having four rows of columns on the east and two upon each of the other sides. The width of the eastern arcade is 64 feet, that of the northern and southern 37 feet, and that of the western 29 feet 6 inches. In the centre of the eastern arcade and over the kibleh, the pillars are replaced by ten monolithic granite columns of very large size. These columns supported the magnificent dome described by Makrizi, which unfortunately has fallen in. The Kibleh, also, which, according to tradition, was specially magnificent, has been removed, and the space which it occupied has been filled in with rubble masonry. The columns of the dome have no bases, and the capitals are very plain. There is no doubt that they, as well as the other pillars of the mosque, were carried off from Memphis, or some other ancient city. Photograph No. 6 gives a good representation of some of the great columns.

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The dome columns are surmounted by arches made of alternate red and white stones, and above these is an inscription upon a broad wooden band, which runs round the base of the dome. This inscription commences from the south side, and runs as follows :

South Wall.

بسم الله الرحمٰن الرحيم ياايها الدين أمنوا اركعو او اسجدواواعبدوا
ربكم وافعلو الخير لعلكم تفلحون

East Wall.

بسم الله الرحمٰن الرحيم انما يعمرمساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم
الاخرواقام الصلوات وايتأ الزكوات ولم يخشي الا الله

North Wall.

فعسي اوليك أن يكونو من المهتدين . . . أمر بانشائه مولانا
السلطان الملك الناصرين مو

West Wall.

لانا السلطان المرحوم الملك المنصورسيف الدنيا والدين قلاوون
تغمده الله برحمته وذلك مسهل سبعه . . . . . .

"In the name of the Most Merciful God. O true believers, bow down and prostrate yourselves and worship your Lord, and work righteousness that ye may be happy.

"In the name of the Most Merciful God. But he only should visit the temples of God who believeth in God and the last day, and is constant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms and feareth God alone.

"These perhaps may become those who are rightly directed. Who ordered the building of it, is our Lord the Sultan, King Nasir, son of our Lord.

"The deceased Sultan, the victorious King, Sword of the world and the faith, Kalaoun. May God cover him with his mercy. The work was begun in the year seven . . . . . ."

The end of the inscription, giving the date, has partly fallen and is not decipherable.

The smaller pillars of the arcades all exist, with the exception of five on the western side, which, with the arches above them, have completely disappeared. The square pillars of rubble masonry which have taken their place are modern work.

The central court of the mosque measures 117 feet 6 inches from north to south, and 76 feet 6 inches from east to west. The ancient *hanafieh* in the centre has been replaced by a modern one.

Above the arches which surround the central court are a row of windows similar to those in the exterior walls of the mosque.

On the interior of the south wall are remains of marble mosaic work, which, when perfect, must have been very beautiful. There are traces of similar work upon the north wall, but the greater part of the mosaic has completely disappeared. Upon the west wall there is no trace of decorative work, although there can be no doubt that large sums were spent upon its embellishment.

The ceiling of the mosque is specially worthy of notice. Photograph No. 4 gives a good idea of the general design. It was painted in bright colours, with much gilding, and ostrich eggs are fixed in the spaces between the corners of the hexagonal panels. The ceiling is in a bad state of repair, and I fear that, before long, it will have fallen altogether.

It is to be regretted that no complete history has been written of this mosque, which, during the time of the Memlook Sultans, was one of the most important in Cairo. If local tradition is correct, it began to be neglected soon after the Turkish conquest of Egypt, and successive Governors have gradually absorbed the whole of the revenues of which Makrizi spoke, until, at present, there is not a piastre left which could be used in keeping the mosque in repair.

Knowing the absolute indifference with which Egyptian officials for the most part regard ancient monuments, I hope that the attention of archæologists may be directed to this

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mosque before it is again applied, as is quite possible, to some secular purpose.

Description of Photographs of the Mosque of the Sultan Nāsir ed Din Mohamed ebn Kalaoun, in the Citadel of Cairo.

No. 1. North side of Mosque, showing north-east minaret.
No. 2. West side of Mosque. On this side is the principal entrance, but this is now closed up.
No. 3. Inner Court, looking towards north-east corner. The rubble stone filling in the arches has now been removed.
No. 4. Main arcade, looking towards the north-east.
No. 5. Great pillars under dome. North side in front view. East side in perspective.
No. 6. Base of Dome, looking towards south-west angle.
No. 7. Base of Dome, west side.
No. 8. Pillar behind south-west angle of base of dome.

These photographs were taken by Sebah of Cairo, with the exception of two which were taken by M. Facchinelli.[1]

[1] The whole set may be seen in the Royal Asiatic Society's Rooms in Albemarle Street.

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Art. XXI.—*The Languages of Melanesia.* By Professor Georg von der Gabelentz, of the University of Leipzig.

Prepared at the request of, and communicated by, Dr. R. N. Cust, Honorary Secretary, with a Note.

[The writer of this communication is the son of H. C. Von der Gabelentz; and is, like his distinguished father was before him, one of the most remarkable Linguistic Scholars of his time. He treats of a subject which is of the greatest importance, and which has this year been brought prominently to the notice of scholars by the Comparative Grammar of the Melanesian Languages compiled by the Rev. R. H. Codrington of the Melanesian Mission, and published by the Clarendon Press. The Archipelago of Islands, known by the name of Melanesia, from the dark colour of their Negrito inhabitants, as distinguished from the fair Polynesians further to the East, extends in a chain of Islands from the Southern Point of New Guinea to Fiji, and includes in addition to those Islands the Groups known as Solomon, Santa Cruz, Banks, Torres Islands, New Hebrides, Loyalty and New Caledonia. They have been the scene of outrages on the part of the white traders, and vengeful murders on the part of the natives: they are a bone of contention betwixt England and France: their population is wasting away by kidnapping to supply the wants of Planters in Queensland and the Fiji Islands, and by infectious diseases, and spirituous liquors introduced by Europeans. The Bible has been translated into several of the languages (and each of the larger Islands has its own language or even several distinct languages), but it is calculated that in a few years the population will, like that of Tasmania, have totally disappeared, and the languages remain as literary survivals.]

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In this valuable book[1] the work begun and enlarged by my dear father,[2] and continued by Dr. A. B. Meyer and myself,[3] is taken up on a new plan and on a somewhat broader base. My father's work comprised twenty-three languages in all, while in the book before us the number of languages treated in separate grammars and grammatical sketches amounts to thirty-five, eleven of which are identical with those contained in my father's book. Besides, short grammatical notes are inserted on four other languages of the family. Leaving these aside, forty-seven Melanesian languages may henceforth be counted as more or less known in regard to their grammatical structure. Lifu, twice analyzed in my father's two volumes, has since been made the object of Notes grammaticales sur le langue de Lifu, par A. C., Paris, 1882, 8vo. On Aneityúm we have A Dictionary of the Aneityumese Language, etc., also Outlines of Aneityumese Grammar, by J. Inglis, London, 1882, 12mo. On Mota, the author's own Grammatical Sketch, London, 1877, 8vo. While Professor H. Kern of Leiden has recently made Fijian the subject of copious and fertile comparative researches (De Fidjitaal vergeleken met hare Verwanten in Indonesië en Polynesië, Amsterdam, 1886, 4to.). These works and a Dictionary by the Rev. George Brown, Wesleyan Missionary, of the Duke of York's Island Language, New Britain Group, also a Grammar of the same, printed in thirty copies by hectography, Sydney, 1882, 4to., are the principal exponents of Melanesian linguistic literature that have come to my notice. This is little, indeed, considering the width and weight of the subject, and sincere thanks are due to the learned author for the extensive and painful researches the results of which are now at his fellow-labourers' disposal. The following abstract will furnish an idea of the plan followed.

[1] The Melanesian Languages. By R. H. Codrington. 8vo. pp. viii. 572 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885).

[2] H. C. von der Gabelentz, Die melanesischen Sprachen nach ihrem grammatischen Bau und ihrer Verwandtschaft, etc. 2 voll. Abhandl. d. Kön. Sachs. Ges. d. Wissensch. Leipzig, 1861, 1873.

[3] Vol. xix. of the same Abhandlungen.

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An introduction, pp. 1–31, describes the geographical extension of Melanesian nations and languages; a general map of Melanesia is added, and further on, there are special maps of the single groups. Then the author points out the kinship of the Melanesian languages as well between themselves as with the Malayo-Polynesian family, finally leading up to a new theory on the origin and prospects of these languages, to which I shall refer towards the end of this paper.

The second section is devoted to comparative lexicology. The nine words in fifty-nine languages collected by Mr. Wallace, and seventy words in forty languages synoptically arranged by the author, are discussed and compared between themselves and with corresponding words in Malay, Malagási, Maori, and, here and there, other languages akin, such as Batta, Samoa, etc. On p. 60, No. 10, it might be observed that in Mafúr *Kōr* (not *Kur*) 'bone,' corresponds to Malay *tulang*.

A short comparative grammar of Melanesian languages in connection with Malay, Malagási and Maori, follows, pp. 101–192. Here the principal common facts and forms of the Melanesian branch are set forth and discussed. Without entering into details, I shall content myself with stating that, in the majority of the cases where my views differ from the author's, this is owing to his general hypothesis already alluded to.

Phonology, pp. 193-219, and numeration, pp. 220-251, are treated in separate sections. In the former, little attempt has been made either to group the languages in respect to phonetic laws, or to gain something like the laws, which form the pride of Indo-Germanic science: laws, I mean to say, which declare peremptorily that this sound in one language must correspond, under the same circumstances, to that in a certain other language. Observations of this nature, indeed, are to be met with interspersed in the grammatical monographs. But even if this were not the case, the defect would be of less importance than might seem. Apparently in those insular languages articulation has been of old, and is partly now, less distinct,

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less firm and fixed, than it is in our Arian family. Otherwise speaking, had the ancestors of those islanders formed an alphabet of their own, containing, as is the case with Devanágarí, just as many symbols as there were sounds really distinguished in the language, this alphabet would have been far poorer in symbols, and its symbols partly less strict in phonetic value, their pronunciation allowing more variety, than would Devanágarí. So, indeed, the Bisáya acknowledged only three vowels and thirteen consonants. This fact of lax articulation explains the irregularities, apparently capricious, occuring to any one who undertakes a lexical comparison of the Malay languages, nor has it been eliminated even by such careful and judicious researches as are contained in Brandes' Bijdragen tot de vergelijkende Klankleer, etc.

The last part of the book, pp. 253–572, contains grammars and grammatical sketches of thirty-five Melanesian languages, geographically arranged. Of these, Mota alone occupies pages 253 to 310, so that the average space left to each of the other thirty-four does not exceed seven pages and a half. Scanty as this may seem, the grammatical materials brought to the reader's notice are somewhat fuller than would have been possible had the author followed a different plan. The arrangement of the monographs, on the whole, is worthy of approval and agreeing with the nature of the languages in question. Syntax has nowhere been made the object of separate chapters. Examples consisting of complete sentences are to be found in sufficient number only in a part of the sketches, and so are short texts. Reasons independent of his intentions may have prevented the learned author from being so munificent in this point as we should have desired. As it is, let us hope that he will find enough encouragement in his praiseworthy endeavours to publish some day a second volume containing more copious glossaries and as many analyzed or translated texts as possible.

It would go far even to enumerate the languages more or less made known by the work before us. The Banks' and Torres Islands, not yet accessible to my father's researches,

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are now represented, the former by twelve, the latter by two: so is the Santa Cruz Group, while other groups have been filled up by new members. Of the languages treated by my father, Fíji, Aneityúm, Erromanga, Tanna, Mallikólo, Lifu, Uea, Gera of Guadalcanar, Eddystone, Bauro, Mara, Ma-siki, and the three New Caledonian, have been left aside, while for the eleven others the author had such materials at hand as made him wish to see them produced anew.

Let us now, in the author's own words, explain the theory developed in his introductory chapter. "Suppose," he says, "in the islands adjacent to the Asiatic continent a population of dark-coloured and curly-haired physical character with their own language. Suppose the islands to be settled with this population, originally of one stock, and the gradual settlements of the islands further away to the south-east to be going on by the people of the one stock, their language diverging as time and distance increase. Suppose Asiatic people, lighter in complexion and straight-haired, to have intercourse with the island people nearest to the continent, going over to trade with them, residing on the island coasts, giving rise to a certain number of half-castes. These half-castes, then, in regard to language, would be island-people. They would not follow their foreign fathers' speech, but their mothers' and their fellow-villagers'; but in regard to physical appearance they would be mixed, lighter than their mothers in complexion, with flatter features (if their mothers were Papuans and their fathers like Chinese), and their hair would be straighter. This mixed breed would begin on the coast and increase; it would mix in its turn both with the inland people and with the foreign visitors—relatives on the fathers' side. The result, after a time, would be that in the interior of the island the aboriginal inhabitants would remain physically and in speech what they were, but on the coast and towards the coast there would be a great mixture of various degrees of crossings, some very like the Asiatic visitors, some very little unlike the inland people, but *all speaking* the island-language," etc.

Linguistic reasons, I think, would rather recommend a

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contrary supposition. Let us break before all with the hypothetic dualism of ascending and descending development, and with the superstition that the former was the general state of agglutinative languages. As to the Malayan family, traces more or less rudimentary of that wonderfully rich and symmetrical grammatical system by which the Philippine languages and their nearer relatives excel, are to be found throughout, and more recently such traces have been pointed out in Fiji and the Polynesian Family by Prof. Kern. The like are met with, more or less fragmentary, throughout the Melanesian Group. Had we not better, under such circumstances, speak of decay on the latter side, and attribute higher primitiveness to those languages which have fully-developed forms where others show lumps and stumps? As to the speciality insisted upon by the author on pp. 27–29, the fact that a part of the substantives requires or allows possessive affixes, while the other part does not, is by no ways confined to the Malayo-Polynesian family, but based on logical reasons, and therefore common to very different languages. Relations, familiar or social, members of the body or other parts of things, require logically something or somebody they belong to—a genitive case. A father, an eye, an upper part, are somebody's father, somebody's eye, something's upper part. From this it seems to follow that the distinction made by the Melanesians may hardly be considered as a striking proof of greater originality. While in the Polynesian Languages such possessive affixes are entirely wanting, they are in full vigour in the higher members of the Malayan, and there applicable not only to every substantive noun without exception, but also, as *genitivi auctoris*, to the (in reality nominal) passive forms of the verbs. Here again the superiority in point of consequent development and the presumption of better conservation is, I think, on the Malayan side.

There is one fact, however, which impartiality forbids me to pass by in silence. The Negrito languages of the Philippines appear, judging from the scanty specimens in my possession, to enjoy grammatical systems very similar

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in fullness, richness, and in the phonetic means employed, to those of their light-coloured neighbours. Should, then, these be the keepers of the family treasure, the heirs of our author's ancient island-language? I doubt whether any one, though prepossessed in favour of Mr. Codrington's theory, would insist upon such a possibility any longer than the time needed for a superficial examination and comparison of the materials. Everybody would gain the conviction that, in this instance at least, the light-coloured men were the givers and the black men the receivers, for while Tagála and its sisters form integrating members in the close and solid chain of their Malayan kinship, the idioms of the Zambales, Mariveles, etc., stand in evident opposition to those of the other black islanders, with which, of course, they are related, but only loosely and by Malayan intermediation. Moreover, which is more probable *a priori*, that the more highly endowed Malays should have adopted the languages of inferior aborigines, or the contrary? Which, I ask, is more analogous to experience? It is much to be desired that Professor Kern, or a scholar equally well versed in comparative Malayo-Polynesian studies, would submit the Melanesian materials, grammatical and lexicological, to investigations similar to those exhibited in the former's "Fidjitaal." Then we might expect to see the observations made above confirmed in more than one point, and many of the words till now looked upon as originally Melanesian, derived from Malayan sources.

But strong and eager as may seem my criticism of the author's theory, stronger yet is my feeling of gratitude and indebtedness for the eminent merits of his laborious work.

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ART. XXII.—*Notes on the History of the Banu 'Oḳayl.* By HENRY C. KAY, M.R.A.S.

THE following particulars on the origin and early history of the Banu 'Oḳayl are from Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. p. 312, vol. vi. p. 11, etc. (Bulak Edition).

I may perhaps allow myself to begin by reminding the reader that Eastern writers invariably represent the Ismailian Arabs as the posterity of 'Adnan, descendant of Ismail, and the people of each tribe as the actual children of one or other of the Arab Patriarch's posterity, after each of whom the tribe is usually named. But it is obviously unnecessary, to say the least of it, to regard the genealogies attributed to the tribes as anything more than the real or reputed pedigrees of their chiefs. Indeed it is difficult to suppose that Arab historians themselves can seriously contend for much more. All the Ismailian Arabs, they tell us, are the descendants of 'Adnan, and indeed of his son Ma'add. The latter, when twelve years of age, and when the invasion of Arabia by Bukht Naṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) was about to take place, was conveyed to Harrān in Mesopotamia. 'Adnān died shortly after. Ma'add on his return to Arabia, after the death of Bukht Naṣṣar, found that his father's people had joined the Yamanites. He collected them together and brought them back to the territory of Mecca, and although they are styled his brethren and kindred, we cannot suppose

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it to be seriously urged that they were his brothers, the sons of his father.[1]

The tribe of 'Oḳayl, descended from Moḍar, through Ḳays 'Aylan and Hawāzin, was one of five subdivisions of the Banu Ka'b. They were the Banu 'Oḳayl, Harīsh, Ḳushayr, Ja'dah, and 'Ijlān ibn 'Abdallah ibn Ka'b. The second, third and fourth of these are said to have become extinct in the early days of Islām. The Banu Ka'b are themselves described as sons of Rabī'ah, son of 'Āmir, son of Ṣa'ṣa'ah, and the Banu Rabī'ah were one of four sister-tribes, of which the other three were the Banu Numayr, Suwat and Hilal.

The homes of the Banu 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah were at an early date the deserts of Nejd adjoining to Tihāmah, extending thence to the confines of Syria and on the south to the neighbourhood of Ta-if. At a later period they spread into the Syrian deserts, thence to 'Irāk, and the greater portion of the tribe became ere long scattered throughout the countries of Islām. Ibn Khaldūn states on the authority of Ibn Hazm that the great sept of the Banu 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah alone equalled in numbers all the other Modarite tribes.[2]

The Banu 'Oḳayl were divided into many subtribes. Of these were the Banu Muntafiḳ, son of 'Āmir, son of 'Oḳayl, from whom, according to Ibn 'Abd al Azīz al Jurjāni, as quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, were derived those Arabs, known in North Africa under the name of Khuluṭ, who in the days of the historian inhabited the country between Marocco and Fez.[3] They lived, together with certain subtribes of

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. pp. 241, 298.

[2] In translating that passage, in his *Histoire des Berbères*, de Slane applies it to the 'Oḳaylis alone. And that no doubt is the natural construction to be placed upon the words as they stand in the original. But I think the meaning intended by the author is as I have stated it in the text, a reading, I may add, which makes the statement somewhat less startling and incredible.

Ibn Hazm was the author of a book, *Kitāb Jamharat al Ansāb*, mentioned in the Kashf ez Ẓunūn, and frequently quoted in Ibn Khaldūn's work on the Arab tribes. He was a native of Cordova, and died in A.H. 456. His life is given by Ibn Khallikan (de Slane's translation, vol. ii. p. 267), and a short notice of him and of his chief writings in Al Maḳḳari's work on the Arabs of Spain, vol. ii. p. 963 (Bul. ed.), but neither of these writers makes mention of the Kitāb al Jamharah.

[3] The life of Al Jurjāni, who died in A.H. 366, is given by Ibn Khallikan, vol. ii. p. 221. I read the word Khuluṭ as the plural of Khaliṭ. See Lane's Dictionary.

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the Banu Hilal, in close alliance with the Banu Jusham, a tribe descended, like the Banu 'Oḳayl, from the Banu Hawāzin, and the designation of Jushamites was commonly bestowed upon all.

The Khuluṭ entered Africa along with the Banu Hilāl, a tribe which was, as already stated, a branch of the Banu 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah. A portion of the Banu Hilāl had settled in North Africa in the days of the Fatimite Khalīfah al Hākim; but the bulk of the tribe, which, together with the Banu Sulaym, had allied itself with the Carmathians of Bahreyn, was, after the final defeat of the latter by Al 'Azīz, settled on the eastern banks of the Nile. There they remained until the days of Al Mustanṣir, who, by the advice of his Wazir al Yazūri, and with the object of crushing the rebellion of al Mu'izz ibn Badīs, poured into North Africa in A.H. 442 (A.D. 1050–1) a horde of Arabs, whose progress is likened by the historian to that of a flight of locusts, devouring the substance of every district through which they passed, and spreading ruin and desolation wherever they penetrated.

They consisted chiefly of the Banu Hilāl, accompanied by their numerous subtribes, and of the Banu Sulaym, already mentioned, a great and powerful tribe, sister to the Banu Hawāzin, from whom both Banu Hilāl and 'Oḳayl traced their descent.

It was nearly fifty years previous to these events that the insurrection occurred of the Sharīf al Walīd ibn Hishām, better known under his nickname of Abu Rakwa, who claimed descent from the Ommayads, and whose principal adherents were the Banu Ḳurrah, a subtribe of the Banu Hilāl. Abu Rakwa was captured and put to death at Cairo by al Ḥākim in A.H. 396.

In touching upon these events, Ibn Khaldūn remarks that the relations of the Sharīf Ibn Hishām with the Hilālis, their emigration into Africa, the marriage of the Sharīf with Al Jāziyah, the sister of the Amīr Hasan ibn Sarḥān, chief of the Banu Athbaj (one of the subtribes of the Banu Hilāl), were made the foundation of many romantic tales, still widely known in the writer's time.

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Sheikh Hasan al 'Aṭṭar, a Cairo *'Ālim* of considerable reputation for learning and scholarship, who died about half a century ago, has added to one of the MSS. of Ibn Khaldūn's work a marginal note, which is preserved in the printed edition (vol. vi. p. 18), and in which he identifies these tales with those that form the leading subject of the collection of legends known as the Story of Abu Zeyd, to this day one of the most popular of the romances with which the public story-tellers are in the habit of entertaining their hearers in the streets of Cairo.

The justice of Sheikh al 'Aṭṭar's observation is obvious to any person at all acquainted with these tales. Most of them have of late years been printed at Cairo, and that relating to the emigration of the Banu Hilāl from Nejd into Africa, under the guidance of Abu Zeyd, corresponds in almost every detail with the summary furnished by Ibn Khaldūn.[1] The late Mr. Lane, in his Modern Egyptians, supplies a summary of the story of the birth of Abu Zeyd, and a specimen of the verses with which the romances are abundantly interspersed. In their disregard of metrical regularity, the neglect of terminal inflections, as well as in other characteristics, the verses are in complete accord with Ibn Khaldūn's critical observations upon them. To his remark that the tales had, in the course of a long period of time, been subjected to numerous alterations and interpolations, it may be added that there has no doubt been a further accession of alterations of a similar kind during the five centuries that have elapsed since he wrote, but it may be regarded as no less certain that the tales, with their curious idealized pictures of Bedouin life, are still at the present day in every essential particular, identical with those handed down from a remote period to the days of Ibn Khaldūn, and the latter remarks that any expression of doubt upon their authenticity was apt to be warmly resented by the Banu Hilāl.

The Banu Muntafiḳ, sons of 'Oḳayl, originally occupied the district of Arabia situated between Teyma and Nejd.

[1] Vol. vi. p. 18. See De Slane's translation in his Histoire des Berbères, vol. i. p. 41.

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Thence they removed to the marshy country in the neighbourhood of Baṣrah, known as Al Baṭā-ih, where they were governed by a family of the name of Ma'rūf. Their neighbours were here the Banu 'Āmir ibn 'Auf, a sister subtribe of the Muntafiḳ, descended like itself from the Banu 'Āmir sons of 'Oḳayl.

A third subtribe, also derived from these Banu 'Āmir, were the Banu Khafājah, who took up their abode in the deserts of 'Irāk. Ibn Khaldūn remarks of them that they were noted for their incorrigible turbulence and violence, a statement fully borne out by what we know of their history. In A.H. 452, Toghrul Beg, with the object probably of obtaining security for their more orderly conduct, appointed their chief to the government of the city of Kufah, an experiment which had been unsuccessfully tried by the Buweyhi princes. As had happened before, the authority of the Khafājis over a civilized community could not endure. We find them, in A.H. 485, attacking and looting the caravan of pilgrims near Kufah, after which, making their way into the city, they plundered and massacred the inhabitants. A few years later a sanguinary war took place between them and their kindred tribe the 'Obādahs, the consequence of a quarrel, which it must be said was carefully promoted by Seyf ed Daulah Sadaḳah, the wealthy and powerful Asadi chief and prince of Ḥillah, who openly encouraged one side and secretly aided the other. In a severe fight with troops sent against them from Baghdad in A.H. 556, before which they had retreated into the Syrian desert, their women distinguished themselves by appearing on the field of battle with water for the relief of their countrymen, but also armed with knives, with which they mercilessly slaughtered their wounded enemies. On more than one occasion the Khafājis were nearly exterminated. But the tribe was almost as remarkable for its vitality as for its turbulence, and they long continued to inhabit the district bordering upon the Euphrates below Kufah. The Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭūṭah passed through their country in A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327), and speaks of them as brave and powerful, but also as incorrigible

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robbers, infesting the roads leading to Kufah, and causing ruin both to the city and to its neighbourhood.

I shall have occasion more than once in the course of this paper to speak of the Banu Asad, and of their chiefs of the family of Mazyad, the founders, towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijrah, of a powerful principality on the banks of the Euphrates. The Banu Asad were a Modarite tribe, descended from Khuzaymeh, son of Modrikah, son of Ilyas, the latter brother of Ḳays 'Aylān, ancestor of the 'Oḳaylis and of the numerous other "Ḳaisy" tribes.

The Mazyadis, Princes of Ḥillah, were members of a subtribe of the Asadis, known as the Banu Nāshirah. The power of the Asadis in Irak was utterly destroyed by the Khalifah Al Mustanjid Billah in A.H. 558, in revenge for the support they had given to the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad, son of Mahmūd. They were attacked with the assistance of Ibn Ma'rūf, chief of the Banu Muntafiḳ, and 4000 of their warriors were slaughtered. A proclamation of outlawry was issued against them. The tribe utterly disappeared from 'Irāḳ, and the territories they held in the neighbourhood of the Banu Muntafiḳ were seized by the latter.

The most celebrated of the Mazyadi princes was Seyf ed Daulah Ṣadaḳah, who succeeded to the principality in A.H. 479, and was killed in A.H. 501, in a memorable battle, in which the Asadis and their allies suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sultan Muhammad, son of Malik Shah. Ṣadaḳah was the founder of the city of Ḥillah—*Ḥillat-es-Seyfīyah*, or *Ḥillat-al-Mazyadīyah*, which became the capital of the Mazyadis, and replaced the older town of al Jami'āni (the two Mosques), on the site of the ancient Babylon.

I have alluded to the treacherous conduct of Ṣadaḳah towards the Banu 'Obādah, a circumstance which nevertheless in no way interfered with his being regarded as one of the most celebrated heroes in Arab story, a theme for the praise both of historians and of poets, and among others of Al Ḥarīri in his Maḳamāt. It must I think in truth be confessed that the claim for magnanimity of character, so freely urged by Arabs on their own behalf, and so generally accorded to them by other races, cannot

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be said to be confirmed by the study of their history. The Khafājis, on at least one occasion, brought upon themselves severe punishment by an act of treachery committed in open defiance of every rule of honest dealing, if not of hospitality itself. At the battle of Dhu Ḳār, almost at the dawn of authentic Arab history, the Banu Iyad, one of the Arab allies of the Persians, sent the enemy on the evening of the first Persian defeat, a promise to desert their allies and an inquiry whether they should do so that evening or during the course of the battle which was to be renewed on the following day.[1] When the Carmathians invaded Egypt, their Arab allies, as soon as the fortune of war turned against them, set about attacking and plundering the Carmathian camp; and on the occasion of the second invasion, Hasan ibn al Jarrāḥ the Tā-yite, "Amir of the Arabs of Syria," accepted a bribe 100,000 dinars from the enemy, and deserted his friends on the field of battle. His was the tribe to which the famous Ḥātim the Tā-yite, the paragon and example of Arab generosity, belonged. The record of Ibn al Jarrāḥ and of his grandson Al Mufarraj ibn Daghfal is probably more strictly historical. When Alftakīn fled from the field upon which he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Fatimis, he sought refuge, perishing from thirst, with "his friend" Ibn Daghfal. The latter received him in his tent, and forthwith hurried off to the Fatimite Al 'Azīz, to whom he sold his guest for a large sum in gold. These and other similar stories, it may be remarked, are given as dry matters of fact, and as a general rule without a word of comment.

Returning now to the Banu 'Oḳayl, another of their subtribes remains to be noticed, namely, the Banu 'Obādah, already hereinbefore alluded to. To that subtribe belonged Leyla al Akhyalīyah, so named after her ancestor Ka'b son of Ar Raḥāl, son of Mu'awīyah, son of 'Obādah, surnamed Al Akhyal, the freckled. Leyla lived in the days of the Umayyah Khalīfah 'Abd al Malik, and attained considerable celebrity as a poet. Having towards the end of her life fallen into a state of poverty, she sought and obtained a refuge

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. i. p. 358.

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in the house of Al Hajjāj, one of whose wives on her arrival loaded her with jewels. Ḳays ibn Mallūh, surnamed Al Majnūn, the distracted, is said to have belonged to the same branch of the 'Oḳaylis. The loves of Majnūn and Leyla—who must not be confounded with the poetess just mentioned—form a subject widely celebrated throughout Eastern literature. Leyla is said to have belonged to the sister-tribe of Al Harīsh, son of Ka'b.

Ibn Khaldūn says that in his days the Banu 'Obādah inhabited, along with the Banu Muntafiḳ, the country between Kufah, Wasit and Baṣrah, and he states, on the authority of Ibn Sa'īd, that the 'Oḳayli Princes of Mauṣil and Mesopotamia, whose dynasty endured from about A.H. 380 to the latter end of the following century, belonged to that division of the tribe.[1] According to that same writer a remnant of them still occupied, in the thirteenth century, the district between the river Khāzir and the Zāb. They were few in numbers, only about one hundred horsemen, but he says they were much respected, and they were in receipt of allowances granted by the Governor of Mauṣil. They were known under the designation of "Arabs of Sharaf ed Daulah." The 'Oḳayli Prince Sharaf ed Daulah Muslim, son of Ḳureysh, was killed in action with Sultan Suleyman, son of Ḳutlumish, near Antioch, in A.H. 478. His dominions included the greater part of Mesopotamia and extended from As-Sindiyyah, in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, to Mauṣil, and thence to Aleppo in Syria.[2] With his death the more brilliant period of the 'Oḳayli principality came to an end, and its decline, of which the commencement may indeed be traced under his reign, now made rapid progress. Sharaf ed Daulah had married the aunt of Malik Shah, Safīyah, and had by her a son named Ali. On the death of Malik Shah in 485, the Princess became the wife of Sharaf ed Daulah's brother Ibrahim, who was defeated and killed in the following year

[1] Abu'l Hasan 'Aly ibn Sa'īd, the traveller and historian, is much quoted by Ibn Khaldūn. He was born at Granada in A.H. 610, and died at Tunis about 685 (A.D. 1286). He was a voluminous writer, and his works were held in high estimation, but, excepting in the form of quotations and extracts, to be found chiefly in Al Maḳḳari, Al Maḳrīzi, and Ibn Khaldūn, none of his writings are known to be extant, other than a geographical treatise and a collection of lyrics compiled from the writings of the principal Arab poets down to his time.

[2] Ibn al Athīr, vol. x. p. 90.

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near Mauṣil by Tutush, the brother of Malik Shah. Tutush appointed Ali Governor of Mauṣil, but was himself killed in A.H. 488. In A.H. 489 Mauṣil was besieged and taken by Ḳawwām ed Daulah Karbuḳa, a powerful Turkish adventurer, formerly one of the nobles of Malik Shah, and whose name will perhaps be remembered by readers of Gibbon. Ali, the last Prince of his race, succeeded in escaping from the city, and obtained protection at Al Hillah from Seyf ed Daulah Sadaḳah, the refuge, as he was called by his contemporaries, of the unfortunate and of all that were in distress.

But it is necessary to return to an earlier period in the history of the 'Oḳaylis. At the commencement of the second century of the Hijrah, they and other tribes of the line of 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, still occupied their original home in Central Arabia. We find them with the Banu Ḳushayr and Banu Ja'dah and in alliance with the Banu Numayr, taking part in a savage war with the Banu Ḥanīfah and a subtribe of the latter, the Banu Dūl, which broke out at the time of the Khalīfah al Walīd's death in A.H. 126 (A.D. 743–4). The Banu Ḥanīfah, who indeed were the aggressors in the original quarrel, were eventually worsted. But the final triumph of their enemies was assured by the appointment of a Governor to Yamāmah, of the tribe of Fazārah, who, as the historian significantly remarks, was therefore himself a Ḳaysi, and who crushed the remaining power of the Banu Ḥanīfah with relentless severity.

The spirit of boastful defiance with which the Banu Ḥanīfah resented the treatment to which they were subjected, shows itself in the following lines composed on the occasion by one of their poets:

فان تضربونا بالسياط فانّنا ضربنا كم بالمرهفات الصوارم
وان تحلقوا منّا الرؤوس فانّنا قطعنا رؤوساً منكمُ بالغلا صم

Ye have scourged us with whips, but our blows have been
Dealt with as slender but sharp cutting swords.
To humble us ye have shorn the hair from our heads,
But we have severed your heads from your bodies.[1]

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. v. p. 228. The tribe of Ḥanīfah was derived from that

The idea contained in the preceding lines bears a curiously close resemblance with the boast uttered many centuries later by the Turkish Grand Vizier to the Venetian ambassador, shortly after the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto, which had closely followed upon the capture of the island of Cyprus from the Christians: "You have deprived us of our beards; but our beards will grow again, and we have struck off one of your limbs."

At about the same period as that of their feud with the Banu Ḥanīfah, a branch of the 'Oḳaylis, was taking part in the civil war in Andalusia. On the appearance of the Pretender 'Abd ar Raḥmān, they deserted, not indeed without provocation, the cause of the Amīr Yusuf the Fihrite, and they took part in the re-establishment of the Umayyah Khalīfate over the Arabs of Spain.[1]

The tribes belonging to the great sept of 'Amir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah emigrated from Arabia into Syria during the first years of the 'Abassi dynasty,[2] and it was in the plains of

of Bekr, son of Wa-il, and was descended from Rabī'ah, son of Nizar, whilst the 'Oḳaylis were, as already stated, one of the numerous tribes of the great sept of Ḳays 'Aylan, son of Modar, son of Nizar. Nizar was son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān, the descendant of Ismail.

Ilyās and Ḳays 'Aylan were the two sons of Moḍar. They and Rabī'ah, brother of the latter, are the fathers of the three great stems into which the Arab posterity of Ismail are mainly divided. The tribe of Ḳuraysh, to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged, was descended from Ilyas. The main fact of the descent of 'Adnān from Ismail, the son of Abraham, is held to be beyond all dispute; but there is no authoritative teaching on the particulars of the line, nor even on the number of generations, between Ismail and 'Adnān. *Genealogists are liars*, is a traditional saying attributed to the Prophet, and he forbade all critical researches extending further back (see M. de Meynard's translation of Al Mas'ūdi, vol. iv. pp. 112 and 118).

Respecting Ma'add a tradition is preserved, and is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn, to the effect that when the Prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, under the inspiration of God, commanded Bukht Naṣṣar to take vengeance upon the Arabs for their iniquities, and for the murder of the Prophet Shu'ayb, son of Mahdam, Ma'add was borne to a place of safety in Mesopotamia by the miraculous being Burāḳ, the same that subsequently carried Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem. Ma'add was thus favoured because from his loins was to spring a noble Prophet, the seal of the apostles, a decree which, continues the writer, received its fulfilment. (Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. pp. 30, 107, 237, 299-300.) See also Jeremiah xlix. 28; Isaiah xxi. 13 to 17, lx. 7; Judith ii. 23. (Caussin de Perceval, vol. i. p. 180.) Ḳaydhūr and Nābit were sons of Ismail. They may doubtless be identified with the biblical *Kedar* and *Nabayoth*. It is not known with certainty which was the ancestor of 'Adnān. (Ibn Khaldun, vol. ii. p. 298.)

The Shu'ayb above mentioned, it must be remembered, is not the same as the prophet of the like name, who was sent to the Midianites.

[1] See Dozy's Histoire des Mussulmanes d'Espagne.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. vi. p. 11.

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'Irāḳ that the 'Oḳaylis attained a celebrity which entitles them to a not unimportant place in the history of the fifth century of the Hijrah.

In the civil wars that followed upon the death of the Khalīfah Harūn ar Rashīd, Naṣr ibn Sayyār ibn Shabath, the 'Oḳayli, upheld the cause of Al Amīn, and continued his opposition to Al Mamūn even after the former's death. From a strongly fortified castle, Kaisūm, which Naṣr possessed on the north of Aleppo, he overran the surrounding country. Large numbers of Arab and other adventurers flocked to his standard, and with these reinforcements, he crossed over to the eastern banks of the Euphrates. Ṭāhir, the celebrated general of Al Mamûn, was sent against him in A.H. 199. A sanguinary battle was fought near Kaisūm. The 'Oḳaylis suffered severely, but Ṭāhir was compelled to retreat to Ar Raḳḳah, on the Euphrates, and to content himself with defending the country in his immediate neighbourhood. Naṣr meanwhile increased in power, and, aided by the contentions that prevailed throughout the empire, he continued for to defy the power of the Khalīfah. At length, i . 209, Kaisūm was closely invested by an army under the command of 'Abd Allah, son of Ṭāhir. Naṣr surrendered on a promise, confirmed by the Khalīfah, of a free pardon for the past and of honourable treatment at Baghdad.[1]

When struggling against his powerful enemies, Naṣr was urged to strengthen himself by recognizing the authority of one of the pretenders to the Khalīfate, either of the family of 'Ali or of Umayyah. He refused, protesting that his sole object was the protection of the Arabs. He resisted the Abassis, he said, solely because they sacrificed the influence and interests of their own countrymen to those of foreigners. He felt by no means disposed to recognize the supremacy of an Alyite, the pretender to reverence due only to the Creator and dispenser of divine bounty, and as little to submit to any member of a family the fortunes of which were irretrievably gone.[2]

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. vi. pp. 274–5.
[2] Vol. vi. p. 216.

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The shadow of the coming supremacy of the northern races of Asia over the Muhammadan empire was in fact already visible. Both political and military power may thenceforward be said to have gradually departed from the hands of the Arabs, by whom it has never again been recovered. It may be said of the 'Abassi Khalīfahs themselves that they soon retained little of Arab nationality but the name and the use of the Arabic language. Al Mamūn was indeed himself the son of a Khorassani mother.

One of his subjects is said to have besought him, on one occasion, to extend the same favour to the Arabs of Syria as he displayed to the foreigners of Khorassan. "My good friend," answered the Khalīfah, "you ask me more than is reasonable. The immediate result of my allowing the tribes of Ḳays to alight upon this country was that soon not a dirhem remained in the treasury." He here alluded, remarks the historian, to the insurrection of Naṣr ibn Shabath. "As to the tribes of Yaman," continued the Khalīfah, "I neither like them, nor have they any love for me. As for the people of Ḳudā'ah, they are eagerly looking for the reappearance of As Sufiāni with the purpose of supporting him in his pretensions. And as to the tribes of Rabī'ah, they have been rebels to God ever since his Prophet was raised from the seed of Moḍar, and no two of them can enter into an undertaking but one of the two seeks a pretext of quarrel with the other. Begone, and evil fortune attend you!"[1]

Ḳudā'ah is generally regarded as one of the Yamani tribes descended from Himyar. But the question has been much disputed, and, according to some authorities, they were Ismailian Arabs, descended from Ma'add, son of 'Adnān. The Yamani origin of the tribe is that most generally accepted, and it is said to be confirmed by the authority of the Prophet.[2] It is stated that the mother of Ḳudā'ah, the

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. vi. p 305. In the concluding sentence I adopt the version given by At Tabari (Leyden ed. vol. iii. p. 1142) أعزبْ فَعَلَ الله بكَ. Under the same authority the word شارياً is substituted for ثالثاً in the sentence الاّ وخرج احدهما شارياً.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. p. 242.

ancestor of the tribe, was taken in marriage by Ma'add, before the birth of the son she bore to her first husband Mālik son of Ḥimyar, and the author of the Tāj al 'Arūs quotes a remark that the habit of attributing a man's parentage to his step-father is well known to have prevailed among the Arabs. The same author adds that the controversy is mentioned in Ibn al Athīr's (abridgment of the) *Kitab al Ansāb*.[1] He relates also that a celebrated genealogist, being asked whether the tribes of Nizar (son of Ma'add) or those of Yaman were most numerous, answered that it would depend upon whether the tribe of Ḳudā'ah were reckoned as belonging to the one or to the other.[2]

The Banu Kelb, one of the leading subtribes of the Ḳudā'ah, were the principal supporters of the pretender As Sufiāni. He claimed to be a descendant of the Banu Umayya through his father, and of Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet through his mother. He rebelled in A.H. 195, was captured in 198, but contrived to make his escape disguised as a woman. So late as one hundred years after that period a man was arrested in Syria, who claimed to be As Sufiāni.[3]

In the middle of the third century of the Hijrah, we find the city of Ḳirḳisīa (on the Euphrates, at the mouth of the Khabur) in the possession of an 'Oḳayli chief, Ibn Safwān, who it may be presumed was son of Ṣafwān, a member of the same tribe, mentioned by Al Mas'ūdi as Prince of Diar Moḍar, and who, he states, died in A.H. 253, in the prison of Samarra.[4] A dinar struck at Ḳirḳisīa, bearing the name of Muhammad ibn Ṣafwān, and the date A.H. 275, is comprised in the collection of the late Mr. Rogers, now the property of the Egyptian Government.

According to Ibn al Athīr, whose account is identical with that given by Aṭ Ṭabari,[5] Ibn Ṣafwān was dispossessed of

[1] This work is mentioned in the Kashf eẓ Ẓunūn under the heading 'Ilm al Ansāb, and in Ibn Khallikan, vol. ii. p. 289.

[2] See also Al Mas'ūdi, vol. iii. p. 215, vol. vi. p. 150.

[3] Ibn al Athīr, vol. vii. p. 382.

[4] Vol. vi. p. 396. Samarra is a town on the Tigris, at no great distance above Baghdad. Diar Rabī'ah and Diar Moḍar may be described as respectively the Eastern and Western portions of North Mesopotamia.

[5] Ibn al Athīr, vol. vii. p. 276; Aṭ Ṭabari, part iii. p. 2028.

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Ḳirḳisīa in A.H. 269, six years previous to the above date, by Lulu, the freedman of Ahmad ibn Ṭulūn. Lulu, who was Governor of Aleppo, Ḥimṣ, Kinnisserin and Diar Moḍar, rebelled against his master, and joined Al Muwaffiḳ, brother and vicegerent of the reigning Khalīfah. Lulu delivered Ḳirḳisīa to Ahmad son of Mālik ibn Ṭauḳ,[1] but the latter in Shawwāl of the same year was attacked at Ar Rahabah by Muhammad Ibn Abu's-Sāj, governor of Al Anbar, on the Euphrates, and adjacent districts, and was driven into Syria. In A.H. 273, the jealousy that existed between Ibn Abu's-Sāj and Isḥaḳ ibn Kundāj (or Kundājīḳ), Governor of Mauṣil, brought about a war between them, in which each successively deserted the cause of the Abassis and recognized the supremacy of Khamaraweyh the Tulunite, receiving in reward assistance against his rival. Ibn Abu's-Sāj was eventually defeated and compelled to seek refuge at Baghdad in A.H. 276, abandoning his dominions, which passed into the hands of Ibn Kundāj. The date of the dinar may perhaps authorize us to infer that Ibn Ṣafwān during the struggle between the two rivals was allowed to regain possession of the city.

About the year 286 the 'Oḳaylis and other Arabs of the Ḳaisy stem recognized the spiritual and temporal authority of Abu Sa'īd al Jannābi, the founder of the Carmathian dynasty in Arabia. With their assistance he besieged and conquered Hajar. He soon afterwards added Ḳatīf, then the whole of Bahrayn, and ere long he established a power on the shores of the Persian Gulf, which became the terror of the Muhammadan world.

But the Carmathian dominion, as is well known, was almost as remarkable for the rapidity of its decline as for that of its rise. The dissensions that followed after the death of Al Jannābi, in A.H. 332, increased in violence after the death, in A.H. 366, of his grandson, Abu Ali al Hasan

[1] Malik ibn Ṭauḳ, of the tribe of Taghlib, was a military commander under Harūn ar Rashīd, and a lineal descendant of 'Amru ibn Kulthūm, a celebrated poet and warrior of the Ante-Islamitic period and author of one of the seven Mu'allaḳāt. Malik was founder of the city of Raḥabah, named after him Raḥabat Malik ibn Ṭauḳ. He died in A.H. 260.

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ibn Ahmad al Ā'sam, under whose authority the Carmathians renounced their spiritual allegiance to the Ismailian or Fatimite Khalīfahs, and recognized the supremacy of the Abassis. They returned to their former obedience in A.H. 375, but their power had now completely broken down. In A.H. 378 they were attacked, at the instigation of the Abassis, by a Taghlabite chief Abu'l Ḥasan al Aṣfar. According to Ibn Khaldūn,[1] he possessed himself of their capital Al Aḥsa, and the writer adds that Al Aṣfar and his descendants thenceforward held the Carmathians in a state of complete subjection. That statement is not borne out by the evidence of other historians,[2] nor by that of the traveller Nāṣir Khusruw, who visited Al Ahsa in A.H. 443, and it seems more probable that the dominion of the Taghlabite chiefs did not extend beyond the exaction of tribute.[3]

Among the Arab tribes, or sections of tribes, that occupied the province of Bahrayn and its neighbourhood, the Banu Sulaym and Banu 'Oḳayl were for warlike strength only second to the Taghlibis. After the defeat of the Carmathians, Al Aṣfar prevailed upon the 'Oḳaylis to combine with him, and with their aid he drove the Banu Sulaym out of the country. They joined the rest of their tribe in Egypt, and thence passed over into Africa as already stated. Al Aṣfar, having got rid of one of his rivals, now turned against the other. The 'Oḳaylis were in their turn attacked and driven forth. They sought refuge in 'Irāḳ, whence they appear to have proceeded to Mesopotamia, and to have joined their brethren, who had ere this laid the foundations of the 'Oḳayli Principality of Mauṣil.

The tribes of the stem of the Banu 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, as already mentioned, emigrated from Arabia in the early years of the Abassi dynasty, and, as may be inferred from the words of Al Mamūn (see supra, p. 502), it was probably under his reign that they alighted upon the plains of Syria

[1] Vol. iv. p. 91.
[2] See Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 40.
[3] See de Goeje, Memoire sur les Carmathes.

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in large numbers. They had, however, been preceded by many other Arab settlers, and, among others, by the tribe of Taghlib. The latter and its sister-tribe the Banu Bekr (supra, p. 499, *note*) were the two subdivisions of the Banu Wā-il, and belonged therefore to the great stem of Rabī'ah, brother of Moḍar and son of Nizār. They settled in that portion of Mesopotamia known as *Diār Rabī'ah*, the abode of Rabī'ah, before the advent of Islām.[1] They had adopted Christianity, entered into alliances with the Romans, and, along with the Ghassānis, they fought against the Muslims, when the latter invaded and conquered Syria. The Khalīfah Omar imposed upon them the *Jizyah*, or capitation tax, exacted according to Muhammadan law from Jewish and Christian subjects; but at the entreaties of the Taghlibites, to spare them the humiliation which the term *Jizyah* inflicted upon them in the eyes of the Arabs, he consented to the tax being levied under the name of *double tithes*.[2]

In the third century of the Hijrah, an ambitious and powerful chief, Ḥamdān ibn Ḥamdūn, raised himself to eminence among the Banu Taghlib, and laid the foundations of the Ḥamdani Principality of Mauṣil and Aleppo. During the greater part of the following century, the Hamdanis held a position of acknowledged supremacy over the Arab tribes that had spread themselves on the plains between Mesopotamia and Syria, and on the banks of the Euphrates. The Banu Ṭay as well as the 'Oḳaylis, the Banu Kilāb, the Banu Numayr and the Khafājahs, were, in the words of Ibn Khaldūn, the subjects of the Hamdanis, paying them tribute and supplying them with military aid.[3] But the rule of the Hamdani Princes, brilliant as it was under the two brothers, Nāṣir ed Daulah al Ḥusayn and Seyf ed Daulah Ali, the Princes of Mauṣil and of Aleppo, did not long

[1] The district occupied by the Banu Bekr received the name of Diār Bekr.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. iv. p. 227. It was between the Banu Taghlib and Banu Bekr that a feud arose, the incidents of which are renowned in Arab history, and which is said to have lasted forty years. And it was shortly after its termination, and not long before the appearance of Islām, that the Taghlibites removed to Syria and thence to Mesopotamia. See Fresnel, Lettres sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme. Ibn al Athīr, vol. i. p. 384 *et seq.* and p. 397, etc.

[3] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. iv. p. 254.

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endure. Ṣeyf ed Daulah died in A.H. 356, and his brother, deposed the same year by his son Abu Taghlib, died two years later. Mauṣil was taken in A.H. 367 by 'Aḍad ed Daulah the Buweyhi. Abu Taghlib fled from the city, accompanied by a strong party of his followers, and after various wanderings, arrived in 369 in Syria. Thence he was summoned by the Fatimite Khalīfah Al 'Azīz to Cairo, an invitation which he hesitated to obey. A considerable body of the 'Oḳayli tribe were at the time encamped on the plains of Southern Syria. They had incurred the suspicions of Ibn Daghfal, chief of the Ṭa-yites, and applied to Abu Taghlib for his assistance. He encamped in their neighbourhood, whereupon Ibn Daghfal in alarm marched to attack them. The 'Oḳaylis, perceiving the large numbers of the foe, deserted their ally *en masse* and left him to face the common enemy with his followers alone, numbering in all about 700 men. They were completely defeated, and Abu Taghlib himself taken prisoner. Ibn Daghfal, fearing that Al 'Azīz would treat his prisoner with the same clemency he had shown to Alftakin (supra p. 497), put him to death, and his head was sent to Cairo. The sister of Abu Taghlib, Jamīlah, and his wife, who was daughter of his uncle Seyf ed Daulah, fell into the hands of the 'Oḳaylis. They sent them to Sa'd ed Daulah, who had succeeded his father in the Principality of Aleppo. He took charge of his own sister, the widow of his cousin, and sent Jamīlah to the Buwayhi Governor of Mauṣil, by whom she was sent on to Baghdad. The treatment she received at the hands of 'Aḍad ed Daulah was such as would hardly be expected from a far more barbarous ruler. Having undergone about two years' imprisonment, she was drowned in the Tigris, after being carried through the streets of Baghdad, mounted on a camel, whilst criers proclaimed: "This is Princess Ugly (Ḳabīḥah), sister of the Discomfited (Abu Maghlūb),"—a brutal play upon her own and her brother's names, Jamīlah (Camilla), *Beautiful*, and Taghlib, *Victor* or more literally *Vinces*.

The power of the Hamdāni dynasty fell now into a state of complete decay, and the tribes hitherto under their authority

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recovered their independence and the power to seek the fulfilment each of its own ambition.[1] The Banu Ṭa-y established themselves in the district extending from Ramleh to Egypt. Ṣālih ibn Mirdās, Chief of the Banu Kilāb, took possession of the country between Aleppo and 'Ānah on the Euphrates. In A.H. 414 he succeeded in possessing himself of Aleppo, where he and his descendants ruled until the dynasty came to an end in A.H. 473, when Sharaf ed Daulah Muslim, son of Ḳuraysh, the 'Oḳayli, took the city and held it for a short time under the supremacy of Malik Shah.

In A.H. 379 the Amir of the 'Oḳaylis was Abu'dh Dhawwād Muhammad, son of Al Musayyib, son of Rāfi', son of Al Muḳallid, son of Ja'fir, son of 'Omar, son of Muhanna.[2] The sons of Naṣir ed Daulah the Hamdāni, Abu Abd Allah and Abu Ṭāhir, had that year recovered possession of Mauṣil, but, threatened by the neighbouring Kurds, they applied to the 'Oḳayli chief for assistance, which he granted, receiving as his reward the towns of Nasibin, Jazīrat ibn 'Omar and Balad.

Aided by Abu'dh Dhawwād, the Hamdānis attacked the Kurdish army, which was defeated and put to flight. The Hamdānis endeavoured to follow up their success over their enemies, but the latter were in their turn victorious. Abu Abd Allah was taken prisoner. Abu Ṭāhir fled in the direction of Naṣibin. Here he was attacked by his late ally Abu'dh Dhawwād, who took him prisoner and put him to death. Abu'dh Dhawwād then marched upon Mauṣil, and took possession of the city and of the surrounding country.

His first act was to recognize the supremacy of the Buwayhi Prince Baha ed Daulah, and at his request an official was sent from Baghdad as Governor of the Province.

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. iv. p. 272; Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 162.

[2] Ibn Khallikan in his life of Al Muḳallid gives the remainder of the chief's pedigree as follows, namely, Al Muhanna Abd er Raḥman, son of Burayd, son of Abd Allah, son of Zayd, son of Ḳays, son of Jūtha, son of Tahfa, son of Hazn, son of 'Oḳayl. Reckoning three generations to a century, we arrive at A.D. 424, as the period of Amir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, the great-grandfather of 'Oḳail, a fair approximation to M. Caussin de Perceval's calculations, according to which Amir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah was born about A.D. 381. It will be observed that this pedigree does not confirm Ibn Sa'īd's statement that the Princes of Mauṣil belonged to the 'Oḳayli subtribe of 'Obādah.

The representative of Baha ed Daulah was, however, allowed no more than nominal authority, and all real power was exercised by Abu'dh Dhawwād. An army was consequently ere long despatched by the Buwayhi prince against the 'Oḳaylis, and it recaptured Mauṣil towards the end of A.H. 381.

Abu'dh Dhawwād died in 386, and the 'Oḳaylis recognized his brother Ali as his successor to the chieftainship, refusing to admit a claim put forward by Al Muḳallid, a younger brother. The latter induced his brother to join him in an attack upon Mauṣil. He had contrived to detach a considerable portion of the garrison from their allegiance. The governor fled down the river, anxious only to save his private property, and the two brothers took possession of the city. It was agreed between them that the right of sovereignty should belong to them jointly, with precedence to Ali. The latter returned to his encampment, leaving his brother in possession.

Al Muḳallid defeated a force despatched against him from Baghdad, but sent excuses and professions of loyalty to Baha ed Daulah. The latter was sufficiently occupied in defending himself against his brother, Ṣamṣam ed Daulah, and found it expedient to grant terms of peace to the ambitious and energetic Arab chief. It was agreed that Al Muḳallid should be appointed ruler over Mauṣil, Kūfah, Al Ḳasr, and Jami'ān, that he should be invested with a regal dress of honour, that he should receive the title of Husām ed Daulah (the Sword of the Empire), and that he should pay a tribute of 10,000 dinars. It was further stipulated that he should exact from the towns under his control no more than the customary dues lawfully belonging to him as their protector. This last obligation was, according to a remark of the historian, completely neglected.[1]

Fresh disputes had meanwhile broken out between Al Muḳallid and Ali, the latter supported by their brother Ḥasan. Al Muḳallid now resolved to possess himself of the person of his rival. The two brothers were occupying con-

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 89.

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tiguous houses at Mauṣil. Al Muḳallid broke through the partition wall, seized his brother Ali, who was indulging in a debauch, and was helpless from the effects of wine, and imprisoned him. He then forthwith sent word to his wife, who was at an encampment he possessed four parasangs from Tekrīt, on the Euphrates, between Mauṣil and Baghdad, desiring her immediately to escape with his two sons, Ḳirwash and Badrān, and to seek safety within the walls of the town from the attempts he foresaw would be made against them by their uncle Ḥasan. The latter, in fact, on hearing of what had occurred at Mauṣil, hastened to the encampment, but arrived too late.

The two brothers, each supported by a portion of the tribe, now prepared for open war. Their armies advanced to within one stage of one another, and halted near 'Alth, on the eastern side of the Tigris. Here Al Muḳallid was joined by several of the leading men of the tribe, and among others by his kinsmen the two brothers Abu Dir'a Rāfi' and Abu Sinan Gharīb, sons of Muhammad, son of Ma'n. Opinions were divided as to the wisdom of having recourse to violence, whereby a civil war must inevitably be kindled in the tribe. Whilst they were disputing, a message was brought to Al Muḳallid that his sister Rahīlah had come and desired to see him. He immediately mounted and joined her, and through her influence peace was concluded. Friendship was sworn between the brothers. Ali was set at liberty, his property restored to him, and he returned to his tents.

Al Muḳallid now set out against Abu'l Hasan Ali ibn Mazyad the Asadi, who during these troubles had espoused the cause of Ali, and had made incursions into Al Muḳallid's territories. But the 'Oḳayli chief soon received tidings that Ali, taking advantage of his absence, had marched upon Mauṣil, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the town. He immediately turned back and his two brothers in alarm made fresh offers of peace which were accepted. Ali died in A.H. 390, and Al Ḥaṣan took his place as nominal chief of the tribe, but was attacked and speedily put to flight by Al Muḳallid, aided by the Banu Khafājah. The

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latter continued henceforward in undisputed possession of the Principality of Mauṣil and of the chieftainship over the tribe of 'Oḳayl, until he perished in A.H. 391 (A.D. 1001) assassinated by his Turkish mamluks at Al Anbār. Al Muḳallid's dominions included, at the time of his death, besides Mauṣil, the cities of Ḳaṣr, Kūfah, Al Jami'āni, Al Anbār, Al Madā-in and Daḳūḳa.[1] He was succeeded by his son Mo'tamad ed Daulah Abu Mani' Ḳirwash, whose reign prolonged itself until A.H. 442, when he was deposed by his brother Za'īm ed Daulah Abu Kāmil.

A translation into German of Ibn Khaldūn's history of the 'Oḳayli Principality of Mauṣil was published some years ago by M. Tiesenhausen, which, with the numerous notes added by the learned translator, makes it superfluous for me to attempt entering into a detailed account of the fortunes of the 'Oḳayli dynasty.

But a branch of the family acquired at the same period a position of influence and dignity, which almost justifies its being numbered among the ruling dynasties of the time.

The 'Oḳayli Princes of Mauṣil are distinguished by Arab historians as *Āl Musayyib*, the family of Musayyib, grandson, as has been shown, of Al Muḳallid. The other great family is known as Banu Ma'n, and were the descendants of Ma'n, son of Al Muḳallid, who was consequently the common ancestor of both.[2] The subjoined genealogical table will show more clearly the connection between the two families. It has been compiled from the Chronicles of Ibn al Athīr, with the exception of the descent of Muharish and of the name of Abu'l Murrākh Muṣa'ab, son of Al Musayyib,

[1] *Ḳasr* (castle) is a name borne by a large number of places. Ḳasr 'Isa, which is probably that referred to in the text, is situated on the Tigris. *Al Jāmi'āni*, as has already been stated, stood on the banks of the Euphrates, on the site of the ancient Babylon. *Al Anbār* also on the Euphrates, ten parasangs west of Baghdad. *Al Madā-in*, on the Tigris, was the name given by the Arabs to the ancient cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, a short distance below Baghdad. *Daḳūḳa* is situated east of the Tigris, on the road from Baghdad to Irbil.

[2] The name is printed in the Leyden Edition of Ibn al Athīr مَقْن *Maḳn*, and so also in Ibn Khallikan, but elsewhere I find it invariably written مَعْن. There can be little doubt that the latter is the correct spelling, and indeed it occurs thus written in one at least of the MSS. used by Professor Tornberg (see vol. ix. p. 136).

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which I have obtained from M. de Slane's translation of the Ibn Khallikan (vol. i. p. 173, and vol. iii. pp. 418 and 423. See also Professor Tiesenhausen's note No. 17).

Abu Abd Allah Muhammad, son of Ma'n, died in A.H. 401 (A.D. 1010), at the age, it is alleged, of 110 years. He is said to have been present with the Carmathians when they removed the Black Stone from the temple of Mecca, an event which occurred in A.H. 317. He is described as a man of extreme avarice.

I have had occasion to mention his two sons, Abu Sinan Gharīb and Abu Dira' Rāfi'. The former, who held, as will presently be seen, the double title of Kamāl ed Daulah and Seyf ed din, appears to have been born about the year 355. He witnessed therefore, and probably took an active part in, the rise of the 'Oḳayli power under Abu'dh Dhawwād; but we first hear of him in A.H. 387, when, as before mentioned, he and his brother Rāfi' took part in the dissensions between Al Muḳallid and Haṣan, the sons of Al Musayyib. On that occasion, we are told, Rāfi' was in favour of war, whilst Gharīb recommended a settlement of the dispute by peaceful means.

In A.H. 411 we find Gharīb in alliance with Nur ed Daulah Dubays the Asadi. Aided by troops from Baghdad, they attacked Gharīb's kinsman Kirwāsh, the Prince of Mauṣil, and utterly defeated him. Ḳirwāsh and Rāfi', son of Al Husayn and cousin of Gharīb, were both taken prisoners, but through Gharīb's influence they were soon released. The allies, however, followed up their victory by the capture of Takrīt. Six years later Ḳirwash had again to defend himself against the Asadis, who on this occasion were aided by the Banu Khafāji. This was followed in the same year by an alliance between Rāfi' ibn al Husayn, seconded by an 'Oḳayli chief, Najdat ed Daulah ibn Ḳurād, and Badrān the brother of Ḳirwash. The latter was, however, on the present occasion, supported by Abu Sinān Gharīb, and by reinforcements supplied to him by the Merwanis, placing a total force of 13,000 men at his command. The two armies met near

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Balad (on the Tigris, seven parasangs from Mauṣil), and an indecisive action was fought, in which heavy losses were suffered on both sides. A pause ensued, and a dramatic scene followed, which brought the war to an end. Najdat ed Daulah stepped forward and embraced Gharīb between the arrayed ranks. Abu'l Faḍl Badrān did the same to his brother Ḳirwash, and terms of peace were soon arranged.

The full name and title of the hero on that occasion, as they may be gathered from a comparison of the passages in which he is mentioned (Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. pp. 116, 249, 265 and 297), seems to have been Najdat ed Daulah Kāmil Abu Manṣūr Tharwān, son of Ḳurād. It seems probable that he is the same person as is afterwards mentioned (pp. 402 and 410) as Kāmil ibn Muhammad ibn al Musayyib, Prince of Al Ḥaẓīrah.[1] The latter must, however, almost unquestionably have been son of Abu Dhawwād, whilst Najdat ed Daulah is represented as son of Ḳurād, a name which nowhere else appears. The difficulty may perhaps be overcome when it is considered how easily in Arab manuscript the word قراد may be misread for ذواد. The hostility of Najdat ed Daulah to Ḳirwash may be explained by the ingratitude and scandalous treachery with which the latter requited the services he received from his kinsman, on the death of his father, Al Muḳallid, in A.H. 391.[2]

In the unsuccessful campaign of Ḳirwāsh against the Banu Khafājah, which followed immediately after the events above related, and which resulted in the loss of his possessions on the Euphrates, he was again supported by Gharīb.

In 420 Nur ed Daulah Dubays the Asadī, who had involved himself in hostilities with Jalāl ed Daulah the Buwayhi, fled for refuge to Najdat ed Daulah, by whom he was placed under the protection of Abu Sinān Gharīb, and

[1] Al Ḥaẓīrah was a town two days' journey from Baghdad, on the road to Mauṣil. Ibn Ḳurād is spoken of in 391 and 420 as dwelling at Sindīyyah, and Kamil in 410 as possessing an encampment at Bardān. Both these places are in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, and at a short distance from one another.

[2] See Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 116.

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through the latter's influence and assistance, Dubays was restored to his dominions.

In the following year strife again broke out between Gharīb himself and his cousin Abu'l Musayyib Rāfi', son of Husayn. Gharīb collected a strong force of Arabs and Kurds, and with further reinforcements of well-appointed troops supplied to him by Jalāl ed Daulah, he laid siege to Takrīt, a town on the Tigris above Baghdad, which was subject to Rāfi'. The latter had gone to Mauṣil, where he obtained the alliance of Ḳirwāsh, with whom he marched against the enemy. On their approach, Gharīb abandoned the siege and fell upon the army of the allies. Through the treachery of some of his own people, who seized the opportunity to attack and plunder his baggage and that of the Buwayhi troops, Gharīb was defeated and put to flight. He was pursued by Ḳirwash and Rāfi' to his Bedouin encampment, which, however, they not only refrained from molesting, but actually protected from injury. Peace was soon concluded, and friendly relations between them resumed.

In 423, when Jalāl ed Daulah Abu Ṭāhir the Buwayhi was driven out of Baghdad by the Turkish soldiers, he took refuge at 'Okbara, a town on the eastern bank of the Tigris, not far from Baghdad, which, as will presently be seen, appears to have been subject at that time to Gharīb, whilst his wazīr, Abu Isḥaḳ es Sahali, fled to the Arab chief's tents. Jalāl ed Daulah remained at 'Okbara forty-three days, at the end of which, the Khutbah having been restored in his name, he returned to Baghdad.

Abu Sinān Gharīb died in A.H. 425 at Samarra, aged seventy years, leaving in treasure alone a sum of 500,000 dinars. He is stated to have been succeeded by his son Abu 'r Rayān, of whom there appears to be no further record. Another son is however mentioned by Ibn al Athīr, Abu'l Hindi Bilal, who in A.H. 441 was in possession of the towns of Ḥarba, Nahr Beyṭar and Awāna,[1] granted to him

[1] 'Okbara and Awāna are situated on the opposite banks of the Tigris about ten parasangs above Baghdad. Ḥarba and Nahr Beyṭar were two small towns at a short distance from the others.

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by Za'īm ed Daulah Abu Kamil, the brother and successor of Ḳirwash.

Ibn al Athīr states that Gharīb bore the *laḳab* of Seyf ed Daulah. Elsewhere (p. 288 B) he calls him Kamāl ed Daulah. He goes on to say that Gharīb struck dirhems, to which he gave the name of *Seyfiyyah* (sword pieces). I became possessed some years ago of a dirhem struck at 'Okbara in A.H. 422, which seems to be one of these identical coins, and which, as far as my knowledge goes, is the only specimen of the coinage of the Princes of the family of Ma'n known to be extant. It bears the impress of a sword, and the inscriptions go to prove that Gharīb bore the double title of *Kamāl ed Daulah* and *Seyf ed Din*, "Perfection of the State and Sword of the Faith." The diameter of the coin, which is in a good state of preservation, is $1\frac{3}{16}$ in., and it weighs 54 grains. The inscriptions are as follows:

Obverse: Area. Surmounted by a small crescent: لا اله الا الله | وحده لا شريك له | القادر بالله | و ولى عهده | القائم بامر الله |

Marginal legend. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بعكبرا سنة اثنتين وعشرين واربع مايه

Reverse: Area | لله | محمد رسول الله | صلى الله عليه وآله | الملك شاه انشاه | ابو طاهر الا ميرا | كمال الدولة |

On the dexter side, a straight sword. Sinister سيف الدين "The Sword of the Faith."

Marginal legend محمد رسول الله الخ ending with المشركون.

The coin gives us therefore the following names: That of the reigning Khalīfah, Al Ḳādir Billah, who died in Dhu'l Hijjah, 422, the closing month of the year in which the dirhem was struck. That of the Khalīfah's son and successor, Abu Ja'fir Abd Allah, Al Ḳā-im bi amr Illah, who in A.H. 421 was at a public assembly solemnly proclaimed heir to the Khalīfate. That of 'Okbara, the place of mintage. And finally that of the Buwayhi Prince Abu Ṭāhir, surnamed Jalāl ed Daulah, son of Baha ed Daulah, who reigned over

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'Irāḳ from A.H. 418 to A.H. 435, and whom Abu Sinan Gharīb recognizes as his superior. Jalāl ed Daulah was proclaimed successor to his brother Musharrif ed Daulah on the latter's death in Rabī'al Awwal, 416; but it was not until the month of Ramadan, 418, that he ventured or was able to enter Baghdad and to assume the direction of the Government. His reign was chiefly marked by gross insubordination on the part of his Turkish troops. They repeatedly rose against him, and he was more than once compelled to fly from the city, whilst the soldiery broke down the gates of his palace and plundered it. On one occasion they attacked his wazir 'Umayd ed Daulah. They beat him, drove him from his house barefooted, dragged his clothes off his back, tore up his turban and wrenched off his rings with such violence that his fingers bled. The wazir threw himself at the feet of his master, complaining of the treatment he had undergone. "I am the son of Baha ed Daulah," answered the latter, "and I have suffered even greater indignity." Jalal ed Daulah died in A.H. 435. "Whoever," remarks the historian, "considers the weakness of his character, the violence to which he was subjected, and the lengthened period over which his reign was nevertheless prolonged, must clearly perceive that God's power encompasseth all things, that *He giveth sovereignty unto whom He willeth and that He taketh it from whom He willeth*" (Kuran iii. 25).[1]

The title Shahin Shah, which appears upon the coin, was commonly borne by the Buwayhis, and both it and its Arabic equivalent, Malik al Mulūk, *King of Kings*, are to be found on the coinage of Baha ed Daulah. It seems somewhat singular to read that, when in A.H. 429 Jalal ed Daulah applied for a grant of the Arabic rendering of the title, as openly borne by his father, the Khalīfah displayed the utmost unwillingness, and finally referred the question of its lawfulness to the decision of five jurists. A majority of four decided in the affirmative, and the title was consequently inserted in the Khutbah, but the question is said to have been obstinately disputed by the dissentient.[2]

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. pp. 288b, 352.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 312.

Gharīb's brother Shahāb ed Daulah Abu Dir'a Rāfi' died in 406. Under the date A.H. 397 Ibn al Athīr relates that the Kurdish chief Abu'l Fatḥ, son of 'Annaz (who was succeeded in 401 by his son Abu'sh Shōk), took refuge with Abu Dir'a from Bedr, son of Husnaweyh, who had deprived him of the towns Hulwan and Ḳirmīsīn. Bedr sent to Shahab ed Daulah a message, in which, after appealing to the friendship that existed between him and Rāfi''s father, he reproached him with harbouring an enemy, and desired him to expel Abu'l Fatḥ. The Arab refused, and Bedr thereupon sent an army to his territories, situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris. The country was plundered, Shabab ed Daulah's tents at Al Muṭīrah were looted and burnt, and the castle of Bardān, which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, underwent the same fate.[1]

Most of these 'Oḳayli princes enjoyed some reputation as poets. The following lines are given by Ibn al Athīr as a specimen of Shahāb ed Daulah's art (vol. ix. p. 183):

ما زلتُ ابكى فى الديار تأسّفاً لبين خليل او فراق حبيبِ
فلمّا عرفتُ الربع لا شكّ انّه هو الربع فاضتْ مقلتى بغُروبِ
وجرّبتُ دهرى ناسياً فوجدتُه اخا غِيَرٍ لا تنقضى و خطوبِ
وعاشرتُ ابنا الزمان فلم اجدْ من الناس خدناً حافظاً لمغيبِ
ولم يبق منهم حافظ لذمامه ولا ناصرٌ يرعى جوار قريبِ

"I cease not to fill the tents with lamentations,
Bewailing our separation, the absence of the beloved.
I stood on the well-remembered spot, the now deserted encampment,
And my eyes overflowed with torrents of tears.
Unheedful I have trusted to Fortune, and have found it
Changeful and aimless, but ever attended with affliction.
I have sought the society of contemporaries and neighbours,
But no friendship have I found true and faithful to the absent;
No strong and shielding arm prompt to obey the calls of duty."

[1] Al Muṭīrah is situated on the Tigris above Baghdad, near Samarrah, and a short distance below Takrīt.

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I have had occasion to mention Gharīb's cousin, Abu'l Musayyib Rāfi', son of Husayn, son of Ma'n. He was Lord of Takrīt, where he also, in A.H. 427, afforded a temporary refuge to Jalāl ed Daulah. Rāfi' died that same year. He is described as remarkable for bravery and for determination of character. He had lost one of his hands, which was accidentally struck off by the slave of a kinsman at a drinking party, in the course of a quarrel over which the disputants had drawn their swords, and which Rāfi' was endeavouring to appease. An artificial hand was made for him, with which he was able to manage his horse, and the loss did not incapacitate him from taking his part in battle.

The following is given by Ibn al Athīr as a specimen of his poetic talents:

لها ريقةٌ استغفر الله انّها الذّ واشهَى فى النفوس من الخمرِ
وصارم طرفٍ لا يزايل جفنه و لم ار سيفاً قطّ فى جفنه يفرِى
فقلتُ لها والعيس تحدج بالضحى اعدّى لفقدى ما استطعتِ من الصبرِ
سانفق ريعانَ الشبيبة انفاً على طلب العلياء و طلب الاجرِ
اليس من الخسران انّ لياليا تمرّ بلا نفعٍ وتُحسب من عُمْرى

"The dew upon her lips (I implore forgiveness of God!)
Is sweeter and more enticing to the soul than wine.
Piercing glances never cease to dart forth from beneath her eyelids:
Those eyes, keen-edged swords, which wound without quitting their sheaths.
I exclaimed as the morn's grey light came bearing forth a new day,
'Be disdainful over my absence by virtue of the cruel indifference thou displayest!
Henceforth my days of youth will be directed to the noble object
Of seeking a high estate, of earning the brilliant rewards of ambition.
Is it not a signal loss that my nights pass away in vain desires,
And yet are counted against me in the reckoning of my life?'"

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Rāfi' was succeeded by his nephew, Abu Man'ah Khamīs, son of Taghlib, who, it is said, found in his uncle's treasury at Takrīt a sum of upwards of 500,000 dinars, besides gold and silver plate.[1] Khamīs was living in exile at the time of Rāfi''s death, and the first use he made of his inheritance was to conciliate his suzerain, Jalāl ed Daulah, with an offering of 80,000 dinars.

It may here be observed that these Arab chiefs, though exercising rulership over principalities, towns, and cultivated districts, did not abandon their national habits, but continued to live with their families in tents and in the midst of their tribesmen. But that mode of life did not preclude indulgence of a taste for pomp and luxury, and for the display of wealth, represented by numerous slaves of both sexes, white as well as black, of valuable horses, of gold and silver utensils, and of costly weapons and fabrics. After the defeat of Kirwāsh, in A.H. 392, by the Buwayhi troops, the latter marched upon the encampment of his ally on that occasion, Abu'l Hasan Ali ibn Mazyad the Asadi, which they looted, and in which, the historian tells us, they found an amount of valuables in the shape of coin, precious metals and stuffs, beyond all powers of estimation. It was only after he founded Al Hillah that Seyf ed Daulah Ṣasaḳah, great-grandson of Abu'l Hasan, renounced tent life. There is also enough to show that these Arab princes were not altogether free from the laxity in matters of religion for which their Bedouin countrymen are noted. It is said of the 'Oḳayli prince Kirwash, that he married two sisters, and, on its being pointed out to him that he was infringing the religious law, he answered with the question: "How much is there in our customs that is lawful according to the religious code?" He piously congratulated himself on the fact that all he had on his conscience was the blood of five or six Bedouin Arabs. As for townspeople, he said, God will demand no account of them.[2]

Khamīs had to defend himself against an attempt on the

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 307; vol. x. p. 289.
[2] Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 403.

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part of Ḳirwāsh to dispossess him of Takrīt. He applied to his suzerain, Jalal ed Daulah, for assistance, which was granted, and thanks to which, but still more to the dissensions that broke out within the tribe, Khamīs was eventually allowed to remain unmolested. He died in A.H. 435, and was succeeded by his son, Abu Ghashsham. The latter's brother 'Isa, in A.H. 444, rose against him, obtained possession of the citadel, and placed Abu Ghashsham in confinement.

Toghrul Beg entered Baghdad in Shawwal, 447, having destroyed the last vestige of the Buwayhi power, and imprisoned Malik er Raḥīm, the last prince of the dynasty. But the Seljuk Sultan had still to overcome the opposition of Al Basasīry, a powerful Buwayhi noble, one of whose most important allies was Nur ed Daulah Dubays, who had given him his daughter in marriage, and who was impelled both by his ambition, but in a still greater degree by his apprehensions, to support the cause of his kinsman. Ḳuraysh, son of Badran, the 'Oḳayli prince, had declared himself for the Seljuks, but he was attacked near Sinjar, was defeated and wounded, and surrendered himself to his antagonists. He was honourably treated, and they persuaded him to join their cause. They accompanied him to Mauṣil, where the supremacy of the Egyptian Khalīfah was formally proclaimed, the Khutbah recited from the pulpits in the name of Al Mustanṣir, and where they were rewarded by the receipt from Cairo of dresses of honour.

Toghrul Beg had however determined to deal in person with the rebels. He set forth from Baghdad towards the end of A.H. 448, about thirteen months after his arrival in the city. He reached Takrīt, now under the rule of Naṣr, son of 'Isa, son of Khamīs, and prepared to lay siege to the city. Naṣr saved himself by displaying from his battlements the black ensign of the Abassis, and by another and more tangible token of his allegiance, the presentation to Toghrul Beg of a sum of money. It was accepted and the Turkish Sultan proceeded on his way.

These events were almost immediately succeeded by the

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death of Naṣr. His mother Amīrah, who was daughter of Abu Sinan Gharīb, rather than allow Abu Ghashsham to recover possession of Takrīt, put him to death, and delivered the town to Abu'l Ghanā-im, who subsequently became a faithful adherent of the Abassis, and by whom it was handed over to Toghrul Beg. Amīrah afterwards married Ḳuraysh, son of Badran, and is said to have been killed at Mauṣil by the son of Abu Ghashsham, in revenge for the death of his father.

I find mention of only two other members of the family of Ma'n, Az Zurayr and Maṭar, who are described as sons of Ali, son of Ma'n. They allied themselves with So'da, son of Abu'sh Shōk, the Kurdish Chief, in his struggles with his uncle Muhalhal, and it was at their instigation and with their assistance that a battle was fought, in which Muhalhal was taken prisoner.[1]

I may conclude this sketch of the history of the 'Oḳaylis in 'Irāḳ with the mention of two other personages, descendants of Al Muḳallid son of Ja'fir, but who belonged neither to the family of Musayyib nor to that of Ma'n. One of these was Muhammad, son of Rāfi', son of Rifā', son of Dubayah, son of Mālik, son of Al Muḳallid. He was governor of the city of Hit, on the Euphrates, on behalf of Wahb, son of Wahaybah, an 'Oḳayli chief who had received a grant of the city from Sultan Barkiaruḳ. Seyf ed Daulah Ṣadaḳah set his mind upon obtaining possession of the city, and in A.H. 496 he overcame the resistance of the 'Oḳaylis and accomplished his object.[2]

The other was Muḥy ed dīn Abu'l Hārith Muhārish, son of Al Mujalli, also a descendant of Al Muḳallid, son of Ja'fir. Toghrul Beg had in A.H. 450 gone in pursuit of his brother Ibrahim Nayāl to Hamadan. Al Basasiri seized the opportunity to enter Baghdad. He made himself master of the the city and proclaimed the supremacy of Al Mustanṣir. The white banner of the Fatimites was everywhere displayed, and the Khutbah recited in the mosques in the

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 404.
[2] Ibn al Athīr, vol. x. p. 247.

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name of the heretical Khalīfah of Cairo, who won the brilliant though but short-lived triumph of being solemnly recognized, in the capital and centre of Muhammadanism, as the lawful head of Islām.

The situation of the Abassi Khalīfah had from the first moment of these events became one of imminent peril. In this extremity his wazīr, known as the Ra-īs er Ru-asa, turned for help to the 'Oḳayli Prince Ḳuraysh, son of Badran. Addressing him by his title, 'Alam ed din, *Banner of the Faith*, he declared to him that God was conferring upon him an honour which no Prince had ever yet received. "The Commander of the Faithful places himself, his family and friends under your protection, the protection of God, of his Prophet, and of an Arab." Such an appeal could not be rejected, and Ḳuraysh, removing his mitre-shaped cap (Ḳalansūwah), sent it to the Khalīfah, handing his staff of command to the Ra-īs er Ru-asa, as pledges of his protection. The Khalīfah was mounted, wearing the black robes of the Abassis and the burdah, or sacred mantle of the Prophet, and with the black banner floating over him, he was conducted to the 'Oḳayli camp along with his wife Arslan Khatun, the niece of Toghrul Beg. Ḳuraysh, it must be added, in spite of his pledges, handed over the Ra-īs er Ru-asa to Al Basasiri, by whom the unhappy wazīr was put to a cruel and ignominious death.

A place of greater safety had to be found for the Khalīfah. Ḳuraysh placed him under the care of Muhārish, by whom he was conveyed to Hadithat-'Ānah, of which Muhārish was ruler.[1] There he remained until his restoration at the end of a period of twelve months.

Muhārish, who throughout his life was held in great respect, died in A.H. 499, at the age of about eighty years, and was succeeded by his son Suleyman. The latter died in A.H. 528. The family of the 'Oḳayli Princes of Mauṣil was now virtually extinct, and we find Suleyman spoken of not only as Prince of Ḥadīthah, but also as Amir of his tribe.

[1] Ḥadīthah and 'Ānah are two towns on the Euphrates, about thirty-five miles from one another.

He was succeeded by his sons, who, at their installation, were carried in procession through the streets of Baghdad, in recognition of the services rendered by their grandfather to the Khalīfate. Nevertheless, they continued in possession of Ḥadīthah only until A.H. 536, when the Atabek 'Imad ed din Zenki took possession of the town, and removed the descendants of Muhārish to Mauṣil.

The last of the 'Oḳaylis to hold anything like princely rank was a descendant of Badrān, son of Al Muḳallid and brother of Ḳirwash. In A.H. 478 the castle of Aleppo was held by Sālim, son of Mālik, son of Badran. It had been placed under his charge by his chief and kinsman, Sharaf ed Daulah Muslim, and it continued in his hands after the death of Sharaf ed Daulah, who was killed towards the beginning of that year in a battle fought with the Turkish Prince of Ḳōniyah (Iconium). In the following year the city of Aleppo was taken by Malik Shah. The citadel, under the command of Sālim, continued to hold out, but was eventually surrendered to the Sultan in exchange for the Castle of Ja'bir, a fortress of great strength, built on a height overlooking the eastern bank of the Euphrates, a short distance above the town of Raḳḳah. It had been taken by Malik Shah, from an Arab of the tribe of Ḳushayr (sister-tribe of the Banu 'Oḳayl) on his march to Aleppo. Its owner, a blind old man, was a notorious robber, who, together with his two sons and other followers, was put to death by Malik Shah.

Sālim took possession of the castle, and soon afterwards rendered himself master also of Raḳḳah. According to the Arab chronicler, Baldwin, Count of Edessa (Bohemond ?), was in A.H. 502 (?) placed under the custody of Shams ed Daulah Sālim at the castle of Ja'bir, until the surrender of his kinsman Joscelin, who was to remain as hostage for payment of his ransom.[1]

Shortly afterwards Raḳḳah was attacked and captured by the Banu Numayr, and Ali, the son of Sālim, who was in command of the town, was killed. Shams ed Daulah Sālim

[1] Ibn al Athīr, vol. x. p. 322.

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died in A.H. 519, and appears to have been succeeded by his grandson, Malik, son of Ali. In A.H. 541 the castle was besieged by the Atabek 'Imād ed din Zenki. Its strength defying all his efforts to capture it, he tried the effect of alternate promises and threats. Before any result could be arrived at, the Atabek was assassinated in his tent by a party of his own Mamluks, an event which brought the siege of the castle to an end.

'Imād ed din's son, and successor to the sovereignty of Aleppo, Nur ed din Mahmud, was more successful. Malik had, in 563, left the protection of the castle, on a hunting expedition, when he was set upon by a party of Banu Kilāb, who carried him off and delivered him into the hands of Nur ed din. The Atabek laid siege to the castle, but failed in his attempts to capture it. But he was more fortunate than his father in dealing with its owner, who was now in his power. The same policy of alternate promises and threats at length brought matters to a successful issue. Malik surrendered the fortress, and received in exchange the town of Sarūj, a sum of 20,000 dinars in cash, and the revenues of the salt deposits in the neighbourhood of Buzā'ah near Aleppo.[1]

Ibn Khaldūn tells us that when the 'Oḳayli power in Mesopotamia and 'Irāḳ was destroyed, and their dominions appropriated by the Seljuks, the tribe returned to its original home in Bahrayn. The Taghlibite sovereignty exercised by the descendants of Abu'l Ḥasan al Aṣfar had ere this fallen into a state of complete decay, and was easily overthrown. The country was subdued by the 'Oḳaylis, and, together with the district of Yamāmah, which they conquered from the Banu Kilāb, it was ruled for several generations by a family known as the Banu 'Asfūr, belonging to the subtribe of Banu 'Āmir, son of 'Oḳayl. Ibn Khaldūn adds a quotation from Ibn Sa'īd to the effect that, when at Medinah in 651, he was informed by natives of Bahrayn

[1] Sarūj is a town near Harran, in the modern province of Orfah or Edessa. It is famed in Arabic literature as the reputed native place of Abu Zayd es Sarūji, the hero of the Maḳamat of Hariri.

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that their country was at that time still under the rule of the family of 'Aṣfūr, Princes of Al Ahsa.

So far as I am able to discover, little or nothing can be added from existing Arab histories to the meagre account given by Ibn Khaldūn of the expedition of the Taghlibite al Aṣfar against the Carmathians. (Supra, p. 505.)

I may here add that, in the absence in England of a complete MS. copy of Ibn Khaldūn's work, I have been almost wholly dependent, in collecting these notes on the history of the 'Oḳayli tribe, upon the edition of Ibn Khaldūn printed at Bulaḳ. It is a work for which all students of Eastern history may well feel grateful. But it is unfortunately disfigured by innumerable and palpable errors. Some may no doubt be traced to the MSS. from which the book has been printed, but in most instances they can only be rightly attributed to the deplorable manner in which it has been edited. The passage (vol. iv. p. 91) in which Al Aṣfar is represented as conquering Mesopotamia and Mauṣil from the 'Oḳaylis in A.H. 438, sixty years after his expedition against the Carmathians, and as being eventually defeated and imprisoned by Naṣir ed Daulah ibn Marwan, is hardly likely to be an error of the author, and is more probably the interpolation of some careless reader. It is no doubt based upon a misconception of somewhat similar events recorded by Ibn al Athīr, obviously quite unconnected with the history of Bahrayn, although the Taghlibite al Aṣfar, here in question, may possibly have been a member of the family founded by the conqueror of the Carmathians.[1]

M. Tiesenhausen, in the first note to his work, gives a passage from Al Jannābi (who died in A.H. 999), quoted by that writer from the *Ma'ārif al Muta-ākhirah* of Ibn Abd al Malik al Hamadāni, reciting the expulsion of the Banu Sulaym and Banu 'Oḳayl from Bahrayn by the Taghlibites, the return of the 'Oḳaylis after their overthrow by the Seljuks, their conquest of Bahrayn and Yamamah, and the endurance of their dominion until after A.H. 651. The passage is somewhat briefer than the corresponding one in

[1] See Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 369.

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Ibn Khaldūn. It not only, however, adds absolutely nothing to the information contained in the latter, but the wording of Al Jannābi's extract, apart from its being somewhat condensed, is identically the same. Ibn Khaldūn may possibly have derived his information from Al Hamadāni, or both may have drawn from a common source; but Al Hamadāni died in A.H. 521, and Ibn Khaldūn repeatedly tells us that the reference to the date 651 was from the writings of Ibn Sa'īd. It seems more probable, therefore, that Al Jannābi's passage was copied, not from Al Hamadāni, but from Ibn Khaldūn.

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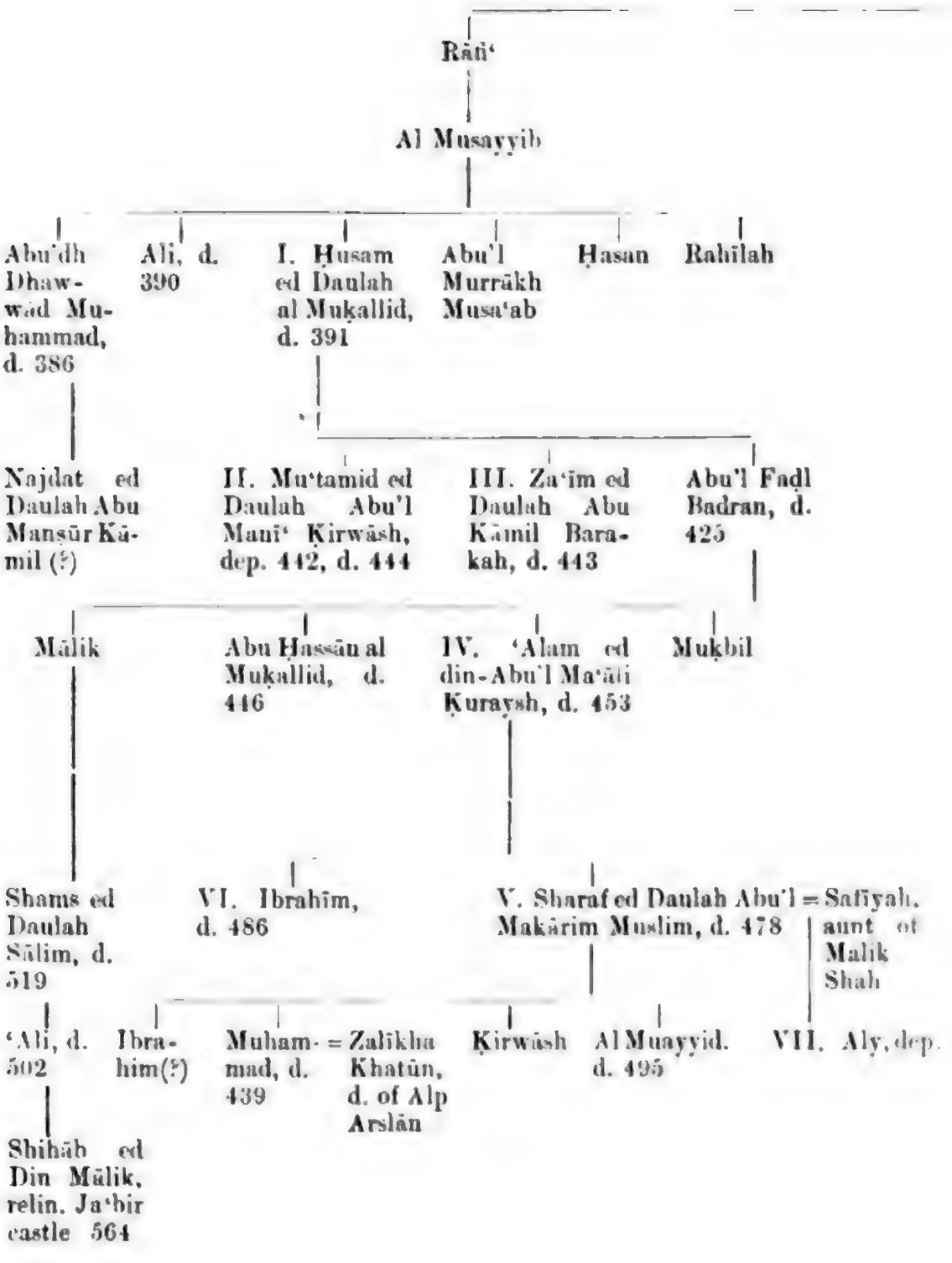

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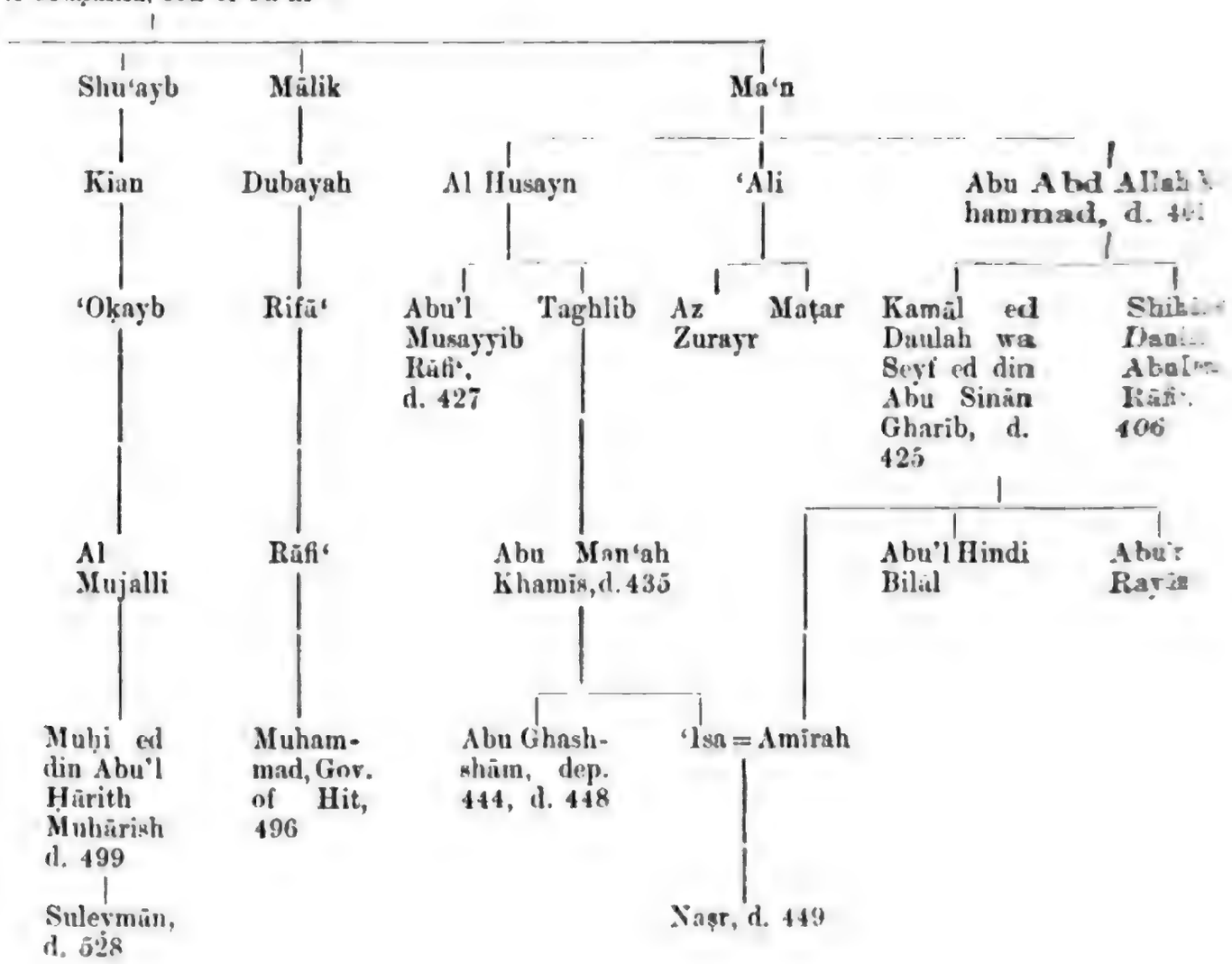
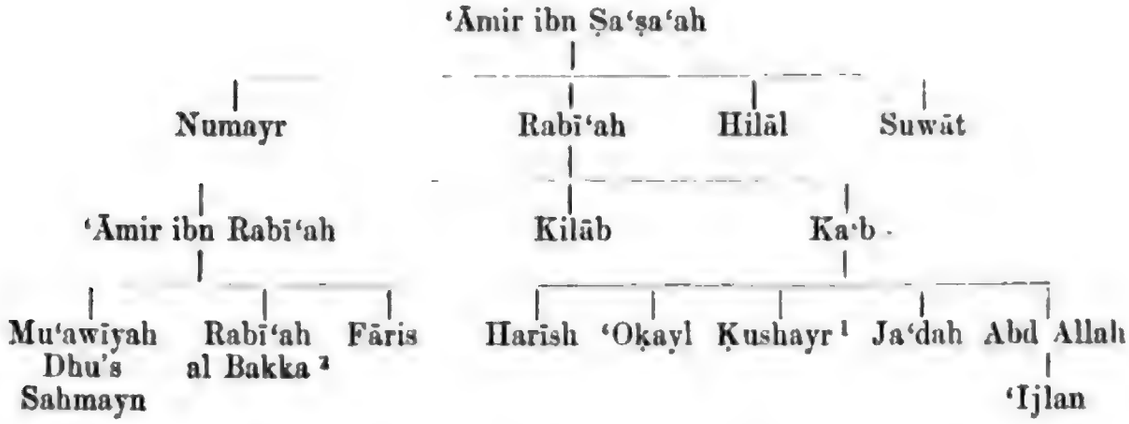

l Muḳallid, son of Ja'fir
Shu'ayb
Mālik
Ma'n
Kian
Dubayah
Al Husayn
'Ali
Abu Abd Allah
hammad, d. 4
'Oḳayb
Rifā'
Abu'l Musayyib Rāfi', d. 427
Taghlib
Az Zurayr
Maṭar
Kamāl ed Daulah wa Seyf ed din Abu Sinān Gharīb, d. 425
Shih
Dau
Abu
Rāfi'.
406
Al Mujalli
Rāfi'
Abu Man'ah Khamīs, d. 435
Abu'l Hindi Bilāl
Abu'
Raya
Muḥi ed din Abu'l Ḥārith Muhārish d. 499
Muham-mad, Gov. of Hit, 496
Abu Ghash-shām, dep. 444, d. 448
'Isa = Amīrah
Sulevmān, d. 528
Naṣr, d. 449

To face p. 526.]

The Tribes of ʻĀmir ibn Ṣaʻṣaʻah

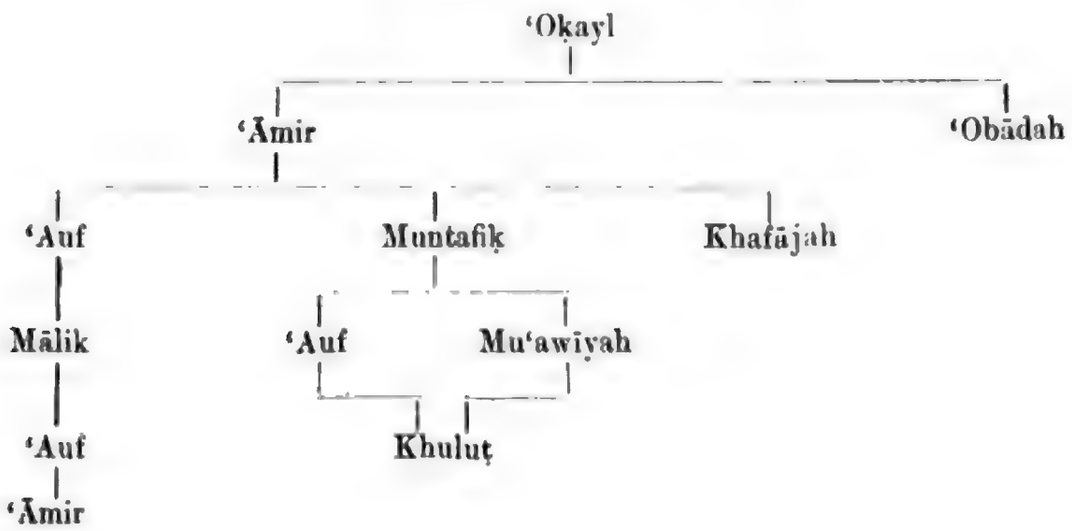
(according to Ibn Khaldūn).



[1] Ḳushayr and Jaʻdah were the sons of the same mother, a daughter of the tribe of Sulaym (son of Manṣur, son of Khaṣafah, son of Ḳays ʻAylān).

[2] See for the name Rabīʻah *al Bakka*, Ibn Khallikan, vol. i. p. 546, vol. ii. p. 452.

The Sub-Tribes of ʻOḳayl.



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Art. XXIII.—*Foreign Words in the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament.* By the Rev. Stanley Leathes, D.D.

(Communicated by the Hon. Secretary R.A.S.)

The Hebrews came in contact principally with two great nations of antiquity, the Egyptians and the Persians; at least it is with them mainly, if not solely, that their literature has preserved any traces of connection: and these traces are chiefly to be found in the books of Moses and in the books of Daniel, Ezra and Esther. As the Persian rule of Babylon did not begin till 536 B.C., one would suppose that the records of the earlier reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar would not supply us with any words of Aryan derivation or connection, and this is undoubtedly a difficulty, as it is for many of the words we meet with in these records that such derivation has been suggested, or any such connection supposed. There can be no doubt that a large number of Semitic roots were once in use, of which no trace survives in the Old Testament, and therefore it is quite possible that, if we had a knowledge of these roots, many difficult words would at once be explained and made clear to us. One would expect, moreover, that the words in the parts of Daniel belonging or at all events referring to the Assyrian period would have an Assyrian and therefore a Semitic character, as indeed such names as Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar show that they have; or, if they were affected at all by Accadian contact, it would be that contact of which we should expect to find traces rather than of any Persian influence. I am too profoundly ignorant and too uncertain on the subject of Accadian discovery to make any use of this myself or to feel any confidence in it when made. It seems to me that our best security is to be found in an

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attitude of watchful and patient waiting rather than in precipitate eagerness to clutch at results. The case is different with regard to words of Egyptian origin. The progress of Egyptian discovery has been much more prolonged and thorough. It is nearly a hundred years since the first steps were taken towards the decipherment of the hieroglyphics, and successive scholars have pushed their discoveries further and further, till a position of comparative certainty has been attained. Much of course still remains to be done, but it is at least an indication of superior advancement that the confidence of those who are not experts, but are not devoid of learning, nor incapable of forming an opinion, is given with more ungrudging alacrity to the Egyptologist than to the Assyriologist. The science of the one has survived its nonage, but that of the other may be said to be still in its infancy. At all events that is my feeling, and I am not alone in my conviction. It must be borne in mind, however, that this is an expression of opinion, and not advanced as a statement of fact.

The progress of Egyptian discovery has thrown a flood of light upon the records of the Bible. If the Pentateuch is in any degree an authentic work, it was almost certain to contain numerous references to Egyptian customs and traces of the language of Egypt. That it has been proved conclusively to do so is a very solid argument for its being the genuine work it pretends to be; indeed so clear and so numerous are the points of contact it presents with the actual Egypt of history and the monuments, that we have to be on our guard against being tempted to multiply these instances to an unwarrantable degree. The indications of connection are so many that we must beware of imagining them where they do not exist. Here also discretion is the better part of that valour which will ultimately lead to victory.

There is not seldom a danger of accidental similarity being mistaken for direct relationship. It is not all the members of the same family that are alike, and it is not every two persons that strongly resemble one another, who are members

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of the same family because they are alike. The science of comparative philology has made enormous strides, and the most substantial results have been secured; but it will probably be a long time yet before its greatest triumph will be achieved, the establishment, for example, upon a sure foundation—a triumph, however, which is by no means improbable, and which I for one should be prepared to expect—of the relation between the Semitic and the Aryan branches of language.

The first familiar foreign word which strikes us in the Bible is the title or appellation common to the Egyptian kings, viz. Pharaoh. It was formerly usual, after Josephus, to identify this word with the Coptic ⲟⲩⲣⲟ 'king,' the article Ⲡⲓ or Ⲫ being prefixed. This etymology, however, did not seem to bring us very near to the Biblical פַּרְעֹה. And then it was thought that the true equivalent might be found in the Egyptian word ⲣⲁ 'the sun,' also with the article Ⲡⲓ prefixed. It seemed fatal, however, to this suggestion, that the word ⲣⲁ was mostly found at the end of the king's name and without the article prefixed. The king, moreover, was called ⲥⲓ ⲣⲁ 'the son of Ra,' and this fact made it unlikely that he should also be called the Ra. The derivation therefore which I believe is received with more general favour now is that Pharaoh means "the house" or "the great house," very much as we still speak of the Sublime Porte. It seems to be essential that we give due heed to the silent Shewa under the Resh in Pharaoh, and divide the word accordingly Phar-aoh, not Pha-raoh. For myself I am free to confess that though this proposed derivation may be better than either of the others, it fails to give me entire satisfaction, and though willing to accept it provisionally, I should nevertheless like to have some clearer and more obvious representative of the Hebrew Pharaoh than "the house" or "the great house" seems to suggest. One would have thought that a title so common as that of Pharaoh is in the Biblical records would have been equally common on the monuments, and that the identity of the two would be

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a matter of certainty. The fact, however, that these various derivations have been proposed seems to show plainly that this is not the case. It of course follows that if Phar-aoh means "the great house," then another well-known name, that of Potiphar, will mean "he who is devoted to the house," or "the servant of the house," and so, like Pharaoh itself, be a title, and not an appellation. In close connection with this name comes another, which has often been confounded with it, viz. that of Potipherah, the priest of On or Heliopolis. Here it would appear that we may with more certainty detect the presence of the Egyptian pȝ, and then in that case Potipherah will mean "he who is devoted to the sun," or "the servant of the sun," an appellation obviously appropriate to the priest of the temple of the sun at On.

The word *abrek*, Gen. xli. 43, is rendered in the Authorised Version "Bow the knee," with a margin "or tender father," and in the Revised Version the same rendering is retained in the text, with a margin "Probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning *to kneel*." The version of the LXX. omits the word altogether, and has simply "a herald proclaimed before him." The Syriac has "Father and ruler." We see then that some translators have regarded this word as a significant Hebrew word, to be explained by the analogy of the language, while others have regarded it as a foreign word, and sought its meaning in the native languages of Egypt. There are only two ways in which it can be explained in Hebrew, which are severally represented in the text and margin of the A.V. The first of these is the explanation of Aben Ezra, who regards the א as put for the ה, just as in Jer. xxv. 3 we find אַשְׁכִּים instead of הַשְׁכֵּים; the other is that of Rashi, who quotes the Talmud, saying that Joseph was a father in wisdom, but tender in years. In the former case Abrech must be an imperative Hiphil wrongly spelt; we should moreover expect the plural rather than the singular in the proclamation of the herald to the people; in the other case the noun and adjective must either form a sort of compound, very unusual

in Hebrew, or must be wrongly joined together. There can be little doubt that we have here the actual word of the country used in the proclamation, and consequently its meaning must be sought in the vernacular language of the country. In Coptic a compound word may be formed from ⲁⲡⲉ 'the head,' and ⲣⲉⲕ 'to bow,' which approximates in sound to the Hebrew, but I believe it is not found in actual use. In the Coptic version of St. John's Gospel viii. 8, we have ⲁⲥⲣⲉⲕⲭⲱⲥ 'he bowed his head,' stooped down, but this does not give us the compound required, as the ⲁⲥ is merely a pronominal particle used with verbs; and therefore after all it seems that this use of the word is conjectural, and that no example is forthcoming of any actual word in form like that which we suppose Abrech must have approximately represented. The "new explanation" mentioned by Mr. Cheyne, whom Delitzsch quotes[1] in the prolegomena to his new Wörterbuch, declared by the former to be plausible, and apparently accepted by the latter, namely that Abrech comes direct from the Assyrian *abarakku* 'grand vizier,' can hardly be entertained with any degree of probability, and affords an instance of the need there is for speculative caution in these matters. The idea of Pharaoh travelling to Assyria to find a title which the herald was to proclaim before Joseph, and which it may be presumed the people would understand, comes barely within the confines of common sense. The word is unquestionably an Egyptian word; but what its real equivalent was in monumental or spoken Egyptian is more than we are as yet able to discover or determine, humiliating as the confession may be to our philological knowledge or ingenuity. The marginal note of the Revised Version is probably as accurate and as near as we can get to the truth, and the supposed Egyptian word not improbably meant "to bow the head or kneel." For the rest we can only exclaim with Luther, "was Abrech heisse lassen wir die Zancher suchen bisz an den jüngsten Tag."

In the same connection we have the name that Pharaoh

[1] p. 145, n. 2.

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gave Joseph, Zaphnath-Paaneah, which is undoubtedly Egyptian. Of this Aben Ezra says quaintly, "If this word is Egyptian, we do not know what it means," and Rashi says, "There is no word like Paaneah in Scripture." We have here then without doubt an attempt to represent a genuine Egyptian word in Hebrew letters. The question is what the word or words can be. ⲥⲟⲧ, ⲥⲱⲧⲉ are Coptic words, meaning 'redemption,' and ⲉⲡⲉⲣ is 'the age,' *αἰων*. The two together then may mean, 'The redemption of the age' or, as applied to a person, 'the Saviour of his time or age,' that is, nearly equivalent to 'redeemer' or 'Saviour of the world.' The old notion that it meant revealer of secrets is a mere guess framed on the supposition that it was in some way of Hebrew origin, an idea which is highly improbable. There is another word ⲥⲱⲛⲧ 'creation,' which, combined with ⲁⲛϩ 'to live,' may possibly mean "creator or possessor of life." But to discover the particular Egyptian words which lie hid in the Hebrew disguise requires a far wider knowledge of Egyptian than I can lay claim to, as well as the special gifts of a veritable revealer of secrets.

Various derivations have been preferred for the name Moses such as ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲥⲉ 'son of the water,' ⲙⲉⲥ 'natus,' ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲁϩⲓ 'delivered from the water,' ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲥⲓ 'taken out of the water,' and the like. I confess, however, that I have never seen clearly why the word should be other than Hebrew, as the narrative certainly seems to suggest: "And she called his name Moses and said for from the water I drew him, מְשִׁיתִיהוּ" In Psalm xviii., and the duplicate version of it in Samuel, the same word is found used in the Hiphil, with very probable reference to this narrative. We have no reason then to doubt that the word is a genuine Semitic root, and it does not seem unnatural that Pharaoh's daughter should give the Hebrew child a Hebrew name, and that the name should be one suggested by her own saving act, and so she called him not 'one drawn out or saved,' as we might expect, which would be מָשׁוּי, but מֹשֶׁה 'a saviour or deliverer,' for she said "I saved him from the water." In

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this case it is needless to seek further for any Egyptian word as a derivation, and every suggestion must be more or less unsatisfactory and uncertain. It is evident that in many cases the names of the Old Testament heroes were unconsciously prophetic, and it might well be so with that of the great lawgiver and deliverer of the Hebrew nation.

The name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, is interpreted to mean 'a votary of Neith,' the prototype of Athene the goddess of wisdom, 'She who has been given to her.'

The word Pi-ahiroth is probably ⲡⲓ ϩⲁⲓ ⲡⲥⲏⲧ, the place where the ϩⲁⲓ or אָחוּ grows; but Canon Cook makes it 'The house of wells, the watering-place in the desert.'[1] In Gen. xl. 16 we have mention made of three סַלֵּי חֹרִי, rendered in the A.V. 'white baskets.' I understand that the Arabic *hauri* has survived to this day in Cairo, and means the leather covering of the bread basket. This word not improbably represents the old Egyptian word answering to חֹרִי, but even here I do not feel by any means sure that the resemblance is not accidental, and the word itself Hebrew. The word סַל occurs fourteen times in the Pentateuch, but elsewhere only in Judges vi. 19, and is Semitic. The Hebrew גֹּמֶא is doubtless the Coptic ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲗ 'juncus,' and is only found Ex. ii. 3, Job viii. 11, Is. xviii. 2, spoken of Ethiopia, and xxxv. 7, where it is rendered 'reeds and *rushes*.'

תֵּבָה only found in Gen., where it is used twenty-six times of the ark of Noah and in Exodus twice of that of Moses, it appears to represent the Coptic ⲑⲏⲃⲓ.

חֵמָר only occurs three times Gen. xi. 3 '*slime* had they for mortar;' xiv. 10 'The vale of Siddim was pits of *slime*;" and Ex. ii. 3 'daubed it with *slime*.' The Coptic equivalent is ⲗⲁⲃⲣⲉϥⲓ, used of the ark of Noah, Gen. vi. 14 and xiv. 10, where the Heb. is כֹּפֶר.

שְׂפַת הַיְם may at all events be compared with ⲥⲡⲟⲇⲟⲥ which is used in the same way and means the same thing.

[1] If M. Naville's identification of Pi ke heret holds good, neither can be accepted.

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It is absurd, however, to suppose that one is borrowed from the other. The name of Moses' son Gershom has been connected with ⲅⲉⲣⲥⲱ 'alienus,' but it seems more natural to find its origin in Heb. and regard it as a vocalised variation of גֵּר שָׁם, and so the Septuagint has *Γηρσάμ*.

פִּשְׁתָּה 'flax,' is one of those words which appear in the Pentateuch, Exodus ix. 31, and again in Isaiah xlii. 3, xliii. 17, but not elsewhere. It is interesting to note the occurrence of some of these words at those periods of the national history when there was special intercourse with Egypt. The equivalent for Goshen in Coptic is ⲕⲉⲥⲉⲣ. According to Canon Cook, each of three nomes in the Delta bore a name of which the first syllable was ⲕⲁ 'a bull,' and he says, moreover, on the authority of Brugsch, that the name of the twelfth nome in Lower Egypt was ⲕⲁⲥⲏⲉ.

Pathom or Pithom is that which belongs to Thum. Pathros is probably ⲡⲁ-ⲉⲧ-ⲣⲁⲥ 'that which is towards the south.'

Rameses is of course connected with ⲣⲁ 'the sun,' and ⲙⲓⲥⲉ 'genitus, procreatus.' Succoth appears to have been identified by M. Naville with the name Thuku or Thuket found by him at Maskhutah. Pibeseth like Pithom is that which belongs to Beseth or Bubastis. A great many Hebrew words are given in the excursus of the Speaker's Commentary as being virtually Egyptian words. It seems to me that these must be received with great caution and a certain amount of reserve. It by no means follows, because there is an apparent similarity between two words in Egyptian and Hebrew, that they are the same word, or that the likeness is anything more than accidental; and even if we cannot discover the root of a Hebrew word in Hebrew, it does not follow that its root is to be found in Egyptian. It seems to me also that the principles of transliteration between Hebrew and Egyptian are too uncertain to be any sure guide to us, and that this is the case is proved by the variety of derivations and equivalents that have been proposed for the more common proper names, such as Pharaoh, Moses, and the like. To be quite sure that we have found

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the true equivalent of a Hebrew word in Egyptian demands, moreover, a far greater knowledge of the latter language than I can pretend to possess, and not only a knowledge of its vocabulary, but a knowledge also of its laws of combination, composition, grammatical usage and the like. If we take the proper names that are certainly Egyptian, such as Pharaoh, Potiphar, Zaphnath-Paaneah, and the like, we find that scholars are by no means unanimous as to their meaning, and I for one am ready to confess that I think the list in the Speaker's Commentary is too long rather than too short. There are a few other words, such as אָחוּ, תֵּבָה, גֹּמֶא, and the like, which we may feel pretty sure are Egyptian; but as for the rest of the list, I myself feel very doubtful indeed about them. For instance, it seems to me absurd to seek for an Egyptian origin for such a phrase as שָׂרֵי מִסִּים, the words used of Pharaoh's taskmasters Exodus i. 11. Each of the component elements is undoubtedly Hebrew: why not therefore the combination? 'He that was over the tribute' is a phrase with which we are familiar in 2 Sam. xx. 24, 1 Kings iv. 6, and elsewhere, and therefore שַׂר מִסִּים hardly needs much explanation from foreign sources.

זֶפֶת occurs only in Ex. ii. 3 and Is. xxxiv. 9 *bis*. Gesenius refers it to a root זוּב=זוּף 'to flow,' and compares the Arabic وَذَفَ 'fluxit,' so that there seems no sufficient reason to search for it elsewhere.

לְהָטִים Ex. vii. 11 'with their enchantments,' is simply the plural of the word used in Gen. iii. 24 of the flaming sword at Paradise.

צְפַרְדֵּעַ Gesenius regards as compounded of צפר 'leaped, came forth,' and ضِفْدَع 'a marsh,' as if leaping in or coming forth from the marsh. The Arabic retains the word only rejecting the ר, ضَفْدَع. With regard to the other words claimed as Egyptian, *e.g.* סַךְ, כֹּפֶמֶת, גִּבְעֹל, שְׁחִין, כְּבְשָׁן, כִּנִּים, אֲבַעְבֻּעֹת, אֲפִילוֹת, אָבָק, תַּנּוּר, אֵגֶם, עָרֹב and some others

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named in the Speaker's Commentary, I see no reason to believe that they are other than genuinely Semitic words.

I come now to the Persian and Aryan words in Daniel, Esther and Ezra, and the first is naturally Cyrus. In the Avesta Cyrus is Huśrava. Rawlinson says the name is now generally connected with the Kuru family of Ancient India, Speaker's Commentary, 3, 422. The ancient authorities distinctly tell us that the name was equivalent to the sun, and that the Persians called the sun *Κῦρος* or *Κοῦρος*. In modern Persian خور is undeniably the sun, *cf.* Sansk. शूर 'a hero.' The Sanskrit writes the word for 'sun' with a dental स. خورشید=sunlight. Fuerst says the final שׁ is the nominative of the Persian, but the modern Persian has no nominative termination. Darius in like manner is doubtless connected with دار, meaning 'Lord, Master,' etc. with a like termination. The word also means 'house, palace,' etc. Cf. the word Pharaoh and its supposed meaning.

Arioch means a great lion, as Nisroch means a great eagle and the like. Abednego probably=Abed Nebo just as גְּבַל =*βυβλος*, *βλεφαρον*=*γλεφαρον*, etc.

Meshach is referred by Gesenius to میزشاه 'the guest or friend of the king.' According to Fuerst it is from میش the Sanskrit मेष 'a ram,' and hence the sun-god. Max Müller says, "Meshach may have been *mes* 'friend,' and *shah* 'king,' but in Persian this compound could only mean 'king of the friend';" but with all due deference, *mes-i-shah* in Modern Persian would unquestionably mean 'friend of the king.' But the similar termination in Shadrach leads us to seek some common element. Fuerst regards Shadrach as the same as Hadrach Zech. ix. 1, and thinks it means the circular path of the sun, thence the name of the sun-god.[1]

Ahasuerus probably exhibits a terminal formation similar to that in Cyrus, Darius, etc. It is the Greek Xerxes, the Sanskrit क्ष being represented by *ξ* in Greek and by

[1] This is rendered the more probable from the fact of the LXX. having Σεδράχ in both places.

ש+ח in Hebrew, with a prosthetic and epenthetic letter, which the Hebrews were obliged to adopt to express the sound at the commencement of a syllable. In like manner אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא is the Hebrew equivalent for Artaxerxes, and the first syllable survives in اردشير, but its actual derivation is not so easy to determine. Hesychius says *Αρταῖοι, οἱ ἥρωες παρὰ Πέρσαις*, but what is the word? אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפַּן Dan. iii. 2, vi. 2, Esth. i. 1, on the same principle must represent an initial क्ष, and is probably the Greek *Σατράπης*, which is apparently connected with क्षत्रप 'the keeper or guardian of the host or army.' It has no equivalent in modern Persian.

In the same way אֲחַשְׁתְּרָן, אֲחַשְׁתְּרִי, אֲחַשְׁתָּר no doubt represent the modern Persian شُتُر 'a camel.' This ش very probably took the place of क्ष in the older Persian. אַדְרַזְדָּא 'diligently,' is found in Ezra vii. 23. It is in all probability connected with the modern Persian دُرُسْتْ 'rightly, diligently,' or دَر رَاسْتْ 'in the right, rightly.' גָּזְרִין and אַדַּר גָּזְרִין are probably Semitic in both elements, the second, according to Fuerst, being the astrologers of the god of fire—Adar.

אַדַּרְכּוֹן or דַּרְכְּמֹנִים is the same word as Daric, however derived, which seems to be very uncertain. The derivation is from كون and دار 'the king's image;' Fuerst.

אַחְמְתָא equals Ecbatana, the *m* becoming *b*.

אַסְפַּרְנָא Ezra v. 8, etc., we may compare with the modern Persian اِسْپرى 'complete,' and on the authority of Haug, as quoted by Fuerst, the old Persian *as-parna*, i.e. 'completed, quite,' *parna* being the pass part. of *pĕrĕ* 'to complete.'

אַפְתֹם Ezra iv. 13, 'endamage the *revenue* of the king,' is a very uncertain word; the LXX. render it *καὶ τοῦτο*, with which the Syriac 'and so it is' nearly corresponds.

Mithredath, the name of a treasurer under Cyrus, Ezra i. 8, is obviously compounded of Mithra, the name of the

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mediator between Ormuzd and Ahriman, connected probably with मित्र 'the sun, a friend,' etc., مِهر Persian 'the sun, love,' etc. The last syllable would seem to be connected with دادن 'to give.'

נִשְׁתְּוָן Ezra iv. 7, 'a letter,' seems to come from or be connected with the Persian نَويشتن 'to write.' Fuerst regards the וָן as a noun-ending, but the modern language has no such form.

Pithgam פִּתְגָם Esther i. 20, 'decree,' is perhaps the modern Persian پَيغام 'message or embassy.' What the old form was I do not know.

פִּתְבַג 'food, fare,' is supposed to be connected with the Sanskrit प्रतिभाग; باج, in Persian, is 'toll, tribute.' If this is really the derivation of the word, it is a curious instance of foreign influence so early in Babylon.

פַּרְשֶׁגֶן and פִּתְשֶׁגֶן Ezra vii. 11, Esth. iii. 14, 'copy.' The first element is probably the same as before, but what is the second? פַּרְתְּמִים Esth. i. 3, etc., is probably connected with the Sanskrit प्रथम 'first.'

תִּרְשָׁתָא perhaps connected with the Persian ترس 'fear,' and ترسيدن 'to fear.' Gesenius compares 'Gestrenger Herr.' פּוּר is interpreted by גּוֹרָל, but the modern Persian for 'part, portion, fragment' is پارہ, with which there is probably some connection.

The word חֶרְטֹם is common both to the Egyptian and Chaldæan parts of the Bible, which is so far a reason for not seeking its origin in Coptic. Otherwise Gesenius compares ⲉⲣⲭⲱⲟⲩ from ⲉⲣ *facere* and ⲭⲱⲟⲩ *δυναμις* and ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩ *custos secretorum*. I would rather believe with Fuerst that it is a derivative of חֶרֶט *stylus*. In like manner we have קַרְדֹּם 'an axe.' Some have compared چَرْكَمَند.

According to Gesenius and Fuerst, Belshazzar and Belteshazzar are only variations of the same name, and mean the Prince of Bel or the favourite of Bel, the *sh* or *tsh* being the

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Zend genitive. Fuerst admits that the name has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and certainly the attempt to weld together a Chaldæan proper name and a Semitic termination by means of an Aryan genitive case-ending does not look promising. The names moreover must be distinct, and not improbably mean respectively 'Bel defends the prince' and 'Beltis defends the prince.'

The word פֶּחָה is thought to be connected with पच and Pasha, but Pasha is supposed to be corrupted from Padishah, and if so can have nothing to do with पच 'wing,' etc. Fuerst compares پایگاہ ('dignity, rank, officer, employment,' Johnson) and translates it 'under-governor.' Max Müller asks by way of suggestion whether the חָה termination in the Chaldee can be meant for شاہ, Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 572. In that case the פֶּ may represent the *pad* or पति, but the origin and derivation of this word is mysterious.

גְּדִבְרַיָּא Dan. iii. 2, 3, 'the treasurers,' apparently the same as גִּזְבְּרַיָּא Ezra vii. 21, *cf.* גִּזְבָּר i. 8. Of the last two words the first is taken as the plural of the second, and the word in Daniel as a variation of the same. In this case the etymology must be sought in the singular form of the word, and then treasure-bearer گنج 'treasurer' and بار 'bearer or keeper,' may perhaps be the modern equivalents. But then their appearance in Daniel has to be accounted for. In like manner דָּתְבְרַיָּא 'counsellors,' Dan. iii. 2, 3=law-bearers, or, at all events, that is the etymology proposed by so high an authority as Max Müller. It seems strange, however, that the long vowel in d*a*d and b*a*r should be represented by a sheva in Hebrew.

תִּפְתַּיָּא occurs Daniel iii. 2, 3. The proposed reference to the Sanskrit अधिपति is preposterous, as the modern word Mufti still survives from the same Semitic root='a wise man, learned in the law.'

The word הַמְּלַצַּר Dan. i. 11, 16, evidently denotes an

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officer; as to its derivation I feel very uncertain. The proposed **मधु** and **शिरस्** (**मधु** is properly 'sweet,' *μεθυ*, سَر is 'head' in Persian) is highly unsatisfactory, and why should we seek for Aryan etymologies at a time prior to the Persian rule?

נְבוּזְבָה Dan. ii. 6, v. 17, 'rewards,' may well be referred to the Semitic root בַּז in the sense of 'spoils, gains,' far more naturally than to **भज्** or **भाग**.

סָגָן only in the plural seems to be referable to the Arabic root شحن, which in the second conjugation means 'appointed a deputy.' In the first conjugation it means 'filled.' *Cf.* the Hebrew phrase of filling the hand, that is, consecrating the priest. The Arabic usage may indeed be derived from this word, in which case we have *carte blanche* for the derivation of its etymology.

סַרְבָּל Dan. iii. 21, 27. This has been identified by metathesis with the Persian شَلْوَار or شُلْوَار 'breeches or drawers.' The Arabic is سِرْبَال, plural سرابيل, and the etymology has been sought in **शिर** and **वृ**, truly a curious etymology for breeches 'a covering of the head.'

סַרְכִין Dan. vi. 3 'presidents.' This is very possibly connected with Sargon and **सार**, and I would certainly rather refer it to شرك 'socius fuit' with Fuerst, than attempt to connect it with **शिर** v. Gesenius, which for many reasons I should regard as impossible.

הַמְנִיךְ Dan. v. 7, 16, 29, evidently 'a chain.' This is referred to the Sanskrit **मणि**, but then what about the ה? All the commentators and the Dictionaries assume the connexion with *μανιάκης*, monile, and the like, but it seems to me that the presence of the initial ה when it is not wanted is not so easily disposed of.

כַּרְפַּס 'cotton,' Esther i. 6, is undoubtedly the Sanskrit **कर्पास**, the Greek *κάρπασος* and Latin carbasus.

פֻּתָר is obviously connected with כְּתַר 'surrounded,' what-

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ever similarity or relation there may be with *κίδαρις* or *κίταρις*.

תֻּכִּי 'a peacock' is probably the Sanskrit शिखिन् 'a crested one or peacock.' This word in Tamil becomes *togei*.

קוֹפִים 'apes' is supposed to be the Sanskrit कपि, which Bopp derives from कम्प् 'to move about.' If the *m* is really lost, this may account for the long vowel of the Hebrew.

שֶׁנְהַבִּים is in all probability 'tooth of the ibha, that is, elephant,' इभ, a word which appears again in הַפִּיל 'the elephant,' and in an Egyptian form quoted by Gesenius ϵβο-γ. The Semitic article is thus embodied in the word. Ebur is referred to the same word. This is one of the most interesting and the most certain instances of intercourse between the Semites and the Aryans.

אַלְגֻּמִּים and אַלְמֻגִּים is probably connected with one of two Sanskrit words that have been proposed, मोच 'the silk cotton tree' and वल्गु or वल्गुक 'sandalwood.' The latter seems preferable.

בְּרוֹזָא must be connected with *κήρυξ* and similar words. In like manner קִיתָרוֹס must be connected with *κίθαρα*, סַבְּכָא with *σαμβύκη*, and פְּסַנְתֵּרִין with *ψαλτήριον*, and סוּמְפוֹנְיָה with *συμφωνία*. It is manifestly one thing to trace a connection between words of this kind in languages not allied, and quite another to say that in the particular case one has been borrowed from the other.

פַּרְדֵּס is a word found in Eccles. ii. 5, Song of Songs iv. 13, and Nehemiah ii. 8. It is obviously the Greek *παράδεισος*, but the origin of the word is very uncertain. It is very frequently connected with the Sanskrit परदेश, but this properly means 'a foreign country,' though Fuerst gives it as 'a region of surpassing beauty.' Two other words are proposed, the Armenian *pardez* 'a garden surrounding a house,' and the Zend *pairidaeza* 'an inclosure.' The mutual relation of these several forms is doubtful, though they are probably connected.

I do not pretend to have made a complete or exhaustive list of foreign words occurring in the Old Testament. I have contented myself rather with the more obvious and familiar ones. Every man who has a special taste for Egyptian or Assyrian investigation will easily imagine he detects Egyptian or Assyrian or Accadian words in Hebrew. The tendency is one which needs to be jealously and carefully watched, and does not want stimulating, as we are very apt to be misled by the fascination of our own imaginary discoveries, and there is nothing that is so absorbing as the fascination of a new discovery.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER.[1]

(June, July, August.)

I. Reports of Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society, Session 1885–86.

Seventh Meeting, 21*st June*, 1886.—E. L. Brandreth, Esq., in the Chair.

Elections: Surgeon-General W. R. Cornish, C.I.E.; General John Baillie; and Mr. Jehangír K. R. Kama, as Resident Members; Mr. William Davies as non-Resident Member.

The following paper was read by the author: Early Buddhist Symbolism, by Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. The object of the lecturer was to show that, in all probability, those symbols found carved on early Buddhist monuments, which cannot be directly traced to indigenous Indian sources, were derived from Western Asian symbols, pre-existent and connected with Sun-worship. Summarising the pre-Buddhist local history, he showed that for eight centuries Northern India lay open to Assyrian and Chaldæan influences, while for the succeeding two centuries a considerable portion of that country was subject to the Persian empire. Alluding to a probable trading intercourse of the inhabitants on either side the Indus, and giving proofs of Greek and Roman influence in India, he argued that the superstitions and beliefs of the masses of the people, whether there or in Assyria, Chaldæa or Persia, were very similar, and that consequently the present identification of early Buddhist symbols was nothing improbable. Mr. Sewell then entered into details, and illustrated his argument by reference to particular cases of analogy and resemblance.

[1] Of the five heads into which this section was divided in the last issue of the Journal, four and five will for the present quarter, and until completion of further arrangements, be merged in a general *résumé*, such as hitherto adopted for the Annual Report. A separate head is introduced for Obituary Notices.

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The whole appears in the July number of the Journal.

Sir George Birdwood and M. Bertin spoke also on the subject. The remarks of the former, of which a written abstract was received, have been printed as an addendum to the paper.

This Meeting concluded the Session 1885–86. At its close the Society adjourned to November next. Monday, the 15th of that month, has been since fixed as the date for resuming the Proceedings.

II. Proceedings of Asiatic or Oriental Societies.[1]

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 6th January, 1886.—D. Waldie, Esq., Vice-President, in the chair.

Nine presentations were announced, and four elections of Ordinary Members, with two withdrawals, notified.

The Philological Secretary read reports on four finds of ancient coins, *i.e.* :—

1. On fifteen old silver coins forwarded by the Deputy-Commissioner of the Jhelum District.

2. On thirteen silver coins from the Collector of Bhagalpúr.

3. On fifteen silver coins from the Secretary to the Government N.W. Provinces and Oudh.

4. On twenty old coins and two rings from the Subdivisional Officer of Sasserám.

A circular was read from the Société de Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle de Genève, offering for competition a prize of 500 francs, for the best monograph of a genus or family of plants, to be written either in Latin, French, German, English, or Italian.

The papers read were on Natural History and Botany.

3rd February, 1886 (Annual Meeting).—Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, C.I.E., President, in the chair.

On the call of the President, the Secretary read the Annual Report.

The Report having been read and adopted, the President delivered his Address, proposing, in conclusion, a vote of thanks to the Hon. Secretaries and Hon. Treasurer for their exertions on behalf of the Society.

The President then announced the result of Office-bearers and Members of Council as reported by the Scrutineers; Auditors were appointed to examine the past year's accounts, and the Meeting was resolved into the Ordinary Monthly General Meeting :—

E. F. T. Atkinson, Esq., B.A., C.S., the newly-appointed President, in the chair.

[1] Under this head are necessarily comprised the Reports *received* during the quarter, rather than the Proceedings of that particular quarter.

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Sixteen presentations were announced ; three candidates for election proposed, and a letter was read from Mr. Percival accepting the office of Hon. General Secretary. A Government notification, containing Revised Rules for the working of the Indian Treasure Trove Act, was read and recorded.

The Philological Secretary read a report on sixty old copper coins received from the Secretary to the Government N. W. Provinces and Oudh, of which thirteen were of Sultan Shir Shah, nineteen of Sultan Islam Shah, five of Sultan Muhammad Shah, sixteen of Akbar, and seven of the Sultans of Gujrát. A communication was also read from the Private Secretary to H.H. the Mahárāná of Udaipur forwarding two ancient coins with descriptive note.

Dr. Rájendralála Mitra read an extract from Babu Níranjan Mukarji's letter forwarding impressions of inscriptions in an unknown character, or hard to decipher, taken from Hindu stone-temples at Mandi.

Besides contributions in the Natural History Department, two historical papers were read at the Meeting—one on the decline of the Samánis, by Mr. Oliver, and one on the Birthday of Akbar, published in the Journal and hereafter noticed.

3rd March, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., President, in the chair.

Twenty presentations were announced ; the election of three Ordinary Members and one withdrawal notified ; two candidates for election proposed ; and the *personnel* of the several Committees for the year appointed.

Among the papers read were one "On Place-Names in Mercara," by Mr. R. S. Whiteway, and one "On South Indian Coins," by Capt. R. B. C. Tuffnell, Madras Staff Corps. Both are to appear in the Journal.

The President imparted to the meeting a suggestion that subjects for conversation be brought forward after the disposal of the regular business of the Society ; the Meeting resolving itself into a Conversazione for the discussion of questions to be fixed on beforehand ; those comprised in Natural History on one evening, and those relating to Philology on another, alternately.

7th April, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., President, in the chair.

Twenty-one presentations were announced, two Ordinary Members elected, two candidates proposed for election, and three withdrawals notified.

The Philological Secretary exhibited two ancient copper coins received from Rai Shyam Bahádur, Vakil, Chupra, and read the following Report :—

1. On seventeen coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Jhelum.

2. On eight coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Gujrat.

3. On 104 silver coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Nimar, Central Provinces.

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4. On a gold coin from the Collector of Nuddea. This is affirmed to be one of Nára Gupta, an ancient ruler of Bihár and Bengal, and cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 400, if the end of the second century be accepted as the initial epoch of the rise of the earlier Gupta line.

5. On thirty-two silver coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur.

6. On forty-one coins (rupees) from the Collector of Hooghly.

7. On four copper coins from the Divisional Magistrate of Mirzapúr.

8. On sixteen gold and 457 silver coins from the Secretary of Government N.W. Provinces and Oudh. Among others are seven gold Gupta coins from Rae Bareilly; the remaining nine gold coins are Ramtinkis, very small, from the Partábgarh District.

The Secretary to the Geographical Society of Lyons, in forwarding a book entitled "De l'influence des Religions sur le développement économique des Peuples," had stated that his Society would be happy if any Member of the Asiatic Society in India would undertake an analogous labour with regard to the Religions of that country. With reference hereto, the President remarked that the best response would be to announce the matter in the Proceedings.

Two papers were read: 1. "On some Snow Measurements at Kailung in Lahoul," by the Rev. A. W. Heyde; 2. "On Three New Himalayan Primulas," by G. King, Esq., M.B., LL.D., F.L.S.

The President, entering into particulars of the work, paid a graceful tribute to the worth and ability of the late Mr. Edward Thomas, Treasurer of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was followed by Dr. Mitra, a personal friend of the deceased, who passed a high eulogium upon his services in the cause of numismatic research. Eulogising his private character and qualities, the learned doctor remarked that those "who were best able to appreciate his merits held him in high esteem."

The subject for conversation in the Philological Society's Department was "Manikhyala, and a gold ornament made of Roman coins recently found there."

Société Asiatique, Paris, 4th May, 1886.—M. Barbier de Meynard, Vice-President, in the chair.

After the election of three new members, and ordinary business, M. Clermont-Ganneau stated to the Council particulars regarding certain Palmyrene inscriptions which had not been published.

M. Oppert read the translation of a Babylonian inscription containing a marriage contract confirmed by a tribunal.

M. Rubens David offered the suggestion that the two Aramæan words *ardikla* and *aryoubla* (signifying architect and mason respectively) have in their composition the word *ard* 'servant,' coupled in the one case with *ekal* for *haikal* (temple or palace), and in the other with *gaboul* (artizan).

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The Abbé Quentin, who had returned from the study of Assyrian inscriptions regarding the Deluge at the British Museum, gave notice that he would shortly submit to the Council the result of his researches.

Society of Biblical Archæology, London, 1st June, 1886.—Walter Morrison, Esq., President, in the chair.

After the ordinary routine of proceedings, Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., read a paper describing a number of Egyptian Antiquities in his Collection. Those on which the greater stress was laid were from Ekhmim, the site of the ancient Chemmis, on the right bank of the Nile opposite to Suhág, where some very interesting excavations and discoveries had been made in 1885. Two sepulchral boxes of sycamore wood, with remarkable drawings and decorations; the pedestal of a figure of Ptah-Socaris-Osiris; the lid or cover of a funereal box, in sycamore wood, bearing the inscription, "Ta poer, the wife of Pet-tum" (as read by M. Revillout), and some masks from mummy cases, were among the articles described.

The following communications to the Society are on the record :—

Two from M. P. Le Page Renouf on the name of the blind Horus and the Egyptian God Apriat; one from Professor Sayce on inscriptions at Abydos and elsewhere; one from the Rev. J. C. Ball on the Metres of David; and a second from Professor Sayce on "Coptic and Early Christian Inscriptions in Upper Egypt." Besides these, Deir Abu Hannes, "the monastery of Father John," with its cemetery and surroundings, has supplied the material of a most interesting paper.

American Oriental Society, 12th May, 1886.—Professor W. D. Whitney, in the chair.

After the usual routine of Proceedings, reports were given of letters from Mr. Rockhill, in Peking. He had sent some rubbings of stone pillar inscriptions from Pan Shan, east of the capital. They date from the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644), and many of the characters are Nágari Sanskrit. Sixteen Roman coins also had been found near Peking, some of which antedated from Nero.

The following is a list of the papers read, or accepted for reading :—

1. On Hebrew Military History in the Light of Modern Military Science; by General Henry Carrington, U.S. Army.

2. On a Greek Hagiologic MS. in the Philadelphia Library; by Professor J. Hall, of New York City. Of this curious relic an interesting analysis is given.

3. On the Identification of Avaris at Sán; by Rev. W. C. Winslow, of Boston.

4. On the Warrior Caste in India; by Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn.

5. The Correlation of *v* and *m* in Vedic and later Sanskrit; by Prof. M. Bloomfield, of Baltimore.

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6. On Negative Clauses in the Rig-Veda; by Miss Eva Channing, of Boston, Mass.

7. On the Ancient Persians' Abhorrence of Falsehood, illustrated from the Avesta; by Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

8. Hindu Eschatology and the Katha Upanishad; by Professor Whitney, of New Haven.

9. The Ao Naga Language of Southern Assam; by Prof. John Avery, of Brunswick, Maine.

10. On a Sacrificial Tablet from Sippur; by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

11. On certain important recent Assyriological Publications, by Professor Lyon.

12. Three Hymns of the First Book of the Atharva-Veda; by Prof. Bloomfield.

13. Lexicographical Notes from the Mahābhārata; by Prof. Hopkins.

14. Introduction to the Study of the Old Indian Sibilants; by Prof. Bloomfield and Dr. Edward N. Spicker, of Baltimore.

In addition to the above, spoken addresses were given by the Rev. T. P. Hughes and the Rev. John Chandler; and the Rev. W. H. Ward exhibited photographs of Hittite Sculpture from 'Ain Tab.

The Society adjourned to meet at New Haven on 27th October.

III. Correspondence.

Pre-Akkadian Writing.

62, Chesilton Road, Fulham Road, S.W.

Dear Sir, *22nd Sept.*, 1886.

I am desirous of directing your attention to the fact, that I have advocated for several years the existence of the Chaldæan or Babylonian writing anterior to the arrival of the Akkadians in the country. The successive transformations undergone by the writing, chiefly in its arrangement, and the fact that the Akkadian sounds were not the most important, had forced this conclusion upon my mind. I have published this in several places, notably in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1883, Vol. XV. p. 279, note 3.

In the last issue of the Journal (Vol. XVIII. Part III.) there is a paper on the Pre-Akkadian Semites, by Mr. G. Bertin, in which no allusion has been made to the priority of my discovery.

I am, yours faithfully,

The Secretary Royal Asiatic Society. Terrien de Lacouperie.

IV. Obituary Notices.

Three losses to the Society by death have taken place within the quarter: two, Resident Members, one of many and one of few years' standing, the other a distinguished scholar who had been on the list of Honorary Members for four years.

John Hallett Batten, son of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Hallett Batten, Principal of the East India College at Haileybury, and Catherine his wife, was born at Haileybury, in the county of Hertford, on 5 May, 1811. He was educated at Charterhouse, and in July, 1827, received a nomination to the Bengal Civil Service from Mr. Edward Parry, a Director of the East India Company. Shortly afterwards he entered Haileybury College, and passed out in May, 1829, having obtained a prize for an Essay, and marked as Highly Distinguished. During his career at the College he was more proficient in Classics, Law, Political Economy, and Persian, than in the other subjects which formed the curriculum of his studies. John Hallett Batten arrived in Bengal on 22 November, 1829, but in the following year proceeded to Europe on furlough. On his return to India he was appointed Assistant to the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in the Gorakhpúr division, and somewhat later Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector at Azimgarh. Transferred in 1834 to the Meerut division, under the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, in 1835 he became Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector at Saharanpur, exercising the powers of Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector at that station in 1836; but shortly after he was transferred as Assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaon. In 1837 he was Acting Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Garhwal; in 1839 Senior Assistant to Commissioner, and in charge of the Revised Revenue Settlement at Kumaon; and in 1850 he was appointed Commissioner of Kumaon. Again taking furlough to Europe, he returned to duty in 1858, and in 1859 was appointed Civil and Sessions Judge of Cawnpore. In 1863 he was Commissioner of the Agra division, but retired from service in 1865, when he became an Annuitant on the Fund. He contributed papers to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and other Indian Societies. He died on July 14th, 1886, at Heavitree, Exeter, after a very short illness, aged 75. An old and esteemed Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the records of which his name first appears in 1856, he had visited its rooms in Albemarle Street in seeming health and vigour only a few days prior to his decease.

The name of *Mr. Andrew Cassels*, a much-respected member of

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the Royal Asiatic Society, is more especially connected with Eastern interests as that of a Member of the Indian Council. After many years spent on the Continent, chiefly in Italy, Mr. Cassels went out to Bombay as partner in the great Manchester firm, Messrs. John Peel & Co., and founded the house Peel, Cassels & Co., at the head of which he remained for a considerable period. On returning from India in 1851, he continued for some years in the business in Manchester, until his retirement, when he settled in London. He became one of the Directors of the Metropolitan Railway Company, and long acted as Chairman of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, a post which he only resigned on accepting the office of Member of the Council of India, offered to him in 1874 by Lord Salisbury. At the termination of the statutory term of tenure of this office in 1884, repeated efforts were made by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and other bodies to secure his reappointment, but this was not considered expedient, as being the first vacancy after the introduction of the ten years' limit, although the value of his services was fully recognized. Mr. Cassels was an active member of the Society of Arts, in which he took great interest; he was one of their Committee appointed to aid the organization of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and was elected to their Council in 1872, and Vice-President in 1875. He died on the 2nd of August in his seventy-fifth year, and was buried in the Brompton Cemetery.

Professor B. Jülg, a high authority on the Mongol-Kalmuk languages, with which he had been familiar from youth, died on the 14th August, aged 61, at Innspruck, in the University of which city he was Professor of Classical Philology. From his special connection with Tartar Fable Literature—a field which cannot be said to be thoroughly occupied—his loss will be felt outside his own immediate sphere of work. Only four years ago he was enrolled among the Honorary Members of this Society, a distinction accorded to his widely-spread reputation. His paper "On the Present State of Mongolian Researches" was published in Vol. XIV. pp. 42–65 of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

V. Excerpta Orientalia.

Nos. 3 and 4, vol. liv. part 1, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, consist of two papers only, Mr. Growse's "Notes on the Fatehpur District, N.W.P.," and part 2 of the "Geography of India in the reign of Akbar," by Mr. Beames. No. 1 of the

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Forty-fifth volume, part 1, besides a Numismatic notice, has a learned and well-reasoned article on the "Antiquity and Genuineness of the Epic called the Prithi Ráj Rásá," commonly ascribed to "Chand Bardai," from the pen of Kavi Ráj Shyámal Dás, M.R.A.S., Poet-Laureate, and Member of the State Council of Mewar; some "Notes on the Chittagong Dialect," by Mr. F. E. Pargiter, B.A.; and a second article of Mr. Shyámal Dás, on the "Birthday of the Emperor Jaláluddin Muhammad Akbar," which quaintly, but not inconclusively, changes the generally received date of Akbar's birth from the 16th October to the 23rd November, 1542. While the "Poet-Laureate" is shown to be contributor of four-fifths of this whole number of the Journal, it is explained that his original papers were in Hindí, and that Munshi Rám Parsád is responsible for the English translation.

The following new numbers of the *Bibliotheca Indica* have been received:

Sanskrit.—Parásara Smṛiti, by Pandit Chandrakánta Tarkálankára, fasciculus v.

The Nirukta with Commentaries, edited by Pandit Satyavrata Sámásramí, vol. iii. fasc. iv.

Tattva Chintámani, ed. Pandita Kamakhyanatha Tarkaratna, fasc. iv.

The Asvávaidyaka; a treatise on the diseases of the Horse, compiled by Jayadatta Súri, edited by Kaviráj Umesá Chandra Gupta Kaviratna, fasc. i.

Persian.—Muntakhabu't-Tawárikh, by Abdu'l-Kádir bin Maluk Shah (al Badáoni), translated by Lowe, fasc. iv.

Zafar-námah, by Maulána Sharfu'd-dín 'Ali Yazdi, ed. Maulawi Muhammad Ilahdád, vol. i. fasc. iv.

Journal Asiatique, Huitième série, tome vii. No. 2, Mars-Avril, 1866, contains the following articles: L'Histoire de Gal'ad et Schimâs, by M. H. Zotenberg; Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musalmanes, by M. H. Sauvaire; La Bṛihatkathámañjarí de Kshemendra, continuation and conclusion, by M. J. Sylvain-Lévi; and Tchao-sien-tché, being a memoir on the Corea by a Corean (anonymous), translated for the first time from the Chinese, with commentary, by M. Scherzer. In the "Nouvelles et Mélanges" are a review of Prince Muhammad Salih's Uzbeg poem of the Shaibaniad, translated into German by Professor Vambéry; a notice of the Imitatio Christi, as rendered from Latin into Chaldæan, and other papers. No. 3 of the same volume, Mai-Juin, 1886, contains an article on Shafi'a Asar, a Persian satirical poet who flourished at the close of the seventeenth century, by M. H. Ferté, dragoman of the French Embassy at Constantinople; a continuation of M. Sauvaire's materials for a history of Muhammadan Numismatics and Metrology; a translation by Professor M. C. de Harlez of the last book of the Aisin Gurun-i-Suduré Bithe, forming an appendix to the history of the Empire of Kiu, and written at the period of the Conquest of China by the Mandchus; and the second part of M. Senart's 4th chapter

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on the Inscriptions of Piyadási. The contents of the "Nouvelles et Mélanges" have been reported in the notice of Proceedings.

German Oriental Society, vol. xi. part 2, contains: M. Klamroth, on the Extracts from Greek writers in Al-Yaḳúbí; M. Grünbaum, Observations on the Shem Hammaphorash as an Imitation of an Aramaic Expression, and on Linguistic Imitations in general; Spitta's Arabic Manuscripts; N. Karamianz, Twenty-one letters of a lost Alphabet; H. H. Dhruva, Sanskrit Grants and Inscriptions of Gujrát Kings, Nos. vi. to ix.; Hermann Jacobi, On the knowledge of Asia; E. Hultzsch, Corrections and Additions to the Amrávati Inscriptions; P. von Bradke, Contributions to the History of Religions and Languages of Ancient India; and Extracts from Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's letters in Leyden, to Dr. Goldziher in Budapest.

Archæology.—An account of the American Archæological Expedition to Mesopotamia forms the subject of an abstract of two lectures recently delivered by Dr. Hayes Ward of New York, quoted in the *Academy*, 12th June from the Johns Hopkins University Circulars. The Hittite Centres of Marash and Jarablus were the first points visited; afterwards Mosul, Baghdad, and other well-known modern towns in the vicinity of Biblical or historically-interesting sites. In the opinion of the lecturer there are still mounds, at or near Babylon, which ought to be carefully worked; and Warka, second only to Babylon in extent, promises exceptional fruitfulness in antiquities. We learn also from the *Academy* of the 3rd July, that Professor Tiele has republished from the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Holland, his paper on "The principal Temples of Babylon and its Suburb Borsippa, according to the Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar." In it he shows conclusively "that the great temple of Bel Merodach called E-Sagila contained the Babylonian E-Zida or temple of Nebo, and was not separate from it. . . The original E-Zida was at Borsippa, and is now represented by the well-known ruins termed by the natives Birs-i-Nimrud, in whose vitrified bricks many scholars have seen the remains of the Tower of Babel."

M. Dieulafoy's Excavations in Susiana are again noticed in the *Academy* of the 24th July. These had been lately directed to opening the foundations of a palace more ancient than that of Artaxerxes Mnemon, as also to fresh discoveries on the site of Apadana. Many objects of interest had been obtained and brought to the Louvre, the work having been stimulated by the Shah's abandonment of claims to half the collection, as stipulated under the terms of the original Farmán.

In the *Indian Antiquary* for June we have "Pride Abased," a Kasmiri Tale, which the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles had heard from a Bráhman named Mukund Bâyû of Srinagar; the "Last years of Shah Shuja'a, with an Appendix on the Affairs of Hirat," an interesting translation made by Mr. Rehatsek from the Tárikh Sultáni of Sulṭán Muhammad Khán Bárakzái: a short contribution to his Folk-Lore in Western India by Mr. Putlibai D. H. Wadia:

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"Mudyanur Plates of Saka 261 of the Bana king Malladeva Nandivarman," by Lewis Rice, C.I.E.: a continuation of Mrs. Grierson's Gipsy Index: and "Indragonim and other Grammarians," with the "Chandra Vyakarana and Kasika-Vritta," two articles by Professor Kielhorn. An announcement by Mr. V. A. Smith that he is preparing a full analytical Index to Gen. Cunningham's Archæological Reports, which will be published in a separate volume by the Government of India; and three contributions by Mr. Fleet, one, a note on the coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul; one, the description of a new Grant of Dharasena II. of Valabhi, and one an extract from the Acharatika:—these constitute the Miscellanea of the month. The July number is remarkable for Mr. Fleet's papers on the "Epoch of the Gupta Era" and "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions;" succeeding which are Mr. Hultzsch's observations on a Gwalior Inscription of Vikrama Samvat 1161, and Professor Kielhorn's notes on the Mahabhashya. In the Miscellanea are reviews of Gen. Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras; Dr. Solf's "Die Kasmir-Recension des Pancaçika; the Taprobanian, a Dravidian Journal of local research published in Ceylon; Prof. Robertson Smith's "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia;" and the History of Nepal, translated by Munshi Sheo Shankar Singh and Pandit Sri Gunanand, and edited by Daniel Wright, M.D.; Dr. Hughes' Dictionary of Islam; Mr. T. G. Scott's Burma; the English translation of the Mahabharata; and a reprint of Vol. I. Asiatic Researches. To the August number of the *Indian Antiquary*, Mr. Murray-Aynsley contributes No. VI. of his "Discursive Contributions towards the comparative study of Asiatic Symbolism," treating of Sacred Trees; Mr. Patlibai Wadia adds a new story to his illustrations of Folk-Lore in Western India; Mr. Fleet brings out the extreme importance of his sixth-century Mandasor Inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana, supplying the text in Roman characters and a facsimile of the original; Professor Kielhorn continues his notes on the Mahabhashya; Sir Walter Elliot communicates a further notice of the Ancient Buddhist Structure at Negapatam; and Mrs. Grierson's Gipsy-Index is carried on to the word "Red." Of the two letters headed "Miscellanea," Mr. Fleet's will be noticed later on under "Epigraphy"; the other signed G. M. C. objects to a passage in the preface of Dr. Petersen's edition of the Subhashitavali of Vallabhadeva, on which no more need be said than that one of the two able Editors of the *Indian Antiquary* then on the spot, concurs in the objection. As to the book itself, Dr. Bühler writes that Dr. Petersen "has now given us, in conjunction with Pandit Durgaprasada of Jaipur, an edition which certainly will be most useful, nay indispensable to every Sanskritist, both for the critical restoration of many classical texts, and for the study of the history of classical poetry."

On June 22nd, 1865, was held the first public meeting for establishing the *Palestine Exploration Fund*,—and on the same date thi

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year the meeting to celebrate the twenty-first anniversary of that institution—His Grace the Archbishop of York being the Chairman on both occasions. The work done has been succinctly described in a neat, illustrated volume published by the Committee. There are three objects shown to press urgently for accomplishment at the present time, *i.e.* the Recovery of the Second Wall of Jerusalem; an Inquiry into the manners and customs of the people residing in and about the Holy Land; and the publication of Capt. Conder's Survey of Eastern Palestine, Le Compte's drawings made for M. Clermont-Ganneau's Archæological Mission, Hart's Natural History Memoir, and Schumacher's Second Survey. It is to be hoped that Funds will not be wanting for so worthy a purpose. The Quarterly Statement for July contains brief but interesting papers by Professor Hayter Lewis, Capt. Conder, Mr. William Simpson, Mr. Weld, Professor Hull, the Rev. E. Flecker, the Rev. W. F. Birch, and M. Schick. Four of these are of a controversial character, but controversy is not only natural but desirable in questions of archæological identification. Mr. Simpson, writing on "Stone doors," refers to one at Lasgird (or Lasjird) in Persia, which "wrought on pivots the same as the doors of Bashan," and is the only entrance to the village within the circular wall. Much might be written on this remarkable place, of which some rough idea has been given by Dr. Bellew in his sketch at p. 404, "From the Indus to the Tigris." The derivation of its name from the circle "traced on the ground by Las or Last, the son of Noah," is one of those many local interpretations more readily supplied than logically supported throughout the length and breadth of the Shah's dominions. There is a review of Professor Hull's Survey of Western Palestine in the *Athenæum* of June 12.

In the *Academy* of August 7, Mr. James Burgess gives an account of his recent visit to Sri Sailam, or Sri Parvata, an old Hindu shrine dedicated to Mallikarjuna (a form of Siva) on the Nallamalla, or black mountains, about 80 miles lower down the Krishna river than Karnúl. This is supposed to be built on the site of the Pigeon or Black Peak Monastery mentioned by Fa-Hian and Hiouen-Thsang in Southern India, "founded for the Buddhists, and where Nâgârjuna died, but which was afterwards seized on by the Brahmans."

Semitic Literature: *Hebrew and Chaldee.*—We learn from the *Academy* of the 12th June that "Outlines of Jewish History from the Babylonian Captivity to the Present Time," is the title of a work by Mrs. Philip Magnus, then nearly ready for publication.

During the forthcoming season, at Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Haupt, Professor of Semitic, proposes to lecture on the Critical Interpretation of Selected Psalms, on Hebrew Exercises, and reading unpointed texts at sight, and on Biblical Aramæan Grammar and the Chaldee Poetry of Daniel.

Syriac.—The *Athenæum* of the 5th July adverts to Dr. Isaac H. Hall's reproductions of the Syrian Antilegomena Epistles from a MS. of 1471, brought to America from Mardin by the late Rev. William F. Williams, then a missionary at that place. The text, of

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which facsimiles are given, is accurate and carefully written, and will be of use for a new edition of the Antilegomena. The same paper reports the success of M. Isidore Loeb in introducing, by means of his *Tables du Calendrier Juif depuis l'ère Chrétienne jusqu'au xxx Siècle*, a less complicated method for commuting Christian into Jewish dates, and *vice versâ*. It notices also Dr. Wunsche's translation of the Agadic passages in the Babylonian Talmud, regretting that, however useful the work is in some respects, the translator does not quite steer clear of error.

In the *Literatur-Blatt*, vol. iii. part 1, Herr A. Müller lengthily criticizes the Praktische Methode zur Erlernung der Hebraïschen Sprache, a grammar with exercises, anthology, and vocabulary for schools and students in theology, by H. Kihn and D. Schilling.

The *Academy* of August 14th contains a review, by Professor Cheyne, of Mr. Philip Wicksteed's translation of Kuenen's "Historico-Critical Inquiry into the origin and composition of the Hexateuch," *i.e.* the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. Among the many interesting details of the volume, the reviewer calls attention to the "treatment of passages of Genesis with Assyrio-Babylonian affinities."

Ethiopic. — Herr F. Prætorius notices in the *Literatur-Blatt* the Maṣḥafa ṭemqat. Liturgie zum Tauf-Fest der Aethiopischen Kirche. Inaugural-Dissertation . . . . . von Carl von Ainhard (Munich).

Among new publications may be mentioned :—

Neubauer (A.), Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library and College Libraries of Oxford (described by Dr. M. Friedlander in the *Academy* of Aug. 28, as possessing "all the qualities to make the work as perfect as possible"). Hoffmann (G.), Syrisch-Arabische Glossen, vol. i. Levy (J.), Neuhebraïsches in Chaldaïsches Worterbuch über die Talmud im u Midraschim. Hoffmann (G.), Opuscula Nestoriana, Syriac ed. Wright (C. H. H.), Biblical Essays; or Exegetical Studies on the Books of Job, Jonah, Ezekiel's Prophecy to Gog and Magog, St. Peter's "Spirits in Prison," and the Key to the Apocalypse. Vos (Gerhardus), The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes. Lloyd (Rev. J.), The Book of Joshua; a critical and expository commentary.

Assyriology.—Among lectures to be delivered this coming season at the Johns Hopkins University, by Dr. Haupt, Professor of Semitic Languages, and not above specified, are two on Assyrian, one for beginners and the other for advanced students.

No. iv. of the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* contains a long and elaborate paper by M. Oppert, on the Assyrian Measures of Capacity and Superficies; and a second contribution by the same writer on the Non-identity of Phul and Teglathphalasar (*sic*). The last relates to the evidence borne to Assyrian history by the texts which Mr. Pinches found in the British Museum; but M. Oppert cannot unreservedly accept all that gentleman's conclusions upon this discovery.

According to the *Athenæum* of the 4th Sept., the Religious Tract

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Society are about to issue a second edition of Mr. Walter Budge's Babylonian Life and History; and Mr. S. A. Smith, an American Assyriologist, has made arrangements with a continental publisher for a new work on the texts of Assurbanipal, the annals of that king by the late Mr. George Smith being out of print.

Arabic.—Attention is drawn in the *Athenæum* of the 21st, and *Academy* of the 28th August, to the publication of an English-Arabic Vocabulary, compiled by Major G. S. Plunkett, R.E., and already found of great practical utility in manuscript. It is said to contain 3600 words of the common Cairo-spoken dialect. A grammar of Colloquial Arabic has, moreover, been lately published in Germany. It is advertised as Sabbâg's (Mihā'il) Grammatik der Arabischen Umgangsprache hrsg. v. H. Thorbecke. The *Athenæum* of August 28th also states that nine out of ten volumes of Burton's translation of the Thousand and One Nights have been issued to the Kama Shastra Society. Five further volumes are now offered for subscription, the first and second having the 'terminal' stories of the Breslau edition. Vol. iii. will comprise the selection of tales in vol. vi. of Dr. Jonathan Scott's Arabian Nights, and vols. iv. and v. will contain Galland's ten most popular tales not yet traced to an Arabic source. These, for the sake of uniformity, will be turned first into Arabic, then retranslated into English. A book which has made its mark, and may here be appropriately mentioned, is Professor Robertson Smith's "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia." Among other reviews of it there is one in the *Athenæum* of the 17th July, and another in the last-received number of the *Literatur-Blatt für Orientalische Philologie.* The *Athenæum* of the 24th July writes of Mr. Arthur Wollaston's *Half Hours with Muhammad* that "it contains a great deal of solid reading in a small but substantial volume."

Von Kremer's few pages, entitled *Lexikographische Notizen nach Neuere Arabischen Quellen*, will interest Arabic scholars, many of whom may have words to add to the collection.

Dr. G. P. Badger—than whom few Arabic scholars are better qualified for the somewhat ungracious office of literary criticism—has reviewed, in the *Academy* of August 21, vols. ii. and iii. of the Rev. G. M. Wherry's Comprehensive Commentary on the Qurán. His assurance that "a translation of the al-Kurán which shall preserve the ideas and brilliant imagery, the verve and musical cadence of the original, is still among the *desiderata* of English Orientalists," should arouse the ambition of some of our rising Arabicists. Did two combine—the one a thorough scholar, the other an experienced *littérateur* and Orientalist—the goal might be attained. In the meanwhile, the reading public must be thankful for Sale, and those to whom Dr. Badger refers as having improved upon certain of his renderings.

Aryan Languages.—Sanskrit.—The "*Dharmasamgraha,*" adverted to in July as ready for publication, has been reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 21st August, and is pronounced a more solid contribution to the study of Buddhism than those contained in the

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three previous numbers of the Aryan Series of the "Anecdota Oxoniensa." A passing tribute is paid to the memory of the original editor, the late Kenjiu Kasawara, whose "quiet zeal" and "patient industry" are qualities not always recognized by the outer world. We are informed in the same issue that M. P. Regnaud, Professor of Sanskrit in the Faculté des Lettres at Lyons, author of works on Sanskrit rhetoric, has just brought out with E. Leroux a volume of *Essais de Linguistique Evolutionniste*.

According to the *Academy* of June 12, Messrs. Warne and Co. are preparing 250 copies of a new edition, on large paper, of the Fables of Pilpay, recently issued in the Chandos Classics; and Professor Oldenberg has contributed a learned essay on the study of Sanskrit to the June number of the *Deutsche Rundschau*. The same paper states that at a late meeting of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, M. Bergaigne read a paper upon "The order of the Hymns in the Rig-Veda." The subject has already been treated by Mr. Frederic Pincott, in an article which appeared in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal so far back as July, 1884.

The fifth volume of Catalogue of Mauuscripts in the Royal Library at Berlin has been received for the Society's Library; it contains the second volume of Weber's Catalogue of Sanskrit-Prâkrit MSS., and is admirably printed and arranged.

In the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, of which an abstract has been above recorded, it is worthy of note that no less than six important papers bear more or less directly on Sanskrit studies. One by Professor Bloomfield on Three Hymns of the First Book of the Atharva-Veda, quotes translations by Weber, Zimmer and Ludwig. The new edition of this work "von Sankar P. Pandit" is noticed by Bühler in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift* for July.

Professor Bühler's new translation of the "Laws of Manu," and Professor Oldenberg's *Gri*hya-Sutras (describing the domestic ceremonies of the Brahmans), are stated by the *Athenæum* to be forthcoming in the current year's Sacred Books of the East.

Pâli.—The continuation of the translation, by Professors Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, of the Vinaya Texts, contained in vol. xx. "Sacred Books of the East," "will confer," according to the reviewer in the *Athenæum* of August 21, "a valuable boon on those who are desirous of realizing from an English version something of the inner life of the earlier Buddhism." The first of the chapters now given treats of the settlement of disputes in the fraternity of monks; elsewhere is treated the matter of dress and daily routine, and there is a chapter dealing with the duties of the *bhikhunīs* or nuns.

Prâkrit.—There is a thoughtful review in the *Athenæum* of the 10th July of vol. xxii. of the Sacred Books of the East, the publication of which was notified in our last issue. Professor Jacobi's learned introduction to the Ak*âr*a*n*ga *Sutra*—or 'Ayara*m*ga,' as the reviewer holds it to be, in that form of Prâkrit constituting the distinctly sacred language of the sect to which it relates—is

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commended to the reader's careful consideration; and of the contents of the two works translated he says "the literature is at least fresh to the Western world." The *Kalpa Sutra* had indeed appeared in English nearly forty years ago, but the version then made is referred to as inaccurate, nor is it easily procured.

Among recently published works in Sanskrit (or therewith connected), which have not been yet enumerated, may be mentioned:

C. Wilkins, Fables and Proverbs from Hitopadesa (*Routledge*). Hemacandra's Lingánuçâsana üb. und hrsg. v. O. Franke. Capeller (C.), Sanskrit Wörterbuch part 1. Jacobi (H.), Erzählungen in Mahārāshtri. Rev. B. Hale Wortham, The Satakas of Bhartrihari, one of many graceful renderings into English by the same author from the original Sanskrit. Haag (F.), Beitrage zum Verständniss v. Vicādhatta's Mudrârâxa. Lévi (S.), La Brihatkathamanjari de Kshmendra (Paris, Leroux—noticed in the *Journal Asiatique* for November last).

Pahlavi.—Among recent Leipzig (Harrasowitz) publications in this tongue we note, in the *Athenæum* of June 12, the lengthy Ganjeshaya-gan, Andarze Atrepât Máráspandán, Mádigáne Chatrang, and Andarze Khusroe Kavátán, by P. D. B. Sanjana.

Persian.—In the *Academy* of 5th June, mention is made of a portrait, skilfully etched by Mr. Costello, of Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, translator of Umar Khaíyám. The term "translator" must not be accepted in its conventional sense as regards this gentleman's treatment of his favourite Persian poet, whose ideas he grasped and rendered into English verse with marvellous skill and appreciation —playing variations, as it were, on his theme, at each call for a new edition. A later *Academy* of the 14th August has a new and pleasant version of one of Umar's "Rubái'yát," by Mr. C. J. Pickering; and in the number of the 21st idem, we learn that M. Vedder's illustrations to the complete set of the poet's quatrains will be issued during the current year.

The third volume of the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères* has just been issued at St. Petersburg. It is a Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, with lengthy and instructive extracts from the more rare or important. Russia has done wisely in thus encouraging by direct Government aid the study of Oriental tongues; and it is pleasant to see a title-page proclaiming that her Foreign Office, under the orders and at the cost of its Asiatic Department, performs functions which, in England, are assigned to the Trustees of the British Museum. The Baron Rosen divides his work very much in the same way as Dr. Rieu, to the merits of whose "ouvrage classique" and to the direct bearing of which upon his own labours he pays a graceful tribute at the outset. To cover the whole ground of classification, he takes the twenty heads of Théologie des Bâbys, Histoire, Cosmographie et Géographie, Inshà, Biographie des Poètes, Poésie et Belles Lettres, Métrique et Prosodie, Prose Ornée, Fables et Contes, Éthique et Politique, Çoufisme, Cérémonies Religieuses, Mœurs et Coutumes, Lexicographie et Grammaire, Astronomie,

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Médecine, Hippologie, Art de tirer de l'Arc, Traité sur la Physionomie, and Calligraphie et Peinture. Practically, however, the 1st, 2nd and 6th of these comprise the bulk of the collection, for they occupy 255 pages out of 324, History and Poetry alone requiring more than 200. The Preface calls attention to two Bábi MSS., which, from the extracts given, must be greatly interesting: they are unique of their kind, and form, indeed, the whole collection comprehended under the first of the heads above recapitulated. Other manuscripts specially noted are the following:—

1. The Majmal-i-Faṣihi, by Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Yahya Faṣíh al Khuáfi; of which specimens are said to be very rare.

2. Tarikh-i-Mír Saiyid Sharif Rakim: a collection of chronograms on the History of Central Asia, with explanations.

3. One without a title, being a collection of documents, diplomas, letters and fragments of letters, of which the chief writer appears to have been a certain Muntajabu'd-dín Bad'í, employed in the *chancellerie* of the Saljuḳi Sultán Sanjar bin Malik Shah (513-552). Some are of more recent date, but the Baron has no hesitation in attributing the manuscript to the eighth century (Hijra). His analysis and extracts are interesting and provocative of further research.

4. Ikhtyárát-i-Muzaffarí by Mahmúd bin Mas'aud-ush-Shirázi, known as Ḳuṭbu'd-dín Shirázi, and mentioned at page 434, vol. ii. of Dr. Rieu's catalogue, in a notice of his "Durratu't-Táj." While the latter work, however, is described as an "encyclopædia of philosophical sciences," the one under consideration is said to have been composed in compliance with a request of the Wazir Muzaffarú'd-dín for a short manual of astronomy in the Persian language.

Some are cited for their calligraphy, and some for antiquity. One is rightly judged to have a very high value. It is the "Kulliyát" or complete poetical works of Jámí, supposed to be in his own handwriting. The careful analysis of this manuscript may be commended to the Persian student. As an example of the testimony to genuinenness, the words at the close of the second book of the "Silsilatu'z-Zahb" or Golden Chain, are here repeated:

راقمُ الكتاب ناظمهُ وهو الفقير عبد الرحمن الجامى عفى عنه

These are written in one line at the end, and exactly filling up the space of the two centre columns of the page, while outside the ornamental lines are in red ink,

فى الحادى عشر من ذى الحجه سنه ٨٩

that is to say, "the writer of this book is its composer, and he is the poor man, 'Abdu'r Rahman Jámí: may he be pardoned! 11th Zil Haj, year 89." The date may reasonably be inferred to be 889, or about the end of A.D. 1484, some nine years before the poet's death.

In reviewing the above catalogue in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift* for August, M. Houtsma remarks that although the collection cannot compare numerically with that of the Oriental MSS. in

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the Imperial Public Library and Asiatic Museum, it fairly holds its own when the intrinsic value of its Persian MSS. is considered. He does not see that it has gained much from Russia's connection with Central Asia, with the exception, perhaps, of the Bábí contributions and Seljuki records. It has helped to make us acquainted with certain masterpieces of Persian calligraphists; and he considers that thanks are due to the Russian Government, and especially to Herr Gamazoff, for enabling the compiler of the catalogue to supply many interesting details on questions worthy of research.

"Oriental Penmanship: specimens of Persian Handwriting," by the late Professor Palmer, and edited by Mr. Frederic Pincott, is favourably noticed in the *Athenæum* of the 31st July. According to the reviewer, "the book will prove an undoubted boon to the student, and cannot fail to be appreciated by the many who need its practical teaching." It is illustrated with facsimiles from original specimens in the South Kensington Museum.

While on the subject of Persian literature, a word must be said in favour of the new edition of Atkinson's translation of the Sháhnámeh printed by the Oriental Fund in 1832, and now brought out in the Chandos Classics by the Rev. J. A. Atkinson, M.A., son of the translator. So cheap and excellent a reprint of so notable a work should command an exceptionally large circulation.

Barb (H. A.), Transcriptions, Grammatik der Persischen Sprache, is in the *Athenæum's* List of New Books.

India.—Under this head there is little relating to any special language or dialect to be reported. Among general items, the following may be noticed:

The *Athenæum* of the 19th June reviews the "Local Muhammadan Dynasties—Gujarát," by the late Sir E. C. Bayley, a work partially based on a translation by the late Professor Dowson. On the 26th id. it passes a favourable judgment on the Memorials of the Life and Letters of Sir Herbert Edwardes, a biography of unquestionable interest; and notices Mr. MacRitchie's Accounts of the Gypsies of India, a book which, it is alleged, is more successful in its treatment of the European than Asiatic members of the tribe. In the same number is a justly-accorded meed of approval for Capt. R. C. Temple's second volume of *Legends of the Panjáb*, and "the industry and conscientious care" with which its contents have been prepared. The *Athenæum* of the 3rd July says of Col. Yule's Glossary of Anglo-Indian words, that the author has "added another important work to those classical productions of his, 'Ser Marco Polo,' and 'Cathay and the Way Thither';" and of Mr. Edwin Arnold's India Revisited, that "it contains a series of glowing word-pictures, suited alike to the subject and to the writer himself." In the issue of the 21st August, it notifies the proposed change of title for Capt. Temple's Panjáb Notes and Queries, which are to be known from the current month (October) under the more comprehensive name of Indian Notes and Queries. On the 28th idem it reviews Mr. Talboys Wheeler's India under British Rule, saying of the author that, "In his estimates of men

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and events, he is always shrewd and seldom glaringly one-sided;" and it informs its readers that a collection of Indian Folk-Tales, by the Rev. Charles Swynnerton, about to be published by Mr. Elliot Stock, is said to contain many stories derived from oral recitation by natives, and illustrations by native artists. The *Academy* of the 26th June notices the revised edition of Thornton's Gazetteer, edited by Sir Roper Lethbridge and Mr. Arthur Wollaston. On the 24th July it reviews Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, remarking of the Marathi Series, vol. i. that there is "hardly a misprint noticeable in the whole volume."

Dravidian Languages.—Tamil, Telugu.—Captain Temple has given in the Book Notices of the *Indian Antiquary* for August an instructive account of the Sacred Kurral of Tiruvalluvah Narayanah, which Dr. Pope is about to publish in the form of "a carefully revised text, accompanied with a metrical version in English, a grammatical excursus, and a complete lexicon and concordance."

Calcutta Review.—The July number of this publication has eleven original articles, independently of the usual monthly notices and summaries. These are: 1. The Russians in Oriental Literature, by Colonel F. H. Tyrrell, a suggestive paper, dealing with a subject which has never, perhaps, been exhaustively treated, but which merits attention. Col. Wilberforce Clarke's careful translation of Nizámi's great poem has not cleared up the mystery of the 'Kintal' and the 'Purtás,' apparently the sovereign and allies of Russia. 2. An Indian Reformer, by H. G. Keene, C.S., describes the career and services of Saiyid Ahmad, shown to be a trained Muslim lawyer, an orthodox follower of the Kurán, a student of the Bible, and withal an experienced administrator of Anglo-Indian law. 3. Buddha as a Moralist, by Ram Chandra Bose, bears the mark of ability, but is somewhat disfigured by 'tall' couplings of words. Of Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7, the first is historical, the second administrative, and the last two are decidedly light reading. 8. Dr. Cust's Races Religions, and Languages of India, as disclosed by the Census of 1881, is not only remarkable as an instructive paper, but as the fortieth annual contribution to the Calcutta Journal from the same practised and industrious hand. 9, 10, and 11 come hardly within the ordinary province of the Royal Asiatic Society, although the versification of the last has been exercised on an Oriental theme.

Among *English books* reviewed are "Our Administration of India," by Mr. H. A. D. Phillips, B.C.S., heartily recommended "to old and young Quai Hais and the English reading public;" Mr. J. G. Scott's "Burma; as it was, as it is, and as it will be;" Mr. James Gray's "Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources, or the Nítí Literature of Burma"—a volume of Trübner's Oriental Series, in which the author appears to the reviewer "to have performed his work of translation and annotation with great care and judgment"; vol. xxvi. of the Sacred Books of the East, noticed in our last Journal, containing Mr. Julius Eggeling's version of the third and fourth books, Satapatha Brahmana, "an important

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work," which "will have a deep interest for Oriental scholars;" and the Rev. Hale Wortham's "Satakas of Bhartrihari," said to be "well worth translation," and to have been "admirably translated."

Under *Vernacular Literature* are four books: 1. *Aryánari Gáthá*, by Megnath Bhattacharya, B.A. (People's Press, Calcutta). Stories of great Indian women, Rajput, Mahratta and Bangáli, illustrative of rare female virtues, "related in simple and artless verse," described, moreover, as "the highest and most precious of all kinds of poetry,—the poetry of life and the poetry of action." 2. *Usha-charit*, by Dinanath Dhara (Girish Press, Dacca). Ostensibly the memoir of a child who died in his fifteenth year, but in reality a picture of the father who wrote the memoir. "The book has some interest for the general public . . . in connection with the sad story of the child, and the sadder story of its unfortunate parents." 3. *Debatattwa*, by Kishorilal Raya (Gupta Press, Calcutta). This is explained to be an attempt at a "rationalistic exposition" of Hindu Mythology. 4. *Kanakanjali*, by Akshaya Kumar Baral (Bijnaur Press, Calcutta). The critic, after dispensing censure and praise, thus concludes his notice: "Babu Akshaya Kumar possesses the true poetic vein, and his work contains much true poetry. If we have spoken more of the faults than of the merits of his poetry, it is because we feel proud of him as a young Bengali poet, and therefore desire to see his poetry become more perfect. His merits are already too well known and appreciated to require laudation from us."

Burmese.—The *Athenæum* of September 4 informs its readers that in the first batch of 1200 palm-leaf books, forming the Royal Library of Mandalay, now on its way to England, are five volumes of a Burmese work entitled "Po-tay-kay Ya-za-win," or a history of the Portuguese in Burma. It gives an amusing picture of the struggle for ascendancy between that nation and the Spaniards, Dutch, French, and English respectively.

Panjáb Notes and Queries for July has an interesting account of a singular local belief among the Burmese that the day of birth affects the name and life of the individual. It contains also a long paragraph under the head of Burmese Wise-men and Doctors; one on the Burmese calendar of luck; one on Burmese metal work; and one on Paper-making in Burma.

Chinese.—Dr. Legge's Texts of Confucianism (before mentioned among the Sacred Books of the East) are favourably reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 24th July. With the appearance of this work, the learned Professor, it is stated, has brought the translation of all the Confucian texts to a close: the reviewer adds:—"We congratulate him on the completion of his task, and it is not too much to say that no one but himself would have been capable of accomplishing so herculean a labour." Another volume by the same skilful hand has also been published during the current year at the Oxford Clarendon Press. It is especially well got up, and has a sketch-map and nine characteristic and well-executed illustrations.

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The outside title is The Travels of Fâ-hien. Inside, it is shown to be "The Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fâ-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399–414) in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline." The book consists of a Preface and Introduction, 40 short chapters, together with copious Notes—frequently occupying more than half the page—and the Chinese text reproduced from a copy sent to Dr. Legge from Japan by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. There have been previous translations of Fâ-Hien by M. Abel Remusat, the Rev. Samuel Beal, and Mr. Herbert Giles. The division into chapters is not apparent in the original Chinese: it was done by Klaproth for Remusat's version, and the arrangement has been approved and adopted in the present rendering.

The "Remains of Lao Tzu," by Herbert A. Giles, is the title of a pamphlet in large octavo, published this year at Hong Kong, and containing 50 pages, or 100 columns of small close print. Whatever be the opinion of Chinese scholars, especially those who are mentioned by name in this analysis of the *Tao Te Ching*, the writer must be admitted to have put forward his case in a manner at once straightforward and ingenious. He is never dull; and, saving a passage or an expression here and there, it may be fairly said that his criticism is not only readable but withal very pleasant reading.

In the *Academy* of the 7th August M. Terrien de Lacouperie continues to discuss his theory of the derivation of early Chinese civilization from that of Babylonia by the medium of Susiana. The subject is of great interest, and has already engaged the attention of scholars such as Professors Legge and Douglas, and Dr. Edkins. The *Athenæum* of the 14th August notices Mr. B. C. Henry's "Ling-nam; or Interior Views of Southern China," a book which takes the reader to the less beaten tracks of the Delta of the Canton river and to Hainan. It is said to abound "with facts which are both curious and new." Professor Douglas, in reviewing the same work in the *Academy* of the 28th August, explains that Ling-nam was the name given by the Chinese settlers to all the regions south of the range of mountains which for a long time formed the southern boundary of the Chinese possessions.

Annamite.—Cochin-China.—The March-April number (1886) of *Excursions et Reconnaissances* commences with a "Rapport sur la Situation Économique du Cambodge," a country which has a population estimated at 900,000, of which more than a ninth part is Chinese and 20,000 are Annamites. The "Notes sur les Chau Lao du Tonkin" illustrate the argument that the Annamites are mere conquerors, who have only taken root on the littoral, in the plains and along the river-courses; while the aborigines have been driven back into the unwholesome regions of the interior. The Chau of the province of Húng Hôa are considered by far the most interesting of the semi-independent groups whom the French had abandoned to their natural oppressors, and a specimen of whose language and writing is given. "Les Iles et les Côtes Françaises du Golfe de Siam" is a short descriptive paper, followed by a continuation of

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M. Aymonier's Notes on Annam, this time treating of the littoral, Cam Linh and Nha tsung, Ninh Hoa and the Déo Cá, and the products of the soil. Both these papers are of geographical interest. After some few data on the growth of Liberian coffee and cocoa in the Dutch Indian possessions, the Annamite Tales and Legends of M. Landes are resumed and brought to a conclusion—at least for the time. They already form a tolerably large collection of stories and fables and folk-lore.

Japanese.—The *Academy* of June 5th repeats from the native local papers that Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain has been requested to lecture on the Japanese language and literature to Japanese students at the University of Tokio. It was in this same University that Professor Bunyiu Nanjio, who learnt Sanskrit at Oxford and received an honorary English degree, instructed Buddhist priests in the elements of Sanskrit and ancient literature of Buddhism. The number of the 26th June, noticing a History of Japan by Percy Thorpe, comes to the conclusion that, while it will not be of much service to the student, it will be useful to those who merely wish to "know something" about that country. The same paper on the 28th August begins the last paragraph of a review of Mr. Audsley's Ornamental Arts of Japan, by stating that "in this splendid work . . . we have the most perfect view of Japanese Art which has yet been published." We learn from the *Athenæum* of the 24th July that Mr. Francis Galton, the President of the Anthropological Institute, in closing the series of conferences at South Kensington, announced the establishment of an Anthropological Institute in Japan, of which the secretary is a Japanese gentleman who recently took honours at Cambridge.

We have received vol. ix. parts 1 and 2 of the Transactions of the Seismological Society of Japan. Part i. has papers on Earthquake Frequency, Earth Currents, and the Automatic Current Recorder; part ii. gives an instructive and comprehensive account of the more important volcanoes. Vol. iii. of the Transactions has just been published in the Japanese language. Of quite recent publications the following should be also noted: Easy Conversations in English, German, and Japanese, first series, second edition, by F. Warrington Eastlake (Tokio, Z. P. Maruya & Co., 1886): Nippon Shokubutsumeii, or Nomenclature of Japanese Plants in Latin, Japanese, and Chinese, by J. Matsumura, supervised by R. Yatabe (Tokio, Maruya, 1884); The Meiji Kwaiwa-Hen, a Treasury of Conversational Phrases in English and Japanese, parts i. and ii. (Tokio, Maruya, 1886).

Turkish.—According to the *Athenæum* of the 26th June, a number of Magyar literati were about to visit Constantinople in company with Professor Vambéry. Dr. Ignatz Kunost, a philologist of the same nationality, had been engaged for some time in Asia, studying the common or spoken Turkish, as well as the Folk-lore of the Turkish provinces, with a view to the publication by the Hungarian Academy of the result of his inquiries.

The Reverend H. P. Tozer, reviewing Mrs. Walker's "Eastern

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Life and Scenery, with Excursions in Asia Minor," in the *Academy* of the 12th June, remarks "the author always writes pleasantly, and sometimes with a vein of originality."

Egypt and Egyptology.—Under this head one of the most important items of intelligence is the resignation by Professor Maspero of his Superintendence of excavations and collection of antiquities in Egypt, an office to which he succeeded on the death of Mariette Pasha, and which he has administered with remarkable zeal and ability for a period of five years. His courteous, unassuming manner, and readiness to impart information to the many travellers visiting the Bulak Museum, were as conspicuous as the depth and soundness of his knowledge. One of his latest official acts—unfolding the mummies of Rameses II. and III.—has been celebrated in a *procès verbal*, of which a reprint appears in the *Academy* of 3rd July. The latter paper, in confirming the report of his resignation, announces that Professor Maspero's successor in the service of the Khedive will be his pupil, M. Eugène Grébaut, an Egyptologist of proved distinction.

In the *Academy* of the 26th June is an interesting letter from Mr. Flinders Petrie, giving some results of his exploration of "the hitherto unexamined site of Defenneh (pronounced Defneh), the Tahpanhes, Taphne (LXX.), and Daphnæ of antiquity. His argument that this was that earliest Greek town of Egypt, as well as that the site was one of the XXVI. Dynasty, wholly free from later remains, give an exceptional importance to the subject. Above all, we have now in him a new and valuable authority that here is "Pharaoh's house in Tahpanes" (Jerem. xliii. 9), and that the "brickwork" or "pavement" which was "at the entry," is exactly explained by a large paved area outside of the palace opposite to the entry. It should be observed that the words in the Old Version, where the prophet is commanded to hide stones in "the clay in the brick-kiln," are changed in the Revised Version to hide them in "mortar in the brickwork"; moreover, that a marginal note infers that they may mean "lay them with mortar in the pavement (or square)."

The same paper of July 3 contains a review by Mr. A. J. Butler of Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's "Art of the Saracens in Egypt," a work illustrated with more than one hundred engravings. As an essay on the whole subject of Egyptian mediæval art, the reviewer would have wished it to convey a clearer definition than it does of the term "Saracenic," with reference to "Coptic." As a hand-book, he recognizes in it "a valuable addition to the art hand-books of the South Kensington Museum;" and holds it "difficult to over-colour the praise it deserves."

At a special meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, held in the theatre of the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, on Tuesday, the 6th July, for the purpose of hearing Mr. Ernest Gardner's lecture on recent excavations, Mr. Petrie's Memoir on Naukratis, then just ready for issue to subscribers, was placed on the table.

The following items are gathered from the *Academy:* On the

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23rd June, Miss Amelia B. Edwards received from Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, the degree of LL.D, "in recognition of her services to Egyptological research;" and on the following day the same degree was conferred upon Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole (already an hon. LL.D. of Cambridge and Corresponding Member of the Institute of France), by Dartmouth College, New Jersey. The recipients are both honorary secretaries of the Egypt Exploration Fund. On the 17th July, the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy was also conferred on Miss Edwards by the College of the Sisters of Bethany in Kansas, "in recognition of her work in the field of Scriptural archæology."

The question of evidence against antiquity borne by "kiln-burnt bricks" may now be considered to have been fairly solved. Mr. Flinders Petrie, in a letter of the 10th July, states that last winter he found "three instances of baked bricks in Egypt dating from 1200 B.C.;" and certainly none later than 700 B.C.;" while Professor Sayce, writing on the 21st inst., points out that the bricks "composing the old fortress of Gebelin, south of Thebes, are stamped with the cartouches of Ra-men-kheper and Isis-m-khel of the (illegitimate) XXI. Dynasty," besides other examples. As the first of the kings of the XXII. Dynasty is said to have been the Shishak of Scripture, the period alluded to may reasonably be inferred about 1000 B.C.

In the issue of the 7th August, Miss Edwards describes Professor Maspero's discovery, in February, of a piece of inscribed limestone containing a complete version of the contents of the Berlin papyrus No. 1, best known by his own translation, entitled "Les Aventures de Sinouhit," and by the English version styled "the Story of Sanehа," from the pen of the late C. W. Goodwin. The period at which this tale was written is involved in doubt, but it is affirmed to be "older by many centuries than the time of Moses"; and the find has been of great general value in archæological research. The same number of the *Academy* notifies that M. Edouard Naville, the discoverer of Pithom, has been decorated by the Emperor of Germany with the order of the Red Eagle, in honour of the completion of his great work, the comparative edition of "the Ritual," or Book of the Dead.

In addition to Professor Maspero's *procès verbal*, to which we have already referred, a second paper of a similar nature signed by him, describing the unwrapping of the Mummies of Sekenen-ra and Seti I., in presence of General Stephenson and many officers and ladies residing at Cairo, on the 9th June, appears in the number of the 31st July. To this is added, in that of the 14th August, his Report to the Académie des Inscriptions, in which he mentions the singular fact that among the mummies was found the body of a young man, between 25 and 30 years of age, bearing neither name nor inscription, showing signs of death in extreme agony. The *Athenæum* of September 4 states that Professor the Abbé Hyvernat is preparing a palæographic atlas in Coptic.

Among late works on Egypt are noted: Lefébure (G.), Les

Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes. 1ère division. Le tombeau de Séti I. Paris, Leroux. Egypt Exploration Fund, vol. iii., Naukratis, part i. (with 44 plates), by Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, also chapters by Messrs. Cecil Smith, Ernest Gardner, and Barclay V. Head.

Epigraphy.—Among the more interesting epigraphical discussions of the quarter is that raised by Mr. Fleet in his contributions to the *Indian Antiquary* for July, under the respective heads of "The Epoch of the Gupta Era," and "Mandasor Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman"—the last being No. 162 of his papers on "Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions." This is no question of the accuracy of particular readings of an inscription, but one of the bearing of the inscription itself on Indian history and chronology. His main contention from the new data is that evidence has been obtained to prove the correctness of Al Biruni's statement that the Gupta Era began "within a year or two on either side of A.D. 319–20": that the same authority was wrong in making this the epoch of the extermination, instead of the rise to power of the Guptas; and that, under another name, the Vikrama Era *did* exist anterior to A.D. 544. Should any hesitation be felt in accepting these results, Mr. Fleet would invite attention to the Gôlmâdhiṭol Inscription of the Mahârâja Sivadeva I. of Managriha in Nepal (discovered and published some months ago by Mr. Cecil Bendall), in which he finds the most valuable corroboration of his conclusions. This inscription is dated in the year 318, without specification of era. Sivadeva I. is shown in it to be contemporary with the *Mahasamanta* Aṁśuvarman, whose approximate date, viz. about A.D. 637, was, Mr. Fleet writes, "very well known from Hiouen Tsiang's mention of him." Now, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, the years 34, 35, and 44 or 45, on certain inscriptions of Aṁśuvarman, belong to the era established by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing in A.D. 606 or 607. It therefore follows that the date of 318 for Sivadeva I. must refer to an era commencing about 300 years prior to that of Harshavardhana. The first-mentioned Gupta Era, beginning "within a year or two on either side of A.D. 319–20," is the one which, it is argued, "exactly meets the requirements of the case," for 319+318=A.D. 637. Mr. Fleet then proceeds to consider how far this particular era came to be introduced into Nepal, a circumstance which he attributes to the conquest of the country by either the early Guptas or the rulers of Vallabhi, whose first permanent sovereign is Dharasena IV. To those interested in a solution of the question, Dr. Bühler's paper in the *Sitzungsberichte der Phil. hist. Classe der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften* may be commended for perusal. It is entitled "Eine Inschrift des Königs Dharasena IV. von Valabhi"; and its reprint as a separate pamphlet has quite recently appeared.

The *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* for August has a note on Professor Sayce's two Van Inscriptions. The first is said to be identical with one published by D. Müller in the Records of the Imperial Academy of Science. The second, of eleven lines engraved on red sandstone, is supposed to have been

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an enumeration of sacrifices; but it is broken away on both sides, and the beginning and end are wanting.

We gather from the *Academy* of 14 August that, at a late meeting of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, Mr. Schlumberger exhibited rubbings of a mysterious inscription found at Aḳ Hiṣar (Thyatira) in Lydia. It is engraved on three sides of a stone which now forms the base of a wood pillar in a caravansara. On the fourth side may be distinguished the legs of a human being. The characters of the inscription bear no resemblance to those classed as Hittite; some have rather the appearance of bad copies of Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Numismatics.—The *Athenæum* of July 31 reviews Mr. Eugene Leggett's "Mint Towns and Coins of the Muhammadans from the Earliest Period to the Present Time," but thinks it unfortunate that the designer of so excellent a programme should have set about his work with inadequate preparation. Pointing out certain inaccuracies and defects of arrangement and execution, it admits that the compilation contains a great deal of information which it must have cost pains to gather, and that the labour expended on it is obviously of love. The same paper notes the cataloguing by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole of the little-known cabinet of coins in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, and notifies the completion of Mr. Poole's Catalogue of Muhammadan coins in the Bodleian Library. On the 14th August the *Athenæum* begins a long review of volumes ii. and iii. of the International Numismata Orientalia, with the statement that the whole work "owed its existence to a scholar of singularly wide attainments and a publisher whose zeal for learning outstripped even his remarkable business capacity." It need hardly be added that allusion is made to Mr. Edward Thomas and Mr. Nicholas Trübner. Vol. i. was completed in 1878; vol. ii. in 1881; vol. iii. part 1 in 1882; and part 2 at a very recent date. It is to the last that attention is now mainly directed, Sir Walter Elliot's essay on the Coins of Southern India, regarding which a pregnant sentence of the review merits quotation: "It is a matter of general felicitation that the only living scholar who has acquired a mastery over this perplexing subject should have been able practically to achieve his work before failing sight rendered the personal examination of the coins impossible."

In the first number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the current year, Mr. Oliver discourses on some copper coins of Akbar, of which a bag of several hundred had been brought to him by a *Baniyá*. He mentions, as a curious fact, that in this one find are included specimens of the whole twelve Persian months from Fanvardin to Isfandarmuz, in many cases of several mints.

Vienna Congress.—The representatives of the Royal Asiatic Society at the Seventh International Congress, held at Vienna while these pages are in the press, are Dr. R. N. Cust, Honorary Secretary, Professors Cecil Bendall, M.A., Terrien de Lacouperie, and Mr. George Grierson, Members of the Council, and Dr. Theodore Duka, Member. It is hoped to publish the Hon. Secretary's Summary of Proceedings in the January number of the Journal.

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Corrigenda to Part II. Vol. XVIII.

P. 383, 2nd par., 9th line. For "A.H. 35 (A.D. 655)" read: "A.H. 40 (A.D. 660)."

P. 287, l. 2. For "the direct line of the great Mu'āwiya thus becoming extinct" read: "the remaining branches of the direct line of the great Mu'āwiya being then infants, the sovereignty passed to collaterals."

P. 290, first line. For "first and only son" read "only son that left male issue."

P. 290, ll. 4 and 3 from bottom. For "only son" read as above "only son that left male issue."

Addendum to Part III. Vol. XVIII.

In Sir George Birdwood's Note to Mr. Sewell's paper on 'Early Buddhist Symbolism,' at page 408 of the Journal for July last, the writer would wish interpolated in line 13, after "poetic form of the Garden of Eden and Tree of Life," the words—"and of the 'Knop and Flower' Pattern";—the rest of the paragraph, commencing with the word "but," to remain as now printed.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 17th of May, 1886,

COL. HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

Opening Address.

I SHALL not occupy much of your time, but it seems only right and desirable on this our Anniversary that the person who, somewhat unaccountably to himself, finds himself in the Chair of this Society, should say something on the position and current history of the Society.

What first strikes us is the melancholy retrospect of the past winter. It is like the survey of a battle-field. Death has been busy in all circles, but it seems as if he had wielded his weapon nowhere more actively than in that small corner occupied by our Society,—striking down there several of our most eminent and valuable members—Mr. Vaux, Dr. Birch, Sir Walter Medhurst, Sir Arthur Phayre, James Fergusson, Edward Thomas, and Sir William Robinson. Full records of all these will appear in our Annual Report, but I could not let this occasion pass without speaking particularly of some of them, with whose counten-

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ances we are most familiar, and whose loss seems to change the aspect of our body, as the removal of the most familiar spires and towers of Westminster would change the aspect of that quarter of our capital.

With Mr. Vaux I can hardly say that I enjoyed intimacy, though our relations were always cordial and kindly. Phayre, Fergusson, and Thomas I had long been permitted to count as familiar friends. All that I will say of Mr. Vaux is that this Society owes him a heavy debt of gratitude. The Society had reached rather a low ebb when he joined us, but the result of his exertions, heavily weighted as they were by his deteriorated sight, was to raise both our list of membership and the quality of the Journal to a far higher level; whilst his kindly helpful spirit was ever ready to assist inquirers. . . . . .[1]

The next whom we had to lament was James Fergusson, intimately associated with the Society ever since any of us here present have known it. He, like Phayre, was a man who, in the main, educated himself. Sent to India at an early age, he was brought up as a planter and a merchant in Bengal, *i.e.* in the Delta of the Ganges, which hardly affords the trace of an ancient building. His inborn taste led him to give himself to the study of architecture, and to devote the earliest opportunities afforded by leisure and means to travelling over India, in days when such travelling was a laborious business, examining, comparing, and drawing its ancient remains. His membership of this Society dates from 1844. His active mind and indefatigable industry found wide and various fields, the connexion of all of which is to be found in paths binding them either to taste or to construction. Of his Oriental work we would naturally speak most prominently here. That embraced his "Illustrations of Ancient Indian Architecture," "The Rock Temples of

[1] Here follow three or four paragraphs which will be found in the President's Obituary Notice of Sir Arthur Phayre at page x.

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India" (the subject of one of his latest, as it was of one of his earliest works), that treasure-house the volume (one of his great series on the "History of Architecture") which treats of Indian and Oriental styles, the two editions of the remarkable book so rich in varied interest which he called "Tree and Serpent Worship," and numerous papers in the Transactions of this and other societies on subjects of Indian Architecture and Archæology. Another branch of study which he pursued with the keenest ardour and acumen was the topography of Jerusalem, the dates of its remains, and the identity of the most noted sites: these gave birth to a whole series of dissertations, including his articles in the "Dictionary of the Bible," enough of themselves to have made a man famous. A third subject embraced his ideas on fortification, and their application to the defence of our ports. Though his particular theories were not accepted, his publication on this subject in 1849 led to his subsequent appointment to the Committee of National Defence, and had no small bearing on the defences actually carried out. Through his Jerusalem studies, and the interest and controversy they created, he was, in effect, the father of the Survey of the Holy City and of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and of all that it has accomplished and may yet accomplish. The lighting of Greek temples was another subject on which he held original views, and strong ones, as he did on most subjects, and which he applied in the latter years of his life to that Kew gallery which he designed for Miss North, when that accomplished and munificent lady presented it, along with her beautiful drawings of tropical vegetation, to the Nation. The decoration of St. Paul's was another matter in which he took a prominent part, but it is a burning subject, and an Asiatic Society has no call to meddle with its controversies. Mr. Fergusson's was a character which illustrates in various ways the *perfervidum ingenium* proverbially assigned to his countrymen. His convictions on all subjects

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were intense. When *he* put forward a proposition, it was very far from his intention that it should be moulded or whittled by hostile hands: the character *qualis ab incepto* generally applied to any opinion of his, and in controversy he hit very hard, and too often needlessly hard. Even those who gave and took hard knocks in strife with him ache, we trust, no longer. We, again, and there are many of us, whose happier fortune it was to have no such passages of arms with him, look back only to his ripe sagacity, his kindly appreciation of our work, his constant readiness to open the matchless stores of his knowledge, and the rich abundance of his collections in books and photographs, to those who sought help in their researches.

Next on our casualty-roll is Edward Thomas, and time allows me but to say a word of that honest, friendly soul, whose name was recognized over Europe as a prince in Oriental numismatics, and was honoured by assumption into the Foreign Lists of the Institute of France and of the Academy of St. Petersburg. The aggregate of his work is immense, though much of it lies in articles scattered over various periodicals. His name will be preserved by these, by his Chronicles, derived from coinage, of the so-called Patan kings of Delhi, and by his intimate association with the publication of James Prinsep's Essays, with the historical collections of Sir Henry Elliot, and with the new edition of Marsden's Numismata Orientalia.

On one other subject I will touch before sitting down. Mr. Kay, a respected member of our Council, has recently addressed a letter to our Secretary on a matter of which we are all too conscious, *i.e.* the deplorably low ebb at which the study of Eastern languages and literature stands in this country, and on which he suggested the formation of a special committee to consider the causes and the possible remedies for this state of things. I feel strongly the truth of Mr. Kay's observations, and I may say in passing, and in all sincerity, that [illegible] were in a better state, this chair would not

be filled as it is to-day. But what I wish to mention is that we are attempting to carry out Mr. Kay's suggestions, and along with them to devise means for extending the membership of this Society and the interest in its pursuits. A special committee has accordingly been named, consisting of Mr. Bendall, Mr. Dickens, Mr. Kay, Gen. Maclagan and Mr. Thornton, with Mr. Cust and our Secretary as *ex-officio* members; and the following heads of inquiry have been indicated to them, without excluding others of a kindred kind that may suggest themselves :—

1. The preparation of a list of appointments in England—in Government establishments, universities and colleges, and other institutions of sorts—for which a scholarly acquaintance with Oriental languages is a necessary or important qualification; with the emoluments of each and the mode of appointment.

2. Regarding the possibility of approaching the Government, the Universities, the City Companies, etc., for support in the promotion of Oriental studies.

3. Regarding the possibility and expediency of amalgamating this Society with any other of kindred objects, and of reducing the scale of subscription now in force.

4. Whether the publication of Oriental works beyond the scope of the Journal should be undertaken.

5. The consideration of any means by which the Society could be rendered more popular, consistent with its objects and character.

Report.

Members.—The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report that, since the last Anniversary Meeting held on Monday, May 18, 1885, there has been the following decrease in, and addition to the numbers of the Society's Members.

They announce with regret the loss, by *Death*, of ten *Resident* Members, viz.—

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James Fergusson, Esq., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., *Vice-President.*
Edward Thomas, Esq., C.I.E., F.R.S., *Treasurer.*
Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arthur Phayre, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.B., *Member of Council.*
Sir W. Rose Robinson, K.C.S.I., *Member of Council.*
Sir Walter Medhurst, K.C.B.
Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart.
W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P.
Col. C. Ratcliff.
W. S. Gillett, Esq.
Francis Mathew, Esq.

of four *Non-Resident* Members,

The Mahárája of Travancore.
Sir Robert Dalyell, Bart.
Rev. James Vaughan.
H. L. St. Barbe, Esq.

Also the loss, by *Retirement* or otherwise, of 15 *Resident* Members,

Israel Abrahams, Esq.
H. St. C. Baddeley, Esq.
Rev. S. Baronian.
E. A. Budge, Esq.
Hon. E. Drummond.
Bishop of Durham.
Professor Eggeling.
Fung-Yee, Secretary Chinese Legation.
Alexander Grant, Esq., C.I.E.
Joseph Haynes, Esq.
Sir L. Jackson.
Arthur Lillie, Esq.
C. W. Payne, Esq.
Marquess of Salisbury.
Dr. Forbes Watson.

and 9 *Non-Resident* Members,

Col. J. Cadell.
R. Gordon, Esq.
H. G. Keene, Esq.
Rev. W. B. Keer.
C. R. Lindsay, Esq.
E. H. Man, Esq.
Rev. W. T. Pilter.
Gen. Sir H. Thuillier.
Rev. Robert Bruce.

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They have, moreover, to regret the loss by *Death* of their distinguished *Honorary* Member,

Dr. Samuel Birch, D.C.L., LL.D.

of one of their *Foreign* Members,

Professor Gustavus Seyffarth.

and of their able and well-known *Secretary*,

W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

On the other hand, they have great pleasure in announcing that they have elected, as *Resident* Members,

Herbert Wigram, Esq.
T. D. Edwards, Esq.
Thomas Geisler, Esq.
Miss Agnes Smith.
E. Delmar Morgan, Esq.
The Venerable Archdeacon Harrison, M.A.
R. W. Fraser, Esq.
H. Priestley, Esq.
Herbert Baynes, Esq.
Lieut. Owen Wheeler.

and as *Non-Resident* Members,

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dufferin, Viceroy of India.
Professor J. Avery.
Dr. José de Fonseca.
Dr. Dominic D'Monte.
Govind Prasad Dube.
A. R. Colquhoun, Esq.
J. S. Scott, Esq.
Dr. William Wilson Torrence.
Mr. Justice Scott.

the difference showing a loss to the Society of nineteen Members, of whom fourteen are death casualties.

Of the personal history of deceased Members and Officers —notably the more distinguished in relation to the objects of the Society—a few words will now be said.

William Sandys Wright Vaux, son of the Reverend W. Vaux, Prebendary of Winchester, was born at Oxford on the 28th February, 1818. His second name, Sandys, was given to him after a distinguished ancestor on the maternal side, who was Archbishop of York in 1576. He was educated

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at Westminster, a school for which he always retained a boyish enthusiasm; and he graduated B.A. of Baliol College, Oxford, in 1840. The following year he was employed in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum, and in January, 1861, he was appointed Keeper of Coins and Medals there, a post which he resigned in 1870. From about that date until 1876 he was engaged on a catalogue of the coins in the Bodleian Library for the University of Oxford. In January, 1876, he became Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, and continued in that office until the 21st June, 1885, the day of his death, carrying on his daily routine of work up to the 19th idem.

He was also Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature from 1852 to 1858, and Secretary from 1858 to 1885, on the 28th January of which latter year he tendered his resignation—finally retiring at the Anniversary in April. Of the Numismatic Society he was President for exactly twenty years, or from November, 1855, to November, 1875.

He published in 1851 "Nineveh and Persepolis," a volume which reached four editions, and was translated into German; also in the same year a "Handbook to the Antiquities of the British Museum." In 1856 he edited for the Hakluyt Society Sir Francis Drake's "World Encompassed," for which he wrote a very able preface. He made many contributions to Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography in 1854–57.

In 1863 he deciphered and edited for the Trustees of the British Museum a Collection of ninety Phœnician Inscriptions found at Carthage. In 1868 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1876 he published a Catalogue of the Castellani collection of Antiquities in the University Galleries, Oxford, and the next year "Greek Cities and Islands of Asia Minor" for the series of "Ancient History from the Monuments." He added to the same series a history of "Persia from the Earliest Period to the Arab Conquest."

His publications in the Numismatic Chronicle are as follows:

In 1854. On Coins of Alexander the Great. On Some Rare Bactrian Coins. On Coins of Ceylon; with some Remarks on the so-called Ring, and Fish-hook Money.

1856. On Some Greek Coins. Vol. xviii. p. 137.

1857. On Coins discovered by W. K. Loftus at Susa. Vol. xx. p. 25.

1858. On Coins of Characene. Ibid. p. 32. Coins of Seistân. Ibid. p. 49.

1859. Coins of Marathus, and of Kamnaskires and Anzaze. Ibid. p. 84. An Account of a Find of Coins in Goldborough, Yorkshire. Vol. I. New Series, p. 65. On Some Remarkable Greek Coins. Ibid. p. 104.

1860. Coins of Carthage. Vol. iii. p. 73. Proposed Coinage for Port Philip, Australia, in 1853. p. 64.

1865. Silver Coins found at Eccles. Vol. v. p. 219.

1866. On a Coin bearing a Phœnician Legend, and referring to an Alliance between Motya and Agrigentum, in Sicily. Vol. vi. p. 128.

1868. On English and Foreign Waterloo Medals. Vol. ix. p. 109.

1867. On Coins of Tomi, Callatia, etc. Vol. ix. p. 154. On a Silver Coin of Seleucus I. Nicator. Vol. x. 133.

1875. On an Unique Coin of Platon, a King of Bactriana. Vol. xv. p. 1.

1876. Indenture preserved in the Bodleian Library relating to certain Farthings of James I. Vol. xvi. p. 235.

Much might be said of the amiable character and varied accomplishments of the late Mr. Vaux. His work for nearly ten years on behalf of the Asiatic Society has been already referred to in the Journal, and more especially in the Honorary Secretary's remarks attached to the last year's Report, and the special care he took to advance the Society's interests, as well as the marked success which attended his efforts, were

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such as could not fail to be appreciated by its Council and Officers. Those who knew him out of this particular sphere of usefulness have borne, and will still bear, ready testimony to the universality of his knowledge, his industry and devotion, his kindly and genial disposition, conciliatoriness, and readiness to help and oblige.

The late Secretary's remains were consigned to their resting-place, at the Brompton Cemetery, on Friday, June 26, in the presence of a large gathering.

Among those of our members whose loss during the last season we have to record, one of the most eminent and most deeply lamented is *Sir Arthur Phayre*.[1]

He had not settled among us in London, like others whom we commemorate to-day. Though born in England, he always reckoned himself an Irishman, and in Ireland, after his retirement from active employment, he set up his head-quarters. But he regularly visited London in the summer, and was gladly welcomed at the Council-table of our Society, and at the Athenæum Club. He is sorely missed at both, and, we may add, in the councils of his country—for his death occurred just as the conquest of Upper Burma had taken place, and when his advice would have been of the highest value. His last public utterance was a letter which appeared in *The Times* of 13th October last, in which he gave his unhesitating approval to the military intervention for the deposition of King Theebaw. There could have been no more valuable sanction to the righteousness of that measure. Phayre was not only eminently just, but had ever been the true friend of the King of Burma, and the most moderate of men in his dealings with his government.

Arthur Purves Phayre was born at Shrewsbury, 7th May,

[1] The foundation of this notice is one of greater length compiled by me for the February number of the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. But since then I have been favoured with memoranda by Lieut.-General Sir Richard Meade and by Major-General Barnet Ford, of which advantage has been taken.—H. Yule.

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1812, the son of Richard Phayre, Esq., a resident there, and grandson of Colonel Phayre, of Killoughran Forest, in the county Wexford. He went to India as a Cadet in 1829, and served for some years with the 7th Bengal N. I. Going early into the service, he had not received much instruction; but from the beginning of his career he was engaged in educating himself. Early friends who survive describe Phayre when a young subaltern as hardy and temperate in his habits, reading, thinking, and making notes, delighting in argument, sometimes in paradox, and a most agreeable companion in camp. In 1834 he was selected for service with one of those local corps which often formed a door to employment of a higher kind; but nothing important came of this till 1837, when he was appointed assistant to the Commissioner of Arakan, then Captain Bogle (afterwards Sir Archibald).

Arakan, though geographically so near Calcutta, was then practically one of the most secluded provinces of the empire; its population scanty, and its only communication with the outer world maintained by a sailing vessel which came from the Hoogly about once in six weeks. Sir Richard Meade, who, as a very young officer, stayed with Phayre at Akyab, records the impression which the latter then made on him, that "he was an officer of thought and judgment far beyond his years and standing. In his conversation, his earnest regard for the welfare and interests of the people of his district, his love of justice, and an entire absence of self-assertion, or indeed of self in any shape, were very striking. One felt that he was a man of real work and worth. . . . I well remember one evening, when I was sitting outside with him, a number of people brought in the body of a hill-tiger, which had been killed by a Mugh with a single blow of his *dhao*. The man had been in his house, when he heard a cry from the garden, and running out he saw his brother struck down by the beast. Seizing his *dhao*, he rushed on the tiger, and with one lucky blow in the neck disabled, and then killed

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it. The brother was not seriously injured. Phayre commended the act in terms which evidently delighted the man and his friends; then going into the house, he brought out a handful of rupees as a reward for his brave deed."

In solitude at Sandoway, where he spent two years of his Arakan service, Phayre had ample scope not only for that study of the Burmese language and character, in which he stood so high, but for the pursuit of that self-cultivation which led all who knew him in later life to regard him as a man of exceptionally good education. The purity of his life, in a province where laxity was the rule rather than the exception, earned the exceptional respect of the people of the country.

At an early period of Phayre's service in Arakan, we find him associated with Lieut. (now Lieut.-General) Albert Fytche, who long afterwards succeeded him as Chief Commissioner of British Burma, in an expedition for the punishment of a hill-tribe, the Walien, in the upper basin of the Arakan River, whose unexplored fastnesses were supposed to be inaccessible to our arms. The chief stronghold of these caterans, 4000 feet above the valley, was scaled and destroyed, and both Phayre and Fytche received high commendation.

In 1846 Phayre was transferred to Moulmein as principal assistant to Mr. J. R. Colvin, then Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, and three years later his merits, by this time well known to Government, were rewarded with the Commissionership of Arakan. He held this position when the second Burmese war broke out in 1852, and as soon as the Province of Pegu was annexed to the British dominions, Phayre, not the oldest, but certainly the ablest of the officers associated with Burmese adminstration, was nominated by Lord Dalhousie to the charge of the new territory.

He governed the Delta province for ten years as Commissioner. His name, when he entered it, was not strange to the people. His justice and firmness, his great liberality, his mastery of the language, and intimate knowledge of

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those whom he had ruled in the adjoining provinces, were known and appreciated; whilst his commanding figure, his dignity, courtesy, and high personal character, his considerate and patient bearing, all combined to win him the favour and confidence of those whom he was called to govern.

The first two years of his rule in Pegu were full of anxieties to Phayre. He was especially exercised by the troubles of dacoity in the Tharawadi and other districts. The suppression of this was a service of most harassing character, and very unpopular with the army, whilst more than one officer of good previous reputation broke down under the trial. But in those two years (1853-1854) the country greatly quieted down, and from 1855 dates the extraordinary progress made by the new province.

His authority was in 1862 extended over the whole of our Burmese provinces, which, under the denomination of British Burma, embraced a continuous sea-board of 900 miles. By his wise and considerate administration, which, among other measures, carried through the abolition of forced labour, the introduction of a stable currency, the development of trade, especially in the export of rice, and the effective repression of crime, he laid the foundation of that prosperity which had reached a high pitch before his own rule terminated. From the beginning, too, he was determined that the province should pay its way; and whilst he enforced a rigid economy, he maintained also a considerable taxation. But prosperity went on, and immigration flowed in steadily. The population of all the British provinces, Arakan, Tenasserim, and Pegu, at the date of the conquest of the last, was probably not more than 1½ million. In 1884 it had grown to 4⅓ millions.

One of the subjects to which he gave much attention in the latter years of his rule was that of vernacular education. Monastic schools, taught by the *p'hungyis*, or Buddhist monks, are a peculiar characteristic of the country. Through their agency the proportion of the population who can read

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and write is very large. Phayre's idea was to bring these monastic schools under the influence of the educational department, by putting in the hands of their indigenous teachers elementary books of sound instruction, and by inducing them to enter the sphere of Government inspection. The plan was carried out, but has not always been viewed with favour by the department concerned; nor have I been able to learn anything very precise as to its success.[1]

Phayre three times went as envoy on the part of the Governor-General to the Court of Burma. The first time was in 1855, with the object (in part) of obtaining the King's assent by treaty to the cession of the delta province. The Envoy's conciliatory manners and thorough acquaintance with Burmese ideas attracted the King's goodwill, but he would assent to no treaty. On this mission I had the honour of being appointed, by Lord Dalhousie, as Secretary to the Envoy, and from that time I date a friendship and correspondence with my admirable chief, which death alone has interrupted, and in which I never ceased to take pride and pleasure.

Phayre's other missions occurred in 1862 and 1866, in connexion with trade matters, and were not very successful. The more than considerate treatment which the King had always met with at Phayre's hands had hardly been appreciated by his Majesty.

Phayre quitted Burma finally in 1867, declining further high employment in India; and greatly did he enjoy his leisure at home, his first visit to Europe since he had gone out nearly forty years before.

[1] I see that in the year 1884-85 the number of indigenous schools in the list as inspected was:—Monastic schools, 3837; Lay schools, 879. The schools helped by "grants-in-aid," were:—Monastic, 825; Lay, 449. Of Monastic schools inspected 21·5 per cent., with 3414 pupils, are stated to have earned grants for results, and 587 pupils, or 17·2 per cent. of those who earned grants, passed fully by one of the standards. Of Lay schools, again, 51 per cent., with 4622 pupils, or 14·6 per cent. of the total number, earned result-grants, and 1201 pupils, or 26 per cent. of the number who had earned grants, passed the primary school examinations.

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In 1869 he returned to India as a traveller, visiting, among other parts, Kashmír and Peshâwar, and their Buddhist remains, with great interest; and then continuing his journey round the globe by Saigon, China, Japan, San Francisco, and the United States.

On his return, he took up his abode at Bray, near Dublin, and there he continued to have his head-quarters for the rest of his unemployed life. But his public service was not yet ended. In the latter part of 1874 he was nominated by Lord Carnarvon to the government of Mauritius, an office which he held with satisfaction to the colonists and to the Queen's Government for more than four years. He returned home, after a visit to South Africa, in 1879. His death occurred suddenly in his lodgings at Bray, on the night of 14th–15th December, 1885. Its announcement was a shock and a surprise to a circle of friends very strongly attached to him. It is true that he was over three-score and thirteen; but who ever realized the fact who saw him, youthful and alert in action, and in his great stature slim and lithe as a palm tree?

In concluding this abstract of the career of a good and illustrious man, let me note a few of his personal characteristics. Early recollections of Phayre speak of a certain gaunt angularity in his aspect and bearing; but assuredly that process of self-education that so long went on in him, the continual moulding from within, and the long exercise of authority and conscious influence, had replaced this, as far back as my own remembrance of him goes, by a notable refinement and dignity, whilst there was an unfailing courtesy of manner. These qualities always tended to win him special favour among foreigners, and with his sympathy and fairness did him no small service in his government of Mauritius. He was naturally, as those who knew him most intimately were aware, of a warm temper, but no man had his temper under stricter or more habitual control.

An occupation of some of his later years, resumed from time

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to time, was the preparation of his History of Burma, finally published by Trübner in 1883. It is difficult to attract readers to such a subject, except under the passing stimulus of events directly adding to the matter of Burmese history. But Phayre's work is careful, lucid, and excellent. I have recently been told that he left behind him a carefully revised edition of this History in type. He also published, in 1882, as a fasciculus of the *International Numismata Orientalia*, a work on the coins of Arakan, Pegu, and Burma.

Some fifteen papers on subjects of a similar character, and in part contributions to the eventual preparation of the works mentioned, appeared from time to time between 1841 and 1881, chiefly in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Let me conclude with words already used in the obituary notice, to which reference has been made in a note at p. x.

"Just, humane, magnanimous, beneficent, animated by an extraordinary sense of duty, courteous, modest—I never remember an instance in which himself, or his claims, or his rights, much less his merits, made any part directly or indirectly in his words or acts,—with the wisdom to build up a state, as he built up a great province: what a contemptible thing seems the oratory on which men set such value, and bestow such admiring epithets,—a tool as apt and as often used to destroy a kingdom as to build one up,—beside such a combination of qualities as these!" [1]

Dr. Samuel Birch,[2] who was elected an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society in the year 1866, was the eldest son of the late Rev. Samuel Birch, D.D., Rector

[1] A movement is on foot for the erection of a memorial to Sir Arthur Phayre, of which the Secretary in this country is Major-General Barnet Ford, 31, Queensborough Terrace, W. For the same object a meeting was held at Rangoon, on the 6th of March last. It is I presume a sign of the transitory character of society there that the meeting is reported to have been "not very numerously attended." It was unfortunate that the venerable Roman Catholic Bishop Bigandet, who was one of Phayre's oldest and most valued friends, was unable, probably from his great age, to attend; and that the chief member of the American Mission was also prevented by illness from being present.

[2] Obituary notice supplied by Mr. Th. G. Pinches, British Museum.

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of St. Mary Woolnoth, and Vicar of Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire. His grandfather was Samuel Birch, of Cornhill (the old business still bears the name of Birch, though it is not in hereditary hands), who was not unknown as an author, and who attained to the dignity of Alderman, and was Lord Mayor of London in 1814–15. Dr. Birch was educated at Greenwich, Blackheath, and at Merchant Taylors' School, where he gained great distinction, and received an excellent education, which undoubtedly stood him in good stead in after-life. In the year 1834 he entered Government service, under the Commissioners of Public Records, and in January, 1836, received an appointment under the Trustees of the British Museum, in whose service he passed only a few days less than fifty years. On the retirement of Mr. Barnwell, Dr. Birch became Assistant-Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, which then included the whole range of Greek, Roman, British and Oriental archæology, as well as numismatics and ethnology. In 1861, when this very miscellaneous department was divided, Dr. Birch was raised to the responsible position of Keeper of the British, Mediæval, and Oriental sections; and at a later subdivision, he was left with the strictly Oriental (Egyptian, Assyrian, Phœnician, and Himyaritic) Antiquities under his charge, retaining the post to the day of his death.

At a very early period of his life Dr. Birch had studied Chinese, and his first important duty at the Museum was the arrangement and cataloguing of the coins of China. He published, also, several articles and books, of which his translations of the Chinese writings, *Friends till Death*, *The Elfin Foxes*, *The Chinese Widow*, and *The Casket of Gems*, may be mentioned. One (or more than one) of these works was translated and published in Germany a few years ago. Besides the study of the Chinese coinage, Dr. Birch also devoted himself, for a time, to the study of the coinage of the ancient Britons. This resulted in the recovery, in 1844, of the royal name

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Tasciovanus, the father of Cunobelin, from a few abbreviated legends (up to that time unexplained) found on the coins of the period.

It was to the study of the Egyptian antiquities, language, and literature, however, to which he ultimately devoted himself. Entering upon the study at the time when very little of a trustworthy nature existed, and great discredit had been thrown upon the discoveries already made in the science of Egyptology, Dr. Birch, following in the footsteps of Young and Champollion, made himself, by his detailed studies, so proficient that he may undoubtedly be regarded as one of the founders of the science. It was he who first gave continuous translations of the Egyptian texts—translations which, notwithstanding the progress since made in the study, remain, on the whole, exceedingly exact. Among other things, he made translations of the Hieratic texts published in fac-simile in the *Select Papyri*, as well as of the well-known Egyptian *Book of the Dead*—a text containing numberless difficulties.

Of the two hundred or more books or papers by Dr. Birch upon subjects purely Egyptian, the most important (besides those mentioned above) were *The Dictionary of Hieroglyphics* and *Egyptian Grammar*, in the 5th vol. of the English edition of Baron Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, an *Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphics*, a *Magical Papyrus*, the great *Harris Papyrus*, an Egyptian Reading-book, several *Guides* to the various galleries of his department in the British Museum, a *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle, The Coffin of Amam*, etc. etc. When one considers how the time of an official of the British Museum is taken up, the number and thoroughness of Dr. Birch's works can only be regarded as surprising. His great industry it undoubtedly was which made him one of the greatest Egyptologists in the world, with a reputation which was fully acknowledged

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not only at home, but also in Germany, France, Italy,—in fact, wherever notice is taken of the interesting results of the fascinating study to which he had devoted himself.

Dr. Birch began, at an early period, the study of Assyrian, but soon found that the acquirement of a really useful knowledge of that tongue would necessarily occupy much of the time which could be most profitably employed in studying the subject which he had made his speciality; and the little which he had learnt of Assyrian was soon forgotten. Nevertheless, he took an active interest in the subject to the end, and was fully alive to the importance of the discoveries made by the later as well as by the earlier scholars.

As Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, Dr. Birch was certainly pre-eminent. His capabilities as an arranger of antiquities were great, but he was much hampered in his work by the very limited space into which he was at first obliged to pack the various objects, and the great changes which have taken place at the Museum during the last few years. His knowledge of antiquities was very extensive, and his extreme caution, making him reject everything which even *seemed* to be false, undoubtedly kept the collections under his charge free from the many forgeries which abound, especially in Egypt, where falsifiers are skilfullest. Dr. Birch, however, suspected everything to be false until it was absolutely proved to be true. During the month of December last he received notice that some antiquities connected with my own special department were offered for sale to the Museum, and he asked me to examine them, remarking (though he had not seen the objects) that they were probably forgeries. The fatal illness had already overtaken him when I was prepared to report upon the matter. On being told that the objects in question were rank forgeries, "I thought so!" he exclaimed, starting up from

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his pillow, "just write and tell the owners that they are not suitable for acquisition by the British Museum." This is the line upon which he went, in all transactions with dealers, and he was thereby undoubtedly successful in keeping the collections under his charge in a high state of efficiency and trustworthiness.

Although Dr. Birch never visited the sites which have yielded so plentifully the records of the ancient civilization which was his favourite study, it would be hardly fair to cast this omission against him as a reproach; for though a voyage in Egypt would undoubtedly have given him some advantage in his studies, it was nevertheless not by any means indispensable. It was with deliberate intention, however, that he stayed at home. "I prefer to stay here," he used to say, "for I know that most of the things of importance will ultimately be brought here into my room. I always told Mr. Smith that he would die if he went to Assyria, and it really turned out as I predicted."

One of the chief events of his life was the founding, in conjunction with the late W. R. Cooper and others, of the *Society of Biblical Archæology*, upon the ruins of the *Syro-Egyptian Society*. Of this new and very successful venture he was president from 1870, the date of its foundation, until his death. He was also President of the London Congress of Orientalists in 1874. For such posts as these he was certainly eminently fitted from the wide range of his learning and reading.

To his study of fortification and military science in early youth is probably to be attributed that deep interest in politics which was one of his most characteristic traits, and those who came into contact with him will doubtless remember his opinions upon the Russian and Chinese questions. Though professing to be a Liberal, he nevertheless decidedly favoured Conservative policy. He was very unfavourably impressed by the "three acres and a

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cow" idea, and jocularly asked, if his own poor two-thirds of an acre were to form part of some lucky peasant-holder's three acres, when the idea came to be put into practice.

It has been asserted in one of the memoirs which have been written, that Dr. Birch was only a pioneer, and that his life was a failure, because he founded no school of students who, following their master's footsteps, might be able to continue his work. His very numerous works show that his life was not a failure as far as solid work is concerned—indeed, it may be regarded as a most triumphant success; for the success or failure of a man's life does not depend upon the number of pupils he has trained. If Dr. Birch has left behind none, who, being still young, is nevertheless advanced enough to take his place, it was with deliberate intention on his part. "What," he would say "is the use of training a school of students of either Egyptian or Assyrian? When they have become proficient in the branch which they have chosen, how are they to gain their living? There may be work enough to keep two or three in a miserable kind of way, but even this is doubtful, for the chances of getting a living by literary work are very small, especially in a sphere so restricted; and when they find that they cannot earn their living, they will naturally forsake the study, and take to something else." To the correctness of this opinion I can myself testify from personal knowledge. Whatever the great scholar who has just passed away did, was the result of deep thought and deliberate intention. Men in whom real talent and common sense are combined are rare, and for this reason it seemed, probably, to those who had the honour of knowing him, that he was taken away from us all too soon, full of years and honours as he was. Long, however, will it be, ere this talented and genial scholar will be forgotten by those who knew him, and who now miss his kind face, his pleasant speech, and his ready, unfailing help and counsel.

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Sir Walter Harry Medhurst[1] was born in 1822 in Java, and his childhood was passed at Batavia and Malacca under the roof of his father, the celebrated missionary and Sinologue. He was subsequently sent home to Mill Hill School, and returning to the East, in 1838, rejoined his family at Macao. As a child he had acquired a knowledge of Dutch and Malay, as children do, without tears, and he had possibly been introduced to the study of Chinese. Dr. Medhurst, a man of remarkable aptitude, independently of his attainments as a student of the written language, had become a proficient in the dialect spoken by the natives of Fuh Kien, between which province and the island of Java and the Straits Settlements, thousands of Chinese had been long used to drift to and fro.

At Macao, at all events, the son was fairly entered, and under the guidance more especially of John Robert Morrison, the distinguished Chinese Secretary of the Superintendency of Trade, he became a competent speaker of the Mandarin, and withal a fair translator of official correspondence and the more difficult papers published in the *Peking Gazette*. In addition to this he learned to write a Chinese hand of singular excellence; a rare accomplishment, which stood him afterwards in good stead.

In those days the one spot in China accessible to the foreigner was Canton; Macao being regarded as an outlying dependency. Intercourse as well as trade was the monopoly of the Hong merchants. Chinese in any shape was studied more or less *sub rosâ*, and the communication of the *Gazette* to the barbarian was a punishable irregularity. So short-handed in those days of anti-foreign jealousy was the native staff of the Chinese Secretariat, that the mere transcription and registration of correspondence was at times no easy matter. In 1839 occurred our first serious rupture with China, by which, of course, all difficulties of the kind

[1] Notice supplied by Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., M.R.A.S.

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were much increased. The younger Medhurst's usefulness had already been recognized, and, in 1840, he was appointed to a clerkship in the Chinese Secretariat, and in the following year was attached to the suite of Sir Henry Pottinger. He accompanied the combined force up the coast in 1841, and was present at the first capture of Amoy and the second capture of Chusan, at which latter place he was left as Interpreter to the Garrison until December, 1842. The Five Ports having been opened by the treaty signed at Nanking in September, Mr. Medhurst became Interpreter to the Consulate of Shanghai, serving first under Sir George Balfour, and later under Sir Rutherford Alcock. In 1849, on the death of Mr. Gutzlaff, he succeeded that gentleman as Chinese Secretary, and in 1853, in addition to the duties of his own post, he acted as Secretary to the Superintendent of Trade. In 1854, he became Consul at Foochow, and in 1858, when the Northern Ports were opened by Lord Elgin's Treaty, he was named to Chefoo, but he never took up his commission there. He held various acting appointments up to 1864, amongst other places at Shanghai, during the Gordon campaign against the Tai Ping insurgents. Mr. Medhurst's assistance was cordially acknowledged by General Staveley, who commanded our own forces engaged against the same enemy, and in 1864 he became Consul at Hankow. Thence, in 1871, he was promoted to Shanghai, where he had in fact been acting since 1868, and at this last post he remained until 1877, when he retired on a pension. His services were then rewarded by a knighthood. He died of a fit of apoplexy at Torquay, on the 26th of December last.

Sir Walter Medhurst was one of the most orderly and punctual of men, and one of the most painstaking. His reports on trade attested his industry, and his opinions were always received with respect. As a linguist, he was useful rather than brilliant; but very useful. It seldom falls to

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the lot of any man to be able to do what Sir Walter Medhurst did in 1876, when, at the instance of his former chief, Sir Rutherford Alcock, he proceeded eastward once more in the interest of the Borneo Company. The object of his mission being to encourage Chinese immigration in the direction of the newly-formed settlement, the Company were so fortunate as to secure in Sir Walter Medhurst an agent perfectly possessing the three languages, Dutch, Malay, and Chinese, for the employment of which necessity would be found to exist at either end of the line of communication.

Mr. James Fergusson,[1] C.I.E., D.C.L. Oxon., LL.D. Edin., F.R.S., F.G.S., Vice-President of this Society, a Past Vice-President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a Member of the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, a Member of the Society of Dilettanti, and of other learned bodies, was born at Ayr in Scotland, on the 22nd of January, 1808. His father, Dr. William Fergusson, author of *Notes and Recollections of a Professional Life*, was a man of some mark, who had seen service in various parts of the world, having been present on the Flag ship at Copenhagen in 1801, principal medical officer at the taking of Oporto, in the passage of the Douro, and at Talavera; and who, after serving in the West Indies, went to live at Edinburgh in the year 1817. James, the younger of Dr. Fergusson's two sons, had consequently the opportunity of beginning his education at the High School of that city. He entered Mr. Irvine's first class there in 1818, and in the following year was in the second class. Dr. Fergusson, however, left Edinburgh in 1821, and at the invitation of H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, on whose staff he had acted in France, settled at Windsor, where he ultimately obtained a large and lucrative practice as a physician.[2] The subject of this notice

[1] Notice supplied by Mr. William H. White, M.R.A.S., Secretary of the Roy. Instit. British Architects.

[2] See Dr. Fergusson's *Notes and Recollections of a Professional Life*; edited by James Fergusson. London, 1846, 8vo.

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was then sent to a private school at Hounslow, and as he was destined for employment in the firm of Fairlie, Fergusson, and Co., of Calcutta, with which his family had been long connected, and in which his elder brother was a partner, his early education was neither academical nor classical. On the contrary, it was of a very ordinary character. The firm, however, failed soon after James Fergusson's arrival in India, and he became an indigo planter. He also, in conjunction with his brother William, started an independent house of business in Calcutta, from which he appears to have retired at the first opportunity open to him. Commercial pursuits were not to his taste; he took from the very earliest period great delight in old buildings, particularly those of a native type, and he was ultimately enabled to gratify his archæological bent. His rare powers of philosophical thought—how acquired, it is now difficult to ascertain—were expended upon the architectural remains to be found in the several localities he visited during lengthened tours over India, which seem to have occupied him from the years 1835 to 1842, when he returned to England. His route through the length and breadth of the Peninsula, sometimes on a camel's back, sometimes in a palanquin, is given in a map which forms one of the plates of his *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindustan*, published in 1848. But prior to the appearance of that valuable work, he had communicated to this Society, of which he was elected a Member in 1840, some of the fruit of his earliest labours. At the close of 1843 he read a Paper, apparently the first he presented to any learned body, on *The Rock-cut Temples of India* [Vol. VIII. pp. 30–92, art. 10, illustrated with ten plates], which, after the due presentation of a memorial from the Council of this Society to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, led to orders being sent to the different presidencies, authorising the employment of competent persons to measure and draw the various antiquities remaining there

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—a fact which led Fergusson to note, somewhat jubilantly, in a reprint of his Paper, that "we may thus escape the hitherto too-well merited reproach of having so long possessed that noble country and done so little to illustrate its history or antiquities." Going out a second time, he was in Bombay in the spring of 1845, and this was the last visit he paid to the country with which his name, as the acknowledged historian of Indian and Eastern Architecture, and indeed of all architecture, must be ever identified. This too was a period of troubles and anxieties, augmented as they were in 1846 by the death of his father, whose memory he has preserved in the interesting work previously referred to.

Fergusson, when he founded the house of business before mentioned in partnership with his elder brother William, had always intended to leave it at the earliest opportunity, and he did so, returning home to build his house in Langham Place, and, having known the pleasures as well as the discomforts of a planter's life, to keep a very tolerable stable. But he committed the fatal mistake of leaving his name in the Calcutta house, and was therefore partly responsible for its debts and liabilities when the ultimate failure of the business was announced. He had, in conjunction with Mr. (now Sir) A. H. Layard, been the adviser of the Crystal Palace Company in the erection of the Assyrian House in the tropical end of the building (since destroyed by fire), and the author of the Handbook describing that structure; and at the juncture just alluded to he accepted the request of the Company to be their General Manager, a post which he entered early in 1856, and occupied till the middle of 1858. The practical details of the Handel Festival, which still exist with hardly a modification, were all settled by him, in reference to the first Festival in 1857. On leaving the Crystal Palace, he became Secretary to a Bengal Railway, an office which he relinquished after a short period of service.

Fergusson's second public contribution to the study of

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Indian architecture was made in 1848, in a Paper read to the Institute of British Architects, on the *Ancient Buddhist Architecture of India*, which is the first article from his pen printed in the *Transactions* of that body. This was followed, almost immediately, by the independent publication of a book, described by him at the close of his days as the best he had ever written, and of which he thought he had sold four copies, entitled, "*An Historical Enquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art, more especially with reference to Architecture,*" etc. The preface contains a reference to his earlier career, which possesses some social if not historical interest. Offering excuses for the defects of his ambitious task, he says: "In the first place, few men have, either from education or the professional pursuits of their life, been less prepared for such a work as this. From boyhood I was destined to the desk. From school I passed to the counting-house; from that to an indigo factory—of all places in the world, perhaps, the one least suited for a cultivation of any knowledge of the fine arts; from this to become an acting and active partner in a large mercantile establishment, from the trammels of which, in spite of every endeavour, I have never been able to free myself; and during the time this work has been in hand I have written, and, perhaps, also thought, more about the state of the money-market, indigo, sugar, silk and such-like articles, than I have regarding architecture, painting, or sculpture. This, in ordinary times, would only have delayed the work, and rendered its completion less speedy; but the last eighteen months have been times of anxiety and distress to every one connected with mercantile pursuits, and more especially to those connected with the East. All those with whom I was formerly connected have succumbed one after the other. The whole edifice under whose shade I have passed my life has been swept away, and there has been nothing but ruin and misery around me."

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He does not, however, omit to mention his obligations to the late Mr. Edwin Norris, an old Member of this Society, more especially for the ethnographical portions of his book, and for the assistance which Mr. Norris, from his extraordinary knowledge of languages, was enabled to render. Another quotation from the same preface will serve to illustrate the independence of spirit in which he approached his subject, and partly account, perhaps, for some of the animosities he afterwards encountered, particularly among archæologists, while forcing his facts and theories—his "harsh and unfashionable doctrines," as he termed them—into unwilling ears. He says: "I have also had the good fortune to spend the best years of my life in countries where Art, though old and decrepit, still follows the same path that led it towards perfection in the days of its youth and vigour, and, though it may be effete, it is not insane. In the East, men still use their reason in speaking of art, and their common sense in carrying their views into effect. They do not, as in modern Europe, adopt strange hallucinations that can only lead to brilliant failures; and, in consequence, though we may feel inclined to despise results, they are perfection itself compared with what we do, when we take into account the relative physical and moral means of the Asiatic and the Anglo-Saxon. . . . A course of study pursued among the products of art themselves in this manner I have found far more instructive than books of theories are or perhaps ever can be; and I believe all would find it so if they could follow it in such circumstances as would prevent their being influenced by the errors of bad education, or free them from the trammels of the stereotyped opinions of the age. The belief that it has been so to me induces me now to publish the result of my experience. I believe I see the path which other and cleverer men have mistaken; and as the veriest cripple who progresses in the right direction will beat the strongest pedestrian who chooses a wrong path, I trust to being able to instruct even those

before whose superior knowledge and abilities I would otherwise bow in silence."

At the end of the same preface he tells how he had even then put aside entirely the subject of that volume to give every thought and every spare moment to the science of fortification, his head being wholly filled with "walls of brick and mounds of earth of the most murderous form and most utilitarian ugliness." In 1849 he published his *Proposed New System of Fortification*, the main feature of which was the proposal of earthworks in place of masonry—then a most unfashionable doctrine, though now universally adopted. He further illustrated his ideas by printing a pamphlet entitled *The Perils of Portsmouth, or French Fleets and English Forts*, the third edition of which appeared in 1853, whereby he forcibly directed public attention to the dangerous insecurity of that great military and naval port; and this was followed in 1856 by a sequel entitled *Portsmouth Protected . . . with Notes on Sebastopol and other Sieges during the Present War*. The reputation obtained from these works caused him to be appointed a Member of the Royal Commission for the Defences of the United Kingdom.

He contributed to the *Transactions* of the Institute of British Architects papers of great value, namely, in 1849, on *The History of the Pointed Arch*; in 1850, on *The Architecture of Southern India*; in 1851, on *The Architecture of Nineveh*; in 1854, on *The Architectural Splendour of the City of Bijapur*, and *The Great Dome of Muhammad's Tomb, Bijapur*. The following year appeared his *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, in two volumes, a work undertaken by him at the request of Mr. John Murray, and afterwards enlarged into four closely printed, profusely illustrated octavo volumes, containing the History of Ancient and Mediæval Architecture (2 vols.), the History of the Modern Styles of Architecture (1 vol.), and the History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1 vol.), the last one bearing the date of 1876,

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and it may be added that of all the many volumes which bear Fergusson's name on the title-page these are perhaps the only works from which he derived any emolument, the majority of his writings having been brought out at his own cost for the edification of a necessarily small number of readers.

An important characteristic of Fergusson's labours lay in the courage with which he maintained the opinions he had once given to the world. All or most of his so-called theories were started early in life, and they were seldom if ever withdrawn as untenable, though capable, as he often admitted, of obvious modification. In his first great architectural effort, *The Principles of Beauty*, &c., published in 1848, he devoted a portion (pp. 385–393) to the mode in which the ancient Greek Temples were lighted. It seemed to him, even then, absurd to suppose that while the Egyptians had been so long familiar with the "clearstory," by which he translated the word *ὀπαῖον*, the architects of ancient Greece should have remained in ignorance of it, and he contended that they were too artistic, either to shut out the light of day from their temples, as some thought, or to expose an ivory statue to the atmosphere even of Athens, as the text of Pausanias was interpreted to imply. He treated the same subject on a precisely similar basis at a meeting of the Institute of British Architects in 1861; and having prepared a large model of the Parthenon, complete, with its roof and "clearstory," as he believed it originally existed, he wrote as late as 1883, *The Parthenon : an Essay on the mode by which light was introduced in Greek and Roman Temples*—a subject of the utmost interest to architects and artists, as well as to archæologists, but one which, during all the years that passed while he was writing about it, failed to elicit anything like enthusiasm either from theoretical critics or from practical men. On other ground further east Fergusson's perseverance was attended with more immediate success. In 1847 he published a work in large octavo form entitled *An Essay on the*

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Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, grounded on the plans and measurements of Catherwood, Arundale, and Bonomi, who by a singular chance had been employed by the Turks to repair the so-called "Mosque of Omar" in Jerusalem, and had seized the opportunity to make complete drawings of the edifice. In this remarkable essay he contended that the present Church of the Holy Spulchre does not cover the true burial-place of our Saviour, but that the true site of the Holy Sepulchre is the "Dome of the Rock," where the "Mosque of Omar" now stands, which building he believed, from the evidence of the architecture, to be the identical Church erected by Constantine the Great over the tomb of our Saviour at Jerusalem. The work fell, to use his own word, "stillborn." But in 1860 an article appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, on "The Churches of the Holy Land," and Fergusson replied to it, the following year, with a pamphlet entitled *Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem*, in which he repeated his contention and concluded with expressing his belief that in a very short time it would be generally acknowledged that he was right. A storm of opposition to this theory was thereby raised, but at the same time the idea of making an accurate survey of the Holy City was induced by the novel views he advocated, and carried out at the cost of Miss Burdett Coutts by Capt. C. W. Wilson, R.E. At the same time his personal influence was rapidly increasing, and his views gained adherents. We have it on the authority of Sir George Grove, his colleague at the Crystal Palace, his collaborateur in the Dictionary of the Bible, and throughout his intimate friend and warm champion, that the Palestine Exploration Fund had its origin in a remark of Fergusson's addressed to him during the building of the Assyrian house in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, in the year 1853—a complaint that there was no exhaustive and accurate Concordance of the Proper Names of the Bible. Nor did he confine himself to influence.

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His purse was open for the prosecution of his favourite investigations, when he had confidence in the investigator. The first large map of the *Haram Area* at Jerusalem was drawn at his cost. In a letter to *The Times*, published on the 17th of January, 1886, about a week after Fergusson's death, Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson, R.E., wrote: "It was Mr. Fergusson who enabled me to make those tentative excavations at Jerusalem in 1865, which led the way to the better known, and much more extensive excavations which were afterwards carried out by Sir Charles Warren for the Palestine Exploration Fund. In forwarding the necessary funds Mr. Fergusson, with characteristic fairness, wrote 'Dig wherever you like; you cannot dig anywhere without adding something to our knowledge of Jerusalem; and if you want more money, you can have it.' It is also no secret, I believe, that Mr. Fergusson was prepared to pay the cost of certain excavations in the Haram area, on the result of which he acknowledged his theories must stand or fall, and that the persistent refusal of the Sultan to allow excavations to be made in that area alone prevented him from putting his theories to practical test." His views on Jerusalem topography and on the Temple are given in a condensed form in two remarkable articles in the late Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vols. i. and ii.

Fergusson continued his inquiries into the subject with unabated persistency, and in 1878 published a work of more than three hundred quarto pages, fully illustrated with plates and woodcuts, on *The Temples of the Jews and the other buildings in the Haram Area at Jerusalem*, in which he maintained his original opinions in respect of the Mosque of Omar, as being the original church erected by Constantine, and developed them by learned and minute historical references.

The facts brought to light by the publication of the Marquis de Vögué's book on *Syrie Centrale*, formed a subject of intense

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interest to him, and through his influence the Royal Gold Medal for Architecture, which has been given annually since 1848 by Her Majesty the Queen to some architect or man of science of any country, was offered to and accepted by the Marquis in 1879. Nor is it any secret that the recommendations for this honour, made by the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1883 on behalf of Mr. Penrose, and in 1885 on behalf of Dr. Schliemann, were brought about by Fergusson's earnest advocacy. Some years previously, in 1871, he had received it himself for "patient and zealous industry, and power, as an architectural historian, and for the faithfulness, ability, and truthfulness with which he had fulfilled his task," the words used by the late Thomas H. Wyatt, when, as President, he presented the Royal Medal to Fergusson.

In 1867 Fergusson described to this Society the Amravati Tope in Gantúr, and illustrated his subject with the aid of photographs and casts. This was the year of the great *Exposition Internationale* at Paris, where, with the consent of the British Government, a large collection of photographs of Indian architecture, including the Tope, was being exhibited in the Indian Court, and the facts connected with the collection are so identified with Fergusson and his method of research, and are also so interesting, told as they are by himself, that they should find a place in his Memoir. Having just completed the *History of Architecture*, and enjoying, consequently, some leisure, he accepted, on the suggestion of the late Sir Henry Cole, the task of arranging a number of photographs of Indian architecture, for the Paris Exhibition, and he proposed that some casts of sculpture or some architectural fragments should be added, to enable students to judge of the merit of the objects from actual specimens of the work. But the necessity of making such casts was obviated by the discovery that portions of an Indian monument—the Amravati Tope—were then in London.

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These marbles had been excavated as far back as 1845, and sent to Madras, where they had lain exposed to wind and rain for some ten or twelve years. They had then been sent to England, and no room having been found for them in the India Museum, they were deposited at Fife House, in a disused coach-house, where Fergusson found them. The marbles were then photographed, the photographs were pieced together, and thereby two elevations of the outer Rail, and one of the inner Rail, of the Amravati Tope, were obtained. "During the three or four months," to use his own words, "which I had spent poring over these photographs, I had not only become familiar with their forms, but had acquired a considerable amount of unexpected knowledge of ancient Indian art and mythology"—the greater part of which, he afterwards adds, was quite new to him.

These marbles and photographs, and the Paper respecting them contributed to this Society, were the prelude to a work which was prepared by Fergusson under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council, and published by the India Office in 1868, namely, *Tree and Serpent Worship: or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India, in the first and fourth centuries after Christ, from the Sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amravati.* Lord Iddesleigh, then Sir Stafford Northcote and in office, had entered warmly into Fergusson's views on this subject, and the Council had granted permission, and also the necessary funds, to publish all the information then possessed regarding the Amravati Tope; moreover Fergusson in the course of his investigations at the Library of the India Office had lighted on a beautiful series of drawings of the Sanchi Tope made in 1854, and at the same time there arrived from India a set of photographs of the same monument. The result was eminently gratifying to Fergnsson, and a very valuable work, upon a subject which may ultimately obtain further elucidation, was thus placed at public disposal for a com-

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paratively small sum—a work to which General Cunningham and others contributed important appendices.

The perplexed questions connected with megalithic remains next occupied Fergusson's attention, although the subject was not unfamiliar to him, seeing that he had written an article on Stonehenge, which appeared, in July 1860, in the *Quarterly Review*, and another in the same *Review* in April 1870, which was entitled "Non-Historic Times." His contention with regard to these singular and inexplicable remains was that they are by no means so old as antiquaries wish to believe, and his *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries: their Age and Uses*, treated of remains known to exist not only in Europe, but also in Asia and America.

Prior to this, a new post had been created at the Office of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings, with the avowed object of securing Fergusson's services there. In January, 1869, he was appointed by the then First Commissioner (Mr. A. H. Layard) "Secretary of Works and Buildings," but the business he was expected to do was not to his taste. A Committee was consequently called together, consisting of two Treasury officials and the late Mr. Austin, who stated in their Report that the First Commissioner required the aid of an officer conversant in a high degree with architecture, in reference to questions connected with existing or contemplated buildings, and on their advice Fergusson's new title was altered to "Inspector of Public Buildings and Monuments." His recommendations, however, were not adopted in one important instance, namely, that of the recently-erected Royal Courts of Justice, and he retired at the first opportunity which offered. The fact was much to be regretted, not for Fergusson's, but for the country's sake, and a Memorandum (11 March 1869) on the subject of the appointment is in the highest degree instructive. In it Sir A. H. Layard wrote that the office held by Fergusson was one imperatively required for the public service, and that "had

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such an officer been connected with the Office of Works, many things which have brought discredit on the Department might have been avoided."

Fergusson was often consulted on architectural questions by authorities of various kinds, and buildings were erected from his designs, notably the picture gallery containing Miss North's wonderful paintings in Kew Gardens, in which he put into actual practice his life-long theory of the mode of lighting Greek temples. He was also an active member of the several committees engaged in the difficult task of completing St. Paul's Cathedral.

Between his first and second contribution to the Journal of this Society a gap of years intervenes. These contributions are:—

Vol. VIII. (Original Series) Art. II.—On the Rock-cut Temples of India, read 5th December, 1843, containing 10 plates.

Vol. III. (New Series) Art. V.—Description of the Amravati Tope in Gantúr, read 1868.

Vol. IV. (New Series) Art. II.—On Indian Chronology, read 15th February, 1869.

Vol. VI. (New Series) Art. IX.—On Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi.

Vol. XI. (New Series) Art. VIII.—On the identification of the portrait of Chosroes II. among the paintings in the Caves of Ajunta.

Vol. XII. (New Series) page 105.—Remarks on Mr. Robert Sewell's "Note on Hiouen-Thsang's Dhanakacheka."

——— Art. IX.—On the Saka, Samvat, and Gupta Eras, being a supplement to the author's paper on Indian Chronology.

——— page 139.—Notes on Babu Rájendralála Mitra's paper on the age of the Caves at Ajunta.

Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, whose name is last mentioned, is the author of many papers connected with Indian Archæology,

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as well as of two considerable works, one of which (on Buddha Gáya) was published under the orders of the Government of Bengal, and the other (on the Antiquities of Orissa) under those of the Government of India, he having been attached to an archæological mission which, in 1869, visited the Katak Caves, examined hurriedly by Fergusson in 1837. The result not being satisfactory to the latter, he urged the desirability of sending another expedition to these Caves, under European guidance, and offered to pay the expenses of it should the Government decline to bear them. This led to a controversy of somewhat acrimonious character, and the strength of Fergusson's convictions was often expressed by him with an almost unnecessary strength of language, which may, however, be largely excused on account of the personal character of many of the attacks with which he was assailed. Irritated and indignant, he published, perhaps unwisely, in 1884, a pamphlet entitled *Archæology in India*, in which, as he wrote in the preface, he took an opportunity of saying a few last words on some points of that subject which recent study had rendered clearer to him than they were before, and Dr. Rájendralála Mitrá's works became a convenient peg on which to hang his observations. But in such discussions, especially upon Indian matters, even his opponents were his debtors. Fergusson, by his individual efforts, without a jot of encouragement from the Government, with no existing criteria which could enable him to form a judgment of the age or style of the buildings he was studying, classified them, and laid the solid foundations of an architectural chronology for Hindustan. Undoubtedly some of the most remarkable edifices of that country had been visited and partially described, both by the illustrious François Bernier and by other travellers, French and English, of the seventeenth century, as well as by later writers, among whom Heber may be prominently mentioned, and these edifices had been even drawn, though imperfectly, by Daniell

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and others. But until Fergusson began to systematize the result of his laborious examinations and to publish his studies of the historical monuments in stone and marble scattered over the face of India, the mass of these and their mutual affinities were like a sealed book to the learning and intelligence of the world. It is not too much to assert that the present votaries of Indian research owe to him the means of checking historical tradition by easy reference to the substantial records with which, principally through his works, they are now familiar.

It would not be right to terminate a memoir written for this Society without mentioning the Paper which Fergusson contributed to the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, for August 1863, on "Recent Changes in the Delta of the Ganges." He had resided as a planter for five years on the banks of one of the most active of the Bengal rivers, and had been a witness of some of the changes he described. When, as he states, he first became aware of the disturbance that was taking place around him, he set himself to measure and observe what was passing, and in 1835 made a sketch survey of the Lower Ganges and Brahmaputra from Jaffiergunge to the sea. This was published soon afterwards, and his Paper read to the Geological Society was illustrated with a map of the rivers of Bengal showing the changes since Rennell's survey. Such wide versatility of genius was all the more remarkable from the fact that his views on subjects of the most varied nature requiring study and ability of the most distinct character, and information from sources totally opposed to and distant from each other, were neither superficial nor cursory, but on the contrary were carefully thought out and illustrated generally with direct evidence of skill and learning. Besides those enumerated, he has written articles for periodicals, and letters without end which have been published in the newspapers, and his last contribution of this kind appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*,

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for November 1885, on "The Restoration of Westminster Hall." Seized the following month with a second attack of paralysis, he died on the 9th of January, 1886, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

"Those," says an old and intimate associate, "who only knew Fergusson in a business or an official capacity, and thus came into contact with his rough exterior alone, can have little idea of what a very affectionate and even tender side there was to his character. To those whom he loved he was devoted, and the number was greater than many would suspect. As a son and a brother few equalled him in unwearied care and thoughtful attention; and besides relatives, there are many friends of all classes who would gladly testify—if such things were not too sacred for open testimony—to the charm of his friendship, the firm attachment with which he had inspired them during a long intercourse of unvarying pleasantness, and their deep sorrow at his death."

Mr. Edward Thomas,[1] C.I.E., F.R.S., the learned Numismatist and Indian Antiquary, who had been for nearly forty years a Member, and for twenty-five years, Treasurer of the Royal Asiatic Society, died on Wednesday, the 10th February, at his house, in Victoria Road, Kensington, after an illness of some weeks' duration. Having passed through the prescribed ordeal of study at Haileybury, he went out in 1832 to India, in the service of the Hon. East India Company, as a writer on the Bengal establishment. Owing to continued ill-health, which necessitated change of air and scene, his career in the East was more than once interrupted by absence on medical certificate, and his abilities and usefulness had not the same opportunity for display as would in other circumstances have been offered. Consequently, notwithstanding his many claims to distinction and promotion, he retired on his civil service annuity in 1857, devoting

[1] The greater part of this memoir, and list of writings which accompanies it (by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, M.R.A.S.), have already appeared in the *Athenæum*.

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himself thenceforward to those literary and scientific pursuits which had, to a great extent, been the charm if not the recognized business of his life. A constant attendant at the meetings of societies, he wrote a long series of essays and articles on many branches of Indian and old Persian Archæology.

The services he rendered to science by breaking ground in a dozen obscure subjects—such as Bactrian, Sassanian, and Indo-Scythic coins, Indian metrology, Sassanian gems and inscriptions—are admittedly very great. Ever eager to turn his researches to practical account, he would sometimes hasten fearlessly to express his views, even in an embryo state, upon a new discovery, or to explain the bearings of a new point that had struck him in his constant and patient study of Indian antiquities. Indeed, it would not have been difficult to trace the gradual progress into shape of the new thought in a series of amended proof-sheets. But this promptness in publishing fresh data served as a stimulating impulse to other students, and it would be hard to say how many branches of study previously unexplored Mr. Thomas set on foot by one or other of his suggestive papers in the transactions of learned societies. He had the genius of the archæologist for detecting analogies and relations, and he was a palæographer of a very high order. He made many mistakes—as scholars must do if they prefer premature hatching to prolonged incubation—but he also advanced every study he took up, and gave it a fresh impetus, and often a new and accurate direction.

Like De Quincey's, Mr. Thomas's works were mainly contributed to periodicals; but instead of *Blackwood* or *Tait's*, he wrote for such learned journals as those of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as the *Numismatic Chronicle* and the *Indian Antiquary*. Many of his papers were afterwards collected in book form, and one such collection is his well-known "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli" (1847), which went to a second and greatly

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enlarged edition in 1871, and will always remain a standard work for Indian numismatists. Another important undertaking was his edition of James Prinsep's "Essays on Indian Antiquities," with the "Useful Tables," 2 vols., 1858, which he enriched with many valuable notes, and rendered, despite its want of order, an indispensable work of reference for archæologists. His last great enterprise was the editing of what was intended to form a cyclopædia of Eastern numismatics — the "International Numismata Orientalia" — of which nine parts, mainly written by leading authorities, have appeared between 1874 and 1885, and many more have been arranged for. Besides his constant literary activity, he was an energetic member of various learned societies, in whose proceedings he took a lively interest. The Royal Asiatic Society loses in him an excellent Treasurer and an invaluable Member of Council; and has recorded its deep appreciation of its loss in a special minute. Those who attend the Monday meetings at Albemarle Street will miss the familiar figure that regularly abandoned the temptations of the Athenæum Club to attend the Council of the Asiatic. Other societies owed much to Mr. Thomas's energy and experience; and his quick temper, intolerant of opposition (as became an Indian official of the old school), gave him an almost autocratic authority on subjects which he had made his own. No man has done more by personal influence, as well as by his writings, to encourage the study of Oriental antiquities in England. His conclusions may sometimes be erroneous, his theories—say, of primitive Indian coinage and metrology—fanciful, and his mode of expression peculiar; but his solid services to archæology have been many and varied, and no one can dispense with his guidance in the numerous fields of research which he has opened to exploration. The Royal Society recognized his work by electing him a Fellow, the French Institute made him a Correspondent, and the Queen decorated him with the Order of the Indian Empire.

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The following is a chronological list (with abbreviated titles) of the chief writings of the deceased:—

1846. Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kábul (Journal Royal Asiatic Society).

1847. Coins of the Kings of Ghazní (J.R.A.S.). Pathán Sultans of Hindustán (Numismatic Chronicle). Second edition, with title 'Chronicle of the Pathán Kings of Dehli,' 1871.

1848. The Sáh Kings of Suráshtra (J.R.A.S.).

1849. Pahlavi Coins of Arabs in Persia (J.R.A.S.). Oriental Legends on Arsacidan Coins (Num. Chron.).

1851. Eight Kúfic Coins in Panjáb (J.A.S.Bengal).

1852. Sassanian Mint Monograms (J.R.A.S.). Col. Stacy's Ghazní (J.A.S.Bengal). Unpublished Coins of the Sassanidæ (Num. Chron.).

1854. Excavations at Sárnáth (J.A.S.Bengal).

1855. Epoch of the Gupta Dyuasty (J.A.S.Bengal). Coins of the Guptas (*ibid.*) Outline Catalogue of Bactrian Coins (Num. Chron.).

1858. Supplementary Coins of the Kings of Ghazní (J.R.A.S.). Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, and Useful Tables, with notes, 2 vols. (Murray).

1862. Bactrian Coins (J.R.A.S. and Num. Chron.).

1863. Bactrian Alphabet (Num. Chron.). Indian Numerals (Journ. Asiatique).

1864. Bactrian Coins (Num. Chron.). Xandrames and Krananda (J.R.A.S.). Ancient Indian Weights (Num. Chron. and J.A.S.Bengal). Earliest Indian Coinage (Num. Chron. and J.A.S.Bengal).

1866. Initial Coinage of Bengal (J.R.A.S. and J.A.S. Bengal). Sassanian Gems and Armenian Coins (Num. Chron.).

1867. Early Armenian Coins (Num. Chron. 4 parts).

1868. Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals, and Coins.

1870. Indo-Parthian Coins (J.R.A.S.).

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1871. Recent Pahlavi Decipherments (J.R.A.S.). The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India.

1873. Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pt. II. (J.R.A.S.).

1874. Numismata Orientalia: Pt. I., Ancient Indian Weights (Trübner).

1876. Bactrian Coins and Indian Dates (J.R.A.S.). The Faith of Asoka (J.R.A.S.). The Sáh Dynasty and Gupta Coins (in Burgess's 'Second Report Arch. Survey West. India').

1877. Early Coins of Western India (Ind. Antiq.).

1879. Jainism (Ind. Antiq.). Bilingual Coins of Bukhara (*ibid.*).

1880. The Indian Swastika and its Western Counterparts (Num. Chron.). Andhra Coins (Ind. Antiq.). The Swastika (*ibid.*). Buddhist Symbols (*ibid.*).

1881. The Epoch of the Guptas (J.R.A.S.).

1882. The Indian Balhara and Arabian Intercourse (J.A.S. Bengal). Revenues of Mughal Empire (*ibid.*).

1883. The Rivers of the Vedas and how the Aryans entered India (J.R.A.S.). Mahrattas ('Encycl. Britann.'). Coinage of the East India Company at Bombay (Num. Chron.). Indo-Scythian Coins (Ind. Antiq.).

Sir W. Rose Robinson, K.C S.I.[1] On the 27th of last month the grave closed on one whose life-long service in England's distant empire merits a brief notice.

William Rose Robinson entered the Madras Civil Service in 1842, having passed the two previous years at Haileybury College. On first arrival he had, as usual, to acquire a knowledge of the local languages, and was then employed in the Revenue Department in various districts. Limited as the opportunities of displaying marked ability necessarily are in subordinate positions, he soon evinced the qualities which distinguished him to the last—untiring zeal and indomitable energy, independence of thought, and fearlessness in asserting

[1] This memoir is supplied by a friend and brother civilian.

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and doing what he believed to be right, and the entire subordination of every personal consideration to the performance of duty. His was never the perfunctory discharge of official business during "office hours," his whole time and every thought were given to his work: the pleasures of society, and even the comforts of home life, were sacrificed without hesitation whenever duty required.[1] By general consent no one was more thoroughly conversant than he with the character and disposition of the people and their peculiar land tenures and customs, and this knowledge was turned to good account in after years when he rose to positions of influence and authority.

It is impossible here to follow him throughout his lengthened career, embracing service in every district of his presidency, and also in Calicut, where he took a prominent part in the framing of various legislative enactments and police measures. One or two instances of special work may, however, be noted. As quite a young civilian he was sent by the Madras Government to the Laccadive Islands, where famine and "a scourge of scurvy" were rife, to supply the inhabitants with food and medicine. Accompanied by a few native officials, he left Calicut for the scene of his labours, and remained at his post for some months, the only European in that comparatively strange locality. His comprehensive description of the islands form the subject of an instructive and interesting article in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for the second half of 1847. It was on the occasion of one of his visits there that a ship, through stress of weather, was driven ashore, and that his gallant and official services in helping to save the crew and

[1] The following incident will show the energy Mr. Robinson brought to bear upon his work in India from his first arrival in the country. Very shortly after he joined his first appointment as assistant to the Collector of Canara, the civil engineer in his circuit visited Mangalore, when an improvement of its harbour was suggested; but nothing could be done because there was no one of the Public Works Department available to make the necessary surveys. Before the engineer's next visit, however, the young Assistant-Collector had taught himself surveying, and prepared a map of the harbour with its soundings ready for his use.

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cargo earned him the award of salvage money from the owners.

He was at a later period employed in the Malabar district, and earned marked distinction during the troublous times when Moplah fanaticism culminated in the murder of the magistrate, Mr. Conolly (1855).

But the crowning work of his career was unquestionably the organization of the police of the Madras Presidency. The condition of that force had long been a cause of deep concern to the Government; its inefficiency was shown by the prevalence of crime undetected and unrepressed, and a painful belief in the venality and oppression of its native members was extensively current. The reform of this important branch of the administration was entrusted, in 1858, to William Robinson, and, undeterred by the magnitude and difficulty of the task, he undertook it single-handed, and so well performed it that when, in the ordinary course of the service, he would in his standing have been entitled to promotion and higher emoluments in other departments, his Government sought special sanction for such an increase to his allowances as would enable them to retain his services when they were so peculiarly valuable to the State, without subjecting him to pecuniary loss. It is difficult to exaggerate the magnitude of the work. His scheme was not composed in the quietude of his own study, or on the mere reports and suggestions of others; on the contrary, he visited every district of the Presidency, and, seeing for himself, and conferring with the local magistracy and others, submitted to his Government a plan of reorganization for each district complete in every respect, in accordance with the general principles previously laid down by him and approved by them. His plans provided for every detail of police administration, and included also the readjustment of the existing territorial divisions in order to provide funds, the relation of the force to the magistracy, the relief by the police of the numerous small detachments of military scattered

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about the country, guarding treasuries and jails to the prejudice of military discipline, the framing of police regulations and laws, and other important matters. The mental and physical strain was indeed great, and he had also formidable difficulties to contend with, in the inert hostility of native officials of the old school, and especially in the submissive character of the people, affording no extraneous check to malpractices or oppression by the police. The force was at first entirely officered from the army, and the invidious task of selecting officers was, by universal consent, discharged by Mr. Robinson with the most absolute disregard of every consideration save that of fitness for the duty.

In 1866 Sir William was selected to be one of the first recipients of the honour of the Companionship of the Star of India. The following year he left the police force, which he had not only instituted but personally governed with admitted success, leaving to his successors a comparatively facile task. Experience has now proved the soundness of the principles he adopted; and the police administration of the Madras Presidency remains the enduring monument of his official career.

In 1869 Mr. Robinson was made a member of the Revenue Board and Inam Commissioner, and in 1873 a Member of Council of the Madras Government; and on the death of Lord Hobart in May, 1875, he became acting Governor, which post he held for seven months, and until the arrival of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. On the 31st December he was raised to the dignity of a Knight of the Star of India. Of his work in these last years of his Indian service it is enough here to say that, like *all* his work, it was characterized by unceasing energy and diligence.

Sir W. Robinson retired from the service on the 5th December, 1878, and finding no means of further serving his country and the land in which he had spent a lifetime, betook

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himself to the work of charity, becoming an active member of several societies, and

> "Life's race well run,
> Life's work well done,
> Life's crown well won,"

he passed to his rest on the 27th April last. The numbers assembled round his grave afforded silent testimony of his worth. Friends who had known him and his work in the days gone by, and friends who had only known but yet learned to value him, since his withdrawal from the scene of his life-long labours, now gathered round it, paying their last tribute of love and esteem.

We gather from *The Nation* that *Professor Gustavus Seyffarth*, the learned German archæologist, died at New York on the 17th of November last, in his eighty-ninth year. Born in Saxony and educated in Leipsic, he was appointed Professor of Archæology in the latter place at the age of 30. "He turned his attention to Egyptian studies, and disputed with Champollion the authorship of the now accepted theory of hieroglyphics. In 1855 he came to the United States and was for six years a Professor in the Lutheran Seminary of St. Louis. In 1857 he published in this city a 'Summary of Recent Discoveries in Biblical Chronology, Universal History, and Egyptian Archæology,' in English and German. He was a constant contributor to European and American periodicals."

Dr. Seyffarth had been on the List of Foreign Members of the Royal Asiatic Society since 1829, or for 57 years, and in 1834 presented its Library with a copy of the *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Literatur, Kunst, Mythologie und Geschichte des Alten Egypten*, published at Leipsic in the previous year.

His long residence on the other side of the Atlantic severed him, as it were, from European literary circles; but the news of his recent death brings to remembrance the fact that the work done by him was in a wide field, and remains for the benefit of students in all quarters of the world.

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Mr. Percy Lund, 26 Bucks, 1,642 by thanks to Fairway, Bradford, Yorks, and 1,000 by thanks to Fairway, Bradford, Yorks, and 1,000 by thanks to Fairway, Bradford, Yorks, and 1,000

writes:—"It is not too much to say that this event is a loss only less grave to the Indian Empire than to the particular State which he governed. Since he ascended the throne, five years ago, the late Mahárájá has been known as the most enlightened and the most learned of native princes. He wrote and spoke English with ease, was well versed in several Indian vernacular languages, and was an accomplished Sanskrit scholar. He had travelled over a great part of India, and wherever he went he made himself thoroughly well acquainted with everything worthy of notice. As a youth he had the advantage of training under Sir Madhava Rao, the ablest of modern Native statesmen, and the first man to start Travancore on that path of progress which it has followed with so much success. The Mahárájá was a firm friend of the British Government, and under his rule Travancore continued to advance in prosperity, and well deserved the epithet often applied to it—the model native State of India.

On the 28th July, 1885, the Society lost in *Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S.*,[1] a Member of 30 years' standing, who had completed his hundredth year in the preceding November. In early life he became a member of the Stock Exchange, and shortly amassed a large fortune. It was not, however, his ambition to become a millionnaire, and he retired from business in 1825.

In 1827 Mr. Montefiore and his wife paid their first visit to the Holy Land, and on their way thither acquired the friendship of Muhammad 'Ali. They were cordially received at Jerusalem both by Jews and Gentiles, and spent some time there in prosecuting inquiries of interest. Sir Moses visited Palestine on six subsequent occasions. These visits were used as opportunities for the distribution of relief, and im-

[1] Abridged from an original memoir kindly supplied by F. D. Mocatta, Esq., M.R.A.S.

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provement or establishment of works of education, sanitation and industry. In 1840 the blood accusations at Damascus, which occasioned the imprisonment of Jews and threatened them with horrible tortures, took Sir Moses, in company with M. Crémieux, to Alexandria and Constantinople. He obtained from Muhammad 'Ali the order for the release of the prisoners, and from the Sultan not only a firman entirely exculpating the Jews from the offences with which they were charged, but one of general toleration for them throughout the whole of the Turkish Empire. In 1863, he obtained a confirmation of this firman by the new Sultan Abdul 'Aziz, and in 1864, when in his 80th year, his present influence at Morocco gained for him a similar favour from the Sultan Sidi Muhammad for Jews in the Moorish States. Two journeys to Russia, where he was well received by the Emperors Nicholas and Alexander respectively, and one journey to Bucharest in the same cause, should also be here noted.

His final journey was his seventh visit to the Holy Land at the age of 90, in 1874. The last ten years of his life were passed in retirement at East Cliff Lodge near Ramsgate. He was, to the end, active in mind, and full of the projects to which he had devoted his life. He still directed an enormous correspondence, which flowed to him from all countries and in all languages, and still contributed largely to a number of benevolent enterprises, entirely ignoring diversities of creed or race. His appearance was dignified and commanding and, in old age, venerable in the extreme, with a charm of manner which was equally extended to poor and rich, to young and old. Chosen Sheriff of London and Middlesex in 1837, he was knighted in the same year; and about nine years later he received a Baronetcy from Her Majesty.

Though wanting, in early life, the advantages of a very finished education, and never laying claim to scientific attain-

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ments, the tastes and interests of Sir Moses were so general that he belonged to most of the learned societies of England. Of the Royal Society, in whose proceedings he always took much interest, he was elected a Fellow so far back as in 1836. His frequent journeys to the East, his efforts for the welfare of the Holy Land, and his intimate relations with many Oriental rulers and persons, may be considered also to have given Sir Moses Montefiore a fitting place among the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, who will ever regard his memory with affection and respect.

Mr. Francis Mathew, M.I.C.E., who died on the 30th September, 1885, was, when in India, Chief Engineer, and, more recently in England, Consulting Engineer, of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Company. He was a nephew of the celebrated Father Mathew.

The funeral in Westminster Abbey, on the 9th April last, of the *Right Hon. W. E. Forster*, bore plain testimony to the high esteen in which he was held by a very large section of official and public men irrespective of party. Although the memory of the deceased statesman was not directly associated with Asiatic literature, travel or research, yet his regard for India and the welfare of its people amply warrants the special mention of his name in the Obituary record of this Society. The busy character of his parliamentary life readily explains his rare attendance at its meetings; but it must not be forgotten that for 24 years he was one of its Resident Members. His personal history has been told elsewhere. It is that of a patriotic Englishman whose distinguished and honourable career sheds lustre on the country to which he belonged.

Among those Orientalists, not Members of the Society, who have died since the date of the last Annual Report, or between July 1885 and July 1886, may be mentioned *Pandit Tara Nath Tarkavachaspati*, for 30 years a Professor of Sanskrit in the college at Banáras: *M. Brosset*, an eminent

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Georgian and Armenian scholar, in whose memory a monument has been erected at Tiflis; and the Hebrew scholar, *Dr. Kalisch*, the two last on the 22nd and 23rd August respectively. A Baptist Missionary, *Dr. Nathan Brown*, who died during the same year in Japan, had worked for 20 years in India, publishing there, in 1848, his *Grammatical Notes of the Assamese Language*, and in 1849 a translation of the New Testament into Assamese. On the 16th January 1886, *His Excellency Subhi Pasha*, a liberal patron of literature and science, died at Constantinople. He was the possessor of an Oriental Library of exceptional value. *Dr. Jens Peter Broch*, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Christiania for a quarter of a century—said to have published the only book in the Arabic character ever printed in Norway—died on the 15th March; and on the 17th idem, in his 92nd year, *Leopold Zunz*, the distinguished Talmudic scholar. To the above should be added, on the 27th April, *Tobius Theodores*, Professor of Oriental Languages at Owens College, Manchester, a scholar said to have been well acquainted with Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, as well as Latin and Greek, and six modern European languages. Born at Posen in 1808, he came to England when a very young man, and engaged in commercial pursuits.

The Auditors submit the accompanying Account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society, which will, they hope, be considered satisfactory.

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ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1885.

Dec. 31, 1884. RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1885				210	9	0
153 Resident Members	481	19	0			
1 Half-Resident Member	1	11	6			
129 Non-Resident Members	135	9	0			
2 Non-Resident Members, in advance	2	2	0	635	10	0
Arrears—8 Non-Resident Members	8	3	0			
2 Resident Members	6	6	0			
Compositions (less 8d. Bank charges)	20	19	4			
Donation from the India Office	210	0	0	258	11	6
Dividend on Consols	27	12	2			
Rents—						
British Association	117	0	0			
University Extension Society	30	0	0			
Hellenic Society	25	0	0			
Aristotelian Society	15	15	0	218	5	0
Numismatic Society	20	0	0			
Hermetic Society	10	10	0			
Sale of Publications				81	3	9
Total Receipts				1403	19	9
				£1403	19	9

Dec. 31, 1885. EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rents—House	300	0	0			
Water Rate	9	10	0			
Income Tax	5	0	0	319	10	0
Fire Insurance	5	0	0			
Salaries—Secretary	100	0	0			
Assistants	23	18	0			
Bedford (pension)	25	0	0	148	18	0
Journal—Trübner for Vol. XVII.	234	14	7			
Illustrations, Map, Index, etc.	53	3	0	287	17	7
Books purchased	31	14	0			
,, bound	8	11	3	40	5	3
Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing	21	7	1			
Postage and parcels	30	4	0½			
Advertisements	3	8	0	55	11	7½
Bank Charges and Cheque Book	0	12	6			
House Expenses	25	1	10½			
Housekeeper	30	0	0			
Errand Boy	7	17	0			
Gas	11	14	0	114	14	10½
Repairs	14	2	0			
Allowance	26	0	0			
Total Expenditure				966	17	4
Investment				99	12	6
				1066	9	10
Balance at Bank, Dec. 31				337	9	11
				£1403	19	9

Amount of Society's Funds,
Three per cent. Consols £1000.

Examined and found correct,

E. L. BRANDRETH.
MALCOLM R. HAIG.
H. C. KAY.

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Proceedings of Asiatic Societies.—Royal Asiatic Society.—The following papers have been read at different meetings of the Society, since the last Anniversary of May 18:—

1. H. F. W. Holt, Esq., M.R.A.S., "On the Chinese Game of Chess." Read June 15th, 1885.

2. The Rev. Hilderic Friend, F.Z.S., of Canton, "On the Buddhistic Element in Oriental Life." Read November 23rd, 1885.

3. William Simpson, Esq., F.R.G.S., Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A., "On the newly-discovered Caves at Panjdeh." Read December 21st, 1885.

4. H. C. Kay, Esq., M.R.A.S., "On the Early History of Cairo and its Founders." Read January 11th, 1886.

5. Professor Sir Monier Monier-Williams, C.I.E., D.C.L., M.R.A.S., "On Buddhism in its Relation to Brahmanism." Read February 15th, 1886.

6. Professor Fritz Hommel, of Munich, "On the Sumerian Language and its Affinities."

Nos. 2 and 4 have not been published in the Journal of the Society. The subject of the first is one which could only be glanced at in the few pages given to its discussion, and would demand a bulky volume for exhaustive treatment. That of the second is handled by the author with the freedom of an old resident in Egypt, who has carefully noticed its people and history.

Journals.—Royal Asiatic Society.—Since the last Anniversary of May 18, 1885, Part III. of Vol. XVII. and Parts I. and II. of Vol. XVIII. have been published. They contain the following papers:—

Vol. XVII. Part III.—The Age of the Avesta. By Professor de Harlez, of Louvain, M.R.A.S.

——— Notes on the Chinese Game of Chess. By H. F. W. Holt, Esq., Asst. Secretary R.A.S.

——— Customs and Superstitions connected with the

Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon. By C. R. J. Le Mesurier, Ceylon Civil Service, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., etc.

——— The Vernacular Literature and Folk-Lore of the Panjáb. By Thomas H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L.

——— Beginnings of Writing in and around Tibet. By Terrien de Lacouperie, M.R.A.S., Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology (University College, London).

And *Vol. XVIII. Part I.*—Ancient Navigation in the Indian Ocean. By the Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., Peking, Hon. Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

——— La Calle and the Country of the Khomair, with a Note on North African Marbles; being the Report of a recent tour, addressed to H.M. Secretary of State. By Consul-General R. L. Playfair. Communicated by R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary, with the consent of the Author.

——— The Bushmen and their Language. By G. Bertin, Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— Inscriptions at Cairo and the Burju-z-Zafar. By Henry C. Kay, M.R.A.S.

——— Gleanings from the Arabic. The Lament of Maisun, the Bedouin wife of Muâwiya. By H. W. Freeland, M.A., M.R.A.S., late M.P., Commander of the Order of the Crown of Siam.

——— Discovery of Caves on the Murgháb. By Captains de Laessoë and the Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E. With Notes by William Simpson, R.I., F.R.G.S., Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A. *(Forwarded through the late Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, Secretary R.A.S.)*

——— The Alchemist. A Persian Play. Translated by Guy le Strange, M.R.A.S.

In *Vol. XVIII. Part II.* are:—On Buddhism in its Relation to Brahmanism. By Professor Sir Monier Monier-Williams, C.I.E., D.C.L., M.R.A.S.

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——— The Stories of Jîmûtavâhana, and of Hariśarman. Translated by the Rev. B. Hale Wortham, M.R.A.S.

——— The Geographical Distribution of the Modern Túrki Languages. By M. A. Morrison, Esq., Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society in South Russia. Communicated by R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S., with a Note, Table of Authorities, and a Language-Map.

——— A Modern Contributor to Persian Literature. Rizá Kulí Khan and his works. By Sidney Churchill, Esq., Esq., M.R.A.S.

——— Some Bhoj'pūrī Folk-Songs. Edited and translated by G. A. Grierson, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service.

——— Observations on the various Texts and Translations of the so-called "Song of Meysūn"; an Inquiry into Meysūn's Claim to its Authorship; and an Appendix on Arabic Transliteration and Pronunciation. By J. W. Redhouse, M.R.A.S., Litt.D., C.M.G., etc., etc.

Four numbers of part 1, vol. liv. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1885), contain much interesting matter. In No. 1, Mr. Atkinson continues his learned "Notes on the History of Religion in the Himalaya of the N.W. Provinces," confining his remarks almost wholly to the funeral ceremonies, which are well worthy of study as illustrative of the character of the people by whom they are practised. The last service for the dying—preparation of the body for the pyre-office for cremation—procedure after cremation, with the ceremonies belonging to each of twelve days, are all curious details. Mr. G. A. Grierson and Śrí Náráyan Singh edit and translate "The Battle of Kanarpí Ghát, a poem, perhaps the most popular of its kind in Tirhut," written by a Maithil Brahman at the end of the last century, in the Baiswári dialect; and this is followed by Mr. Grierson single-handed, who, with his usual skill and industry, prepares for his reader the Bhojpurí and Magahi versions of the song

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of Gopi Chand, and appends an English translation. Mr. C. J. Rodgers supplies information on some copper coins of Akbar, on coins of Ranjít Deo, Rájah of Jammú, struck in the last century, and on coins of Ahmad Shah Abdalli. The last give valuable testimony to historical data.

In No. 2 Mr. J. Boxwell, B.A., of the Bengal Civil Service, in his paper on the Trishṭubh Metre, introduces some clever Latin renderings of Sanskrit verse.

Of the *Proceedings* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Nos. 1 to 10 (1885) contain notices and discussions in the several departments of Numismatics, Meteorology, and Natural History. The greater part of the papers alluded to have, however, been published *in extenso* in the Journal, and need not be here considered. At the monthly general meeting on the 1st July, the President, Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, C.I.E., exhibited five Sanskrit MSS. treating of Veterinary art, and gave an interesting analysis of them. The subject, he said, had not been hitherto noticed by any European Orientalist—a circumstance due to the neglect it has experienced at the hands of modern Pandits, to whom the characteristics and diseases of horses offered no attraction. In ancient times it had been otherwise. Bráhmans and scholars were kings and ministers, and the horse was looked upon as a "vitally important element of a kingdom." Tracing back the origin of Veterinary art in India to a period before the Aryans had separated into Greeks and Hindus, Dr. Mitra pointed out that eventually it became split into two parts—one relating to cattle, and one to horses only. Of the former the most noted Professor was Pálakápya: of the latter the earliest professor was Śálihotra whose name appeared on a Hindi manuscript he had found, the name of the translator being Chetana. Other works noticed were those of Nakula, of Dípañkara, son of Mánákara, and of Jayadatta, son of Vijayadatta. In the same number of the Proceedings (7) as that containing an account of these treatises, is

related "a Coincidence in Folk Lore" by the Rev. Charles Swynnerton. The writer finds in the *liber facetiarum* of the 15th-century ecclesiastic, Poggio Brucciolini of Florence, the Italian counterpart of a folk-tale of the Upper Panjáb which he had himself told in a recently published volume. It is the story of a husband moving *up* the current of a river to seek the body of his drowned wife, on the principle that she always, during life, took an opposite course to every other person. Such coincidences are certainly not rare; and Mr. Swynnerton is perhaps fully justified in arguing that the fables "trace their original source to some common tribe or family of men, whether in Central Asia or elsewhere, whose descendants, extending themselves east and west over the world, carried their household words with them." The Annual Report of the Society for 1884 shows the total number of Members at the close of the year to be 326, of whom 102 are Resident, 157 Non-Resident, 12 Foreign, 15 Life, and 40 Non-Subscribing Members. A six years' average makes the total 336, of whom 282 are paying, and 54 non-paying.

Mention of the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* will be here appropriate. This goodly volume, which embraces the hundred years from 1784 to 1883 inclusive, is in three Parts, with an Appendix in the shape of Proceedings of the Special Century Meeting held on the 15th January, 1884. Part I. is the History of the Society by Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, elected President in 1885. The learned native gentleman, in concluding his careful record, thus summarizes the great services rendered by the Society:—

1. It has provided for the use of scholars a commodious house valued at 150,000 Rupees.

2. It has got up a library containing 30,000 volumes, of which upwards of 8000 are manuscripts.

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3. It has obtained a collection of ancient coins and medals valued at 10,000 Rupees.

4. It has collected a small but valuable gallery of pictures and memorial busts.

5. It has created an Archæological and Ethnological Museum of considerable extent, a Geological Museum rich in Meteorites and Indian fossils, and a Zoological Museum all but complete as regards the Avi-fauna of India.

6. It has published a total of 354 vols., including 21 vols. of the Asiatic Researches and Index, 84 vols. of the Journal and Index, 19 vols. of Proceedings, 167 vols. of Oriental works of different kinds, 31 vols. of miscellaneous works relating to India, 14 vols. of catalogues, and 18 vols. of Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

His concluding words may be quoted as expressing an accepted fact: "These are deeds which, for extent, variety and usefulness, may well claim the consideration of the public. They compare very favourably with the works of other and older Societies in other parts of the earth. To the student of science in India they have proved of invaluable service. And it is in view of these the Society this day celebrates its Centenary Jubilee."

Part II. treats of Archæology, History, Language and Literature; and is the work of Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, the Philological Secretary. It has full and interesting Appendices. Part III. is devoted to Natural Science, and is by Mr. P. N. Bose. Appended to it is a Classified Index to the Scientific papers in the Society's Publications from 1788 to 1882.

Among the six Special Centenary Honorary Members lately created are three highly-esteemed Members of the London Society, Professor A. H. Sayce, M. Sénart, and Professor Sir Monier Monier-Williams.

In connection with the Bengal Asiatic Society may be mentioned the numerous *fasciculi* of the *Bibliotheca Indica*

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which have been added to our library during the current year (1886). They are as follows :—

Sanskrit. 1. The Mimansa Darsana, with commentary of Savara Svamini, edited by Mahésachandra Nyáyaratna. Fasciculus xviii.

2. Narada Smṛiti, edited by Julius Jolly, vol. i. fasc. i.

3. Tattva Chintámani, ed. Pandita Kamakhyanatha Tarkaratna. Fasc. iii.

4. The Nirukta, ed. Pandit Satyavrata Samasrami, vol. iii. fasc. ii. and iii.

5. Paráśara Smṛiti, by Pandit Chandrakánta Tarkálankára. Fasc. ii.

6. Chaturvarga Chintámani, by Hemádri, ed. Pandita Yogeśvara Smṛitiratna and Pandita Kamakhyanatha Tarkaratna. Vol. iii. part i. Pariśeshakhanda. Fasc. xii.–xiii.

7. The Vivádaratnákara, ed. Pandit Dínanátha Vidyálankára. Fasc. i. and ii.

8. The Srauta Sútra of Apastamba belonging to the Black Yajurveda, with commentary of Rudradatta, ed. Dr. Richard Garbe. Vol. ii. fasc. xi. xii.

9. The Vayu Puráṇa, ed. Rájendrála Mitra. Vol. ii. fasc. vi.

10. The Srauta Sutra of Sánkháyana, ed. Dr. Hildebrandt. Vol. i. fasc. ii.

11. Manutîkâsangrahu, ed. Julius Jolly. Fasc. i.

12. Kála Mádhava, by Pandit Chandrakánta Tarkálankára. Fasc. ii.

13. The Kúrma Puráṇa, ed. Nilmani Mukhopadhyáya Nyáyálankára. Fasc. i.

14. Vrihannáradíya Puráṇa, ed. Pandit Hrishikesa Sástri. Fasc. i.

Prakrit. The Uvâsagadasâo, ed. Dr. Rudolf Hoernle. Fasc. i.

Persian. 1. Muntakhabu 't-Tawárikh by 'Abdul Kádir bin Maluk Shah (al Badáoni) translated by Löwe.

2. Zafarnáma by Maulana Sharfu-d-dín 'Ali Yazdi, ed. Maulavi Muhammad Ilahdád. Vol. i. fasc. ii. and iii.

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3. Akbar Náma of Abúl Fadḥl ed. Maulavi 'Abdu 'l Rahim. Vol. iii. fasc. iii.

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—Although No. 44 of vol. xvii. has already been noticed in the Annual Report of last year, No. 43 of vol. xvi. has only come to hand during the current year. It contains the following twelve articles:—

1. On the Auchityâlaṃkára of Kshemendra, with a note on the date of Patanjali, by Professor Petersen.

2. A note on Bâdarâyana, author of the Brahma Sutras by the Hon. Kashinath Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.D., C.I.E.

3. A reply to Professor Petersen on the date of Patanjali, by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A.

4. Five Copper Plate Grants of the Western Chalukya Dynasty, from the Karnul District, by J. F. Fleet, C.I.E.

5. Development of Language and of Sanskrit. Wilson Lectures by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A.

6. Pâli and other Dialects of the Period. Ditto.

7. Relations between Sanskrit, Pâli, the Prâkrits and the Modern Vernaculars. Ditto.

8. A Copper Plate Grant of the Traikúṭaka King, Drakasena. By Pandit Bhagwán Lál Indraji.

9. Transcript and Translation of the Bhitari Lât inscription. Ditto.

10. An Inscription of King Asokavalla. Ditto.

11. Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche. By Pandit Durga Prasâda.

12. An Inscription from Kotah. By Prof. Petersen.

Among these papers, Professor Bhandarkar's lectures are remarkable specimens of clear and well-reasoned argument, written in that kind of English which many well-educated young Englishmen might not scorn to imitate. Their publication in the Society's Journal appears to be an innovation in practice.

Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—Since the

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Translations from the Pâli and Proceedings noticed in the last Annual Report, no new publication has been received from Colombo.

Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—In the December number (1884), besides a list of Members, the brief Annual Report and Preceedings, are to be found the following papers:—

1. Journey to the summit of Gunong Bubu, by the Rev. J. E. Tenison Woods.

2. Continuation of a former paper on the Religions of the Sea Dyaks of Sarawak, by the Rev. J. Perham.

3. The History of Perak from Native Sources, by the Hon. W. E. Maxwell.

4. British North Borneo, by E. P. Gueritz, Esq.

5. Jelebu, by H. A. O'Brien, Esq.

These, however unpretending in themselves, all supply more or less valuable data for larger works on the history, politics, people, or geography of the places mentioned.

Of the nine principal articles in the June number (1885), four are translations, one is an extract from the Encyclopædia Britannica, and four are original contributions. All these last have geographical interest, especially the Journey from Kuâla Bernam (Straits of Malacca) to Kuâla Pâhang (Chinese Seas): but the French Missionary's Journey from Bangkok to Ûbon will attract the archæologist also in its account of a ruined city. "Puthai-saman," the explorer writes, "was an important town—or perhaps rather an imposing temple erected to the worship of Buddha. It is one of those monuments of Cambodia which are so much renowned and which astonish all travellers by their original and beautiful architecture." The "Notes and Queries" issued with this number (15) of the Journal, are full of interesting local matter, bearing on history, language, law, folk-lore, social customs, games, etc. Though Penang and Perak may have

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the lion's share, the scene is not limited to these localities. Malacca, Singapore, and even Borneo are included.

North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, vol. xviii. contains the following Articles:—

I. What did the Ancient Chinese know of the Greeks and Romans?

II. Corea. Extracts from F. Scherzer's French Translation of the Chaou-hsien-chih, and Biographical Notice. Translated into English by Charles Gould.

III. Researches into the Geology of Formosa. By George H. J. Kleinwächter.

IV. Fragmens d'un voyage dans l'interieur de la Chine. Par C. Imbault-Huart.

V. Some Notes of a Trip to Corea in July and August, 1883. By G. James Morrison.

VI. Notes on some of the Dykes at the Mouth of the Nankow Pass. By H. B. Guppy, M.D.

VII. Samshu Brewing in North China. By the same.

VIII. Notes on Szechuen and the Yangtse Valley. By Archibald J. Little.

Volume xix. pt. i. has the following papers:—

I. Animal, Fossil, Mineral and Vegetable Products of the Ichang Consular District. By C. T. Gardner, H.B.M. Consul.

II. A Journey in Chekiang. By E. H. Parker, H.M. Acting-Consul.

III. A Journey in Fukien, with a map. By the same.

IV. A Journey from Foochow to Wênchow, through Central Fukien, with map. By the same.

V. A Buddhist Sheet-Tract, translated with Notes. By the Rt. Rev. Bishop G. E. Moule, of Hangchow.

VI. Trade Routes to Western China. By Alexander Hosie, of H.M. Consular Service.

In July, 1885, the Hon. Librarian addressed a printed circular from Shanghai to the several Societies with which the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was in correspondence, stating that their Journal would henceforth be published in short instalments, instead of, as formerly, in annual volumes. Since that date the Royal Asiatic Society has received six numbers of the new publication (vol. xx. parts i. to vi. inclusive) of which the contents are now summarised :—

The Hung Lou Méng, or Dream of the Red Chamber, by Herbert Giles, President. On the Prevalence of Infanticide in China; a question discussed in writing and orally by selected and special authorities. The Mystery of Ta-Tsin, by G. M. H. Playfair. Chapter iv. of the Ching-Hua-Yuan, translated by C. B. T. What is Filial Piety? discussed by several writers. Is China a Conservative country? Anon. Sinology in Italy, by M. Nocentini. Western Appliances in the Chinese Printing Industry, by Mr. Hirth. Chinese Theatricals and Theatrical Plots, by several writers. The Seaports of India and Ceylon, by G. Phillips. Some additions to my Chinese Grammar, by G. von den Gabelentz; and an instructive article on Bibliography, giving a list of books and papers in China published since 1st January, 1884, compiled by Mr. Hirth. There are also to be found Proceedings, List of Members, and interesting Notes and Queries. Among the last, referring to the word *Brangoye* used in the chronicles of Bar Hebræus, Dr. Edkins says, "We can hardly doubt that it is the Persian word *Farang* applied after the Muhammadan conquests to Western nations generally." An extract from Sonnerat in Col. Yule's "Glossary of Indian Terms" (p. 269) gives almost the word itself: "Ainsi un Européen est tout ce que les Indiens connaissent de plus méprisable; ils le nomment *Parangui* . . ." But there can be no possible question on the identity of the words.

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Journal Asiatique, Serie viii. tome v. No. 3, Mai-Juin, 1885, contains the following papers :—

I. "Etude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi," in which M. Senart continues his series of learned remarks on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi.

II. "Bibliographie Ottomane," in which M. Cl. Huart concludes his notice of Turkish, Arabic and Persian works published at Constantinople during the period 1299-1301 of the Hegira (1882-4).

III. "Le Mariage par Achat dans l'Inde Aryenne," par M. L. Feer.

IV. "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Metrologie Musulmanes," being a further instalment of M. H. Sauvaire's papers on this subject.

Under "Nouvelles et Mélanges" are M. Zotenberg's notice of the "Livre de Barlaam et de Joseph"; a review by M. Sénart of Sir Alfred Lyall's Asiatic Studies in their French guise; a paper by Dr. Saad on the Turko-Persian Frontier and Karbala Pilgrims; and part of a communication from M. René Basset to the editor, in which he mentions having discovered, in a list supplied to him at Algiers, four Arabic manuscripts of historical interest hitherto unknown.

The July number (vol. vi. No. 1) contains the Annual Report prepared by the Secretary, M. James Darmesteter. It is a paper of considerable interest, and may be perused with advantage by other readers than Orientalists. Among the death casualties of the Society during the foregone year mention is specially made of the former President, Jacques Auguste Antoine Regnier, editor and translator of the Prâtiśakhya of the Rig-Veda, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar and comparative philologist; also of the accomplished Stanislas Guyard, a skilful translator and critic, and withal a brilliant writer, to whose memory is paid a tribute of high but well-deserved praise. Installed, at the early age of 37, Professor of Arabic in the Collège de France, he died shortly after delivering his

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opening address, described as a "chef-d'œuvre de concision et de précision, digne de devenir classique, où il embrassait toutes les branches de ce domaine si varié et si vaste avec une aisance, une clarté, une hauteur d'aperçus qui, à chaque ligne, révélaient un esprit maitre d'un monde." Another helper, though not a member of the Society, Charles Huber, is honourably noticed for zeal and energy in epigraphic research, in connection with M. Eutig and our countryman Mr. Doughty.[1]

In vol. vi. No. 2, for August, September, and October, 1885, are:—1. A contribution by M. Maspéro, Sur une Version Arabe du Conte de Rhampsinite. 2. Tchao-Sien-Tche, Mémoire sur la Corée, by M. F. Scherzer, French Consul at Canton. 3. Origine des Ecritures Indiennes, by M. J. Halévy; and 4. Notes de Lexicographie Berbère, by M. René Basset. Under "Nouvelles et Mélanges," it is notified that the July and October sittings have been discontinued; M. Bergaigne reviews M. Ludwig's interpretation of the chronology of the Rig Veda, and M. L. Feer remarks

[1] Of Huber's melancholy fate the following particulars recall the tragedy of the three Englishmen enacted only two years before, beside the Egyptian frontier, some five hundred miles nearer Europe:—

On the night of the 26th July, 1884, he quitted Jedda to return to Haib, his head-quarters, where he had left the greater part of his luggage and collections. His intention was to explore Sadous, a distance of eight days' march to the S.S.E. of Haib, having learnt that some important ruins and inscriptions were to be seen there. Two days later he fell assassinated at Kassai Alia, almost at the very gates of Jedda. He had been accompanied from that town by his servant, Mahmúd, and two guides. Mahmúd had followed the road in charge of the baggage, while Huber and the guides had separated themselves to the right and left, in search of monuments and inscriptions. It had been agreed that all were to meet again at a certain halting-place, at which they were to take rest and refreshment. On the 29th, when Mahmúd reached the appointed *rendezvous*, he saw Huber lying on the ground covered up in his Arab cloak, apparently asleep, and a little way off his guides engaged in prayer. He was about to unload the camels when he felt the muzzles of two barrels placed upon his breast, and heard one of the guides say, "Throw away your arms, or we shall treat you as we did your master." Mahmúd then observed for the first time that Huber was lying on the left side, and that the right side of his head was covered with blood, but that the body was in repose. He had been killed in his sleep by a pistol shot. Mahmúd, after being kept prisoner for two days, managed to escape the assassins, and relate the story of his master's death to the French vice-consulate. Huber's body lay for two days exposed in the open air, but was at length buried by passers-by, who dug a ditch for the purpose.

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upon Dr. Duka's Life and Works of Csoma de Körös. There are also two short notices of a Persian translation of Azari-Turkish plays, and a *fasciculus* of the Annals of Tabari.

In No. 3 for November and December are:—1. The Brihatkathamanjari of Kshemendra in the Roman character, with a French translation, by M. Sylvain Levi. 2. Sur l'Origine de l'Ecriture Perse, by M. J. Halévy, and, 3. Les Quatraims de Bábá Táhir 'Uryân en Pehlevi Musulman, edited in the original and translated by M. Clement Huart. Under "Nouvelles et Mélanges" mention is made of a paper read by M. Zotenberg on the origin of *Gal'ad et Chimas*, an Arab romance spoken of by writers in the fourth century, as also of a discussion on direct translations from the Sanskrit Kalila wa Dimna other than that in Pahlavi, and on the Teima inscriptions.

Vol. i. No i. for January, 1886, contains two articles only: L'Alchimiste; being M. Barbier de Meynard's French translation of the play, an English version of which, by Mr. Guy Le Strange, appeared in the January number of our own Journal. The simultaneous appearance of the two translations has been explained by Mr. Le Strange to be quite fortuitous. 2. Notes de Lexicographie Berbère, by M. René Basset, continued. The "Nouvelles et Mélanges" review Mr. Bendall's catalogue of Buddhist-Sanskrit MSS. in the Cambridge University Library; that of Professors Cowell and Eggeling for the Royal Asiatic Society; and that of M. Brian Hodgson's Sanskrit MSS. compiled by Dr. W. Hunter. They further notice an Arab account of the island of Jerba, translated by "Exiga dit Kayser, interprète militaire," and published at Tunis.

German Oriental Society.—Vol. xxxix. part 2 contains the following papers:—Dr. Samuel Kohn, a notice of the "Bibliotheca Samaritana" of Dr. M. Heidenheim, the first volume of which has appeared; F. H. Mordtmann, new Himyaritic

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Inscriptions, with two plates; A. Merx, Specimens of Syrian Translations from the Writings of Galen; Theodor Aufrecht, Strophes of Kalidasa; Dr. P. Schroeder, Phœnician Inscriptions in Tyre; Franz Prætorius, Tigriña Proverbs (continued); F. Kielhorn, Prâkrit words in the Mahâbhâshya; O. Böhtlingk, the verbal roots स्क and स्कम्; W. Robertson Smith, on the Songs of the Hudhailten.

Vol. xxxix. part 3 contains:—Th. Nöldeke, on Mommsen's account of Roman dominion in the East; Dr. P. Schroeder, Palmyrene Inscriptions; M. Th. Houtsma, on the History of the Seljuks of Kerman; F. Praetorius, an Arabic Document on Ethiopian History; J. Wellhausen (editor), Scholia on the Diwan Hudail, No. 139-280; O. Böhtlingk, Remarks on Trübner's Edition and Bühler's Translation of the Vasishṭhadharmaçâstra; G. Bühler, Contributions towards an Explanation of the Aśoka Inscriptions (continued), with map; R. V. Sowa, Tales of the Slavonic Gipsies.

Vol. xxxix. part 4 contains:—Professor Dr. B. Stade, Opening Speech as President of the Oriental Section at the Philological Congress, 30th September, 1885; O. Böhtlingk, Remarks on Bühler's Edition and Translation of the Âpastambîjadharmasûtra; O. Böhtlingk, Attempt to settle a literary dispute (i.e. between Professors Bhandarkar of Bombay and Petersen); O. Böhtlingk, on Indian Lexicography; O. Böhtlingk, Some Remarks on Baudhâjana's Dharmaçâstra; M. Grünbaum, on Shem Hammaphorash as an Imitation of an Aramaic Expression, and on Linguistic Imitations in General; George A. Grierson (editor and translator), Selected Specimens of the Bahārī Language; August Müller, Catalogue of the Arabic Inscriptions in the Viceroy's Library at Cairo; G. Bühler, Some Notes on Böhtlingk's Remarks on Trübner's Edition and Bühler's Translation of the Vasishṭhadharmaśâstra; O. Böhtlingk, Appendix: Dr. C. Seybold, Notice of La Garde's Petri Hispani de Lingua Arabica libri duo.

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Vol. xl. part 1 contains:—E. Hultzsch, on a Collection of Indian Autographs and Inscriptions; J. G. Stickel, More about Askalon Coins (with illustration); J. Gildemeister, Pseudo-kallisthenes bei Moses von Khoren, with parallel columns; Hermann Jacobi, Appendix to Treatise on the Origin of the Çvetambara and Digambara Sects; Hermann Jacobi, Miscellaneous Papers (1. Niroshṭhyvarṇa; 2. Model Verses; 3. Play on words in the Sûtrakritânga); Eugen Wilhelm, Kingdom and Priestdom in Ancient Iran; R. Pischel, Vedica; G. Bühler, Contributions in Explanation of the Aśoka Inscriptions; Theodor Aufrecht, on the Umâpatidhara; O. Böhtlingk, Observations on Bühler's Article in vol. xxxix. on the Vasishṭhadharmaśâstra; Th. Nöldeke, Robertson Smith's "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia."

Archæology.—The third annual report of Major Cole, the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India, shows that important work has been done during the year 1883-4. In the Bombay Presidency the chief operations have taken place at Bijapur. Sanction has been given for repairs to Sayid Usman's mosque and tomb at Ahmadabad. Major Cole has made long journeys, visiting most interesting ruins and monuments. He adds to his report certain weighty remarks upon the value of Indian Archæology apart from its influence upon the elucidation of the early history of the country.

Four volumes of the Archæological Survey of India Reports have been added to the Library since July last year. Of these vol. xix. contains an account by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, of a tour through Behar, Central India, Peshâwar and Yusufzai. General Cunningham explains that his assistant, after photographing and exploring the old temples at Markandi, Mahadevpúr, and Banarak, visited the sites of Bhojpur and Darauli in Western Shahabad, where he found square monoliths supposed to be the work of the aborigines. He further explored the remains of an old Buddhist monastery at

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Barmâyan, the ancient city of Gúrga in Rewa, and certain sites which had been unvisited in the Yusufzai district. Of the monastery no tradition of any kind has been preserved locally, but a golden image is said to be buried in its immediate neighbourhood; its main walls, which are in ruins and traced with difficulty, cover an area of 100 feet from north to south by 67 from east to west. General Cunningham had proposed to identify it with the monastery built by Maharaja Sri Gupta for the use of the Chinese pilgrims who visited India. At Gurga or Gurgi Masun are the remains of an ancient city, measuring "along the stone walls on the southern side 3475 feet, along the eastern wall 3041 feet, the north wall 2050 feet, and that to the west 3700 feet." A colossal figure in blue stone, and similar monuments, are to be seen in the locality. In the Yusufzai country Mr. Garrick thinks that many valuable inscriptions are yet to be found among the graveyards and *Ziárats*; but one of those brought to his notice he afterwards ascertained to have been discovered before by General Cunningham, whose account of it had actually been published.

Vol. xx. is the General's own report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana during the cold season of 1882-83. Some notion of the range of inquiry may be gathered from the statement that portions of Alwar, Bharatpur, Karauli, Dholpur, and Gwalior, with adjoining British districts of Dehli, Gurgam, and Mathura, were among the tracts visited. In Mathura he discovered several old inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period, one of which he reckoned to be dated in A.D. 150; also a colossal statue seven feet high, cut in the round, with an inscription in Mauriya characters.

Vol. xxi. is in two parts, the first containing General Cunningham's personal reports of a tour in Bundlekhund and Rewa in 1883-4; the second of a tour in Rewa, Bundlekhund, Malwa, and Gwalior, in 1884-85. Among the more notable places visited were the great

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forts of Kâlanjara and Ajaygarh, and Khajurâha, the religious capital of the Chandels. Among other work done, an inscription of Prithvi Rája Chauhan was discovered at Madanpur, about 50 miles to the north of Saugor. "It records," writes the General, "his conquest of the country of *Jejâkabhukti*. The same spelling of the name I have since found in a Mahoba inscription. This then was its original form, which soon became shortened to *Jejâhuti*, as written by Abu Rihân, just as *Tirabhukti* became *Tirahuti* and *Tirhut*. The usual Brahminical derivation of the name of Jajhantiya from Yajur-hota, is thus proved to be erroneous."

Vol. xxii. is Mr. Carlleyle's "Report of Tours in Gorakhpur, Saran, and Ghazipur in 1877-78-79-80." In this volume General Cunningham remarks that the discovery of the site of Kapilavastu,[1] the birthplace of Buddha, has been followed up "by the identification of several other important sites in the early history of Buddhism." Among these he mentions Râmnagar, "the site of the famous Stûpa of Râmagrâma, from which the Nâgas are said to have filched the tooth of Buddha, that is now believed to be preserved in Ceylon," and five other places or monuments, which appear to him to be "certain." Of the last, the colossal statue of Buddha at Kasia, and an inscribed pillar of Asoka in the Tarai, are remarkable. General Cunningham believes the statue to be identical with that seen by the Chinese pilgrims in A.D. 637. The pillar was lying prostrate, with part of the inscription under water, its broken capital being attached to the shaft by a massive copper bolt. Hence the inference that the Hindus knew the destructive property of iron when used to fasten stones, to which the General adds: "I have long held the opinion that the Hindus knew and practised the art of stone-cutting at least two centuries before the time of Asoka. Indeed, the very name of Taxila, or Takshasila-Nagara, the 'city of cut-stone'

[1] Alluded to in Annual Report for last year, page lxiii, as also the discovery of Râmagrama and the statue at Kasia.

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buildings, proves that the art was known and used before the time of Alexander." As regards our ignorance of any Indian inscription prior to Asoka, the learned commentator cannot but conclude that the beautifully-finished letters inscribed on the pillars of his period were preceded by a ruder alphabet, lost "owing to the universal use of *wood* in early times."

The Theologische Literaturzeitung of the 11th July speaks well of the "Geschichte des Alterthums" of Mr. Edw. Meyer. It pronounces this first volume of a history of the East to the period of the founding of the Persian Empire, to be of great interest and to contain much new matter. To the *Athenæum* of the 5th September, Mr. Lindsay supplies a paper on the Fáiyum papyri in the Bodleian Library, noticed by Mr. Nicholson, the librarian, in a subsequent number. The fragments are mostly written in Greek cursive characters, but several are in Coptic and some in Arabic. There is also in this issue a thoughtful review of tome iii. "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité—Phénicie-Chypre," by Perrot and Chipiez, in which the reviewer points out how much has been done during the last two years to throw light upon a somewhat occult question, and define the "Rôle Historique des Phéniciens." In the *Academy* of the same date, Dr. Bühler notices Gen. Cunningham's discovery in the Panjáb-Hazára district of a new version (the seventh) of Asoka's Rock-edicts. It exhibits the so-called Bactrian, or Ariano-Pali characters. Such portions as he had been able to examine, through photographs, are stated to agree in every respect with the version of Shahbazgarhi. At the Séance of the Académie des Inscriptions on the 11th September is an account of the work carried on in the West of Persia in continuation of M. Dieulafoy's proceedings reported in the *Revue Archéologique*. MM. Babin and Houssay, that gentleman's collaborateurs, driven away for four months by the heat of the plain country, proceeded to Ispahan by Ram

Hormuz, Shahpur, Shiraz and Persepolis. At Mál-i-Mír, visited by Layard in 1841, Loftus in 1852, and Captain Wells in 1881, they made an inspection of the archæological relics of Kal'a Fir'aún and the Shigáf-i-Salmún, photographing the Elamite figures of the bas-reliefs, and the inscriptions, heretofore only known by rough sketches. At Shahpur, photographs were taken of the Sassanian bas-reliefs, declared to be "inédits"; while at the Naḳsh-i-Rustam, some three or four miles west of the Takht-i-Jamshid (Persepolis), M. Babin caused a scaffolding to be raised before the tomb of Darius to carry on the same process in a thoroughly efficient and complete manner. Seven inscriptions in turquoise blue were, moreover, brought to light from under a calcareous deposit. Whatever the results of M. Dieulafoy's explorations, it is hardly to be doubted that Susiana—especially the site of Shushan—has yet much to reveal to the archæologist and *savant*. In the *Athenæum* of September 26 is a note by Professor Sayce on the Semitic origin of the Greek goddess Semele—a name recurring in that of the Edomite king Samlah (Genesis xxxvi. 37). The same journal of the 3rd October reviews favourably Professor Hall's narrative of an expedition to the Sinai Peninsula, Wadiu'l Arabah, and Southern Palestine. We learn from a report of a Séance at the Académie des Inscriptions on the 20th November that the Museum of the Louvre had been enriched by terra cotta objects found in Asia Minor; and that among other curiosities placed in it by M. Schlumberger was a gold ring from Antioch belonging to the Patrician Aetus who was martyred by the Saracens on the banks of the Euphrates in A.D. 846. At a Séance of the same Academy on the 27th November the subject was that of Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuj, which had been collected by M. Aymonier, and published by M. Barth. The most ancient of these antedated to the seventh century, the most modern to the eleventh. They were said to throw much light on Indian history. One of the

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oldest cites the Ramayana. Another and later Séance was interesting from its treatment of Annam Inscriptions, obtained in the provinces of Binh Thuan, Khanh Hoa, Phu Yen and Binh Dinh—all in the ancient kingdom of Champá, known to and described by Marco Polo. They confirm the Indian civilization of the country, and introduction therein of the various Brahmanical forms of worship, also of a Buddhism as in Kambuj. They are written in Sanskrit, and a dialect spoken in Binh Thuan; and they supply the names of some twenty kings, whose names end in *varman*, that flourished during the years from 784 to 1436 of the Christian era. The removal, in 1881, of the standing monument called Cleopatra's Needle from Alexandria to New York, has been made the *raison d'être* of a volume on Egyptian Obelisks by Commander Gorringe of the U. S. Navy, reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 26th December. The work is said to be exhaustive, and its shortcomings are attributed to the repetition of commonly-received errors, "unavoidable owing to the march of science and philology" in a wide field. To the *Academy* of December 26, Mr. C. J. Lyall contributes a learned article on Euting's Nabatean Inscriptions. He shows how the valley, or rather "depression" of El Higr or Hegr, about 165 miles to the N.W. of Madinah, was in the first century of the Christian era, the southernmost point of the kingdom of Aretas—he whose governor "kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison" (2 Cor. xi. 32). "The commerce of the Sabeans," he states, "was transferred to the camels of the Nabatæans, a people reckoned by classical writers among the Arabians, of whom we first hear as a united power about 300 B.C." As to the inscriptions, they are found on tablets placed on the semi-classical frontages of rock-hewn sepulchres, and they bear the names of those who built or dedicated them, a limitation of their use to certain inheritors, and a denunciation of penalty against those who violate or alienate them. Mr. Lyall disagrees with, and combats Mr. Berger's "strange" theory

that classical Arabic owes its spread throughout Arabia to Muhammad.

Professor Ramsay's note on the river Castrus in the *Athenæum* of the 2nd January of the current year—setting forth the discovery of its true source by the late Colonel Stewart of the 11th Hussars in an exploration of the mountains of Taurus, has not merely an archæological and geographical interest, but evokes a new tribute of respect for the memory of Charles Gordon's only companion on his last journey to Khartoum. An article in the same paper, four weeks later, headed "News from Central Asia," mentions some archæological researches carried out under the direction of Professor N. N. Vessloffsky, partly in the environs of Samarkand and partly in the northern districts of Khokand. In the former locality inscriptions of a Pre-Islamitic period had been found, which seemed to throw light on the doings of Alexander in Transoxiana, and on the epoch of Buddhism in the same region. The *Athenæum* of the 10th April notices that the late Subhi Pasha, the numismatist and archæologist of Constantinople, had left the Sultan an agate seal of the Prophet, identified by the deceased as the only preserved heirloom of the three seals which Muhammad is reported by the initiated to have possessed. In the next week's number is a notice of the opening to the public of new collections in the department of the British Museum over which Mr. Franks presides. Among these are some valuable specimens of early Buddhist remains excavated by General Cunningham at Jamulgarhi. The *Athenæum* of May 1st states that ancient ruins of interest, older than the foundation of Aynthia in 1350, had lately been discovered in Siam near Chiengmai. A marked feature in the discovery is that the material used in the construction of the buildings is laterite, not brick, agreeably to modern local custom. Some inscriptions had also been discovered, but do not appear to have been deciphered. The *Academy* of the same date has a communication from General Schindler, from Tehran, in which he seeks

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by Sloyd's ideas mentioned by the Abo geographer will be found in Sloyd Training School Report, 1894, pages 9-11. Also in Sloyd Training School Report, 1895, pages 9-11, Superintendent Hartwell of the Hoboken system of the institutions in that city, says: "Sloyd is the best system of manual training for the purpose of general education that I have seen in my yearly visits elsewhere. Even where they also professionally train teachers, I prefer the Sloyd system to any other." In the Sloyd Training School Report, 1896, pages 9-11, will be found the opinion of Dr. Dewey, of Boston, in which the writer deals with the Sloyd system and its relation to the Kindergarten. Also in the Sloyd Training School Report, 1897, pages 9-11, will be found the opinion of Dr. Dewey, in which he gives his views of the Sloyd system as compared with the Russian system of manual training.

In the Boston Advertiser for June, 1886, Frank R. Stockton, the well-known author, in an article entitled "Boston Notes, his subject being "The good husband and the bad wife." Quotes R. B. Temple's law a paper on "The Sale of Liquor in Massachusetts," in which he says: "Intemperance is the principal cause of poverty, crime, and insanity, and the sale of intoxicating liquors is the principal cause of crime in Boston is unnecessary and exorbitant. The number of persons arrested in Boston in 1885 was 25,000, and the number of arrests for drunkenness was 15,000." Dr. A. C. Bedell Bennett has a paper on "The Value of Physical Education," in which he says: "Statistics show that the Researches of the Medical Sloyd Training School of Nyas A. gigantic. 1. The historical interest of the Sloyd movement is in the fact that it is the first attempt to introduce manual training into the public schools. 2. The educational value of Sloyd is in the fact that it is the first attempt to introduce manual training into the public schools. 3. The educational value of Sloyd is in the fact that it is the first attempt to introduce manual training into the public schools. 4. The educational value of Sloyd is in the fact that it is the first attempt to introduce manual training into the public schools.

careful reading of the Amgachhi inscriptions, of which he prints a revised text. He reduces the number of Pala kings from eleven to only six. Mr. Howorth continues his thirtieth paper "On Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors."

In the number for July is a "Note" by Captain R. C. Temple on "A Modern Ornamental Kufic Alphabet from Kabul." Mr. G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., contributes an interesting paper upon Vidyapati, the most famous of the old master-singers of Bihâr, and his contemporaries. Dr. E. Hultzsch, of Vienna, writes on "A Copper Plate Grant of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta King Dhruva II., dated Saka 757 (A.D. 835-836)." The inscription was found at Baroda. A German version of this paper has appeared in the Journal of the German Oriental Society. In the "Miscellanea" Sir Walter Elliot makes a note on the family and date of the great Rajendra Chola of Tanjore, in which he refers to the two inscriptions contributed by Mr. Fleet to the February number of this volume. Mr. Thomas Foulkes contributes a "Note on the Genealogy of the Cholas," and Mr. Best continues his translation of the "Proverbs of Ali Ebn Abi Talebi."

In the number for August the first paper is "The Song of Alha's Marriage; a Bhojpuri Epic," edited and translated by Mr. G. A. Grierson, B.C.S. The Eastern version of the exploits of the famous Bundêl'-khaṇḍ heroes Âlha and Rûdal only exists in the mouths of itinerant singers, and is nearly always couched in the Bhoj'pûrî dialect of Bihârî. The text given by Mr. Grierson was obtained with considerable difficulty from the mouth of one of these men, and has been carefully revised with the help of competent Bhoj'pûrî scholars. Dr. George Bühler, C.I.E., contributes "A Note on a second Old Palm Leaf MS. from Japan," which has recently been discovered by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. The leaf possesses high importance for Indian palæography. The contents are Buddhistic, and probably belong to one of the larger Sutrâs. Short as the piece is, it furnishes several new words not

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hitherto found in the Sanskrit dictionaries. In the third paper Mr. J. F. Fleet continues his remarks on "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions," the present paper being devoted to the "British Museum Plates of Eregana." Mr. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., M.R.A.S., writes on a "Jaina-Vaishnava Compact" engraved on a stone at the Jaina town of Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷor. It is known as Râmânujachâri's Śâsana. The inscription is in Haḷe-Kannaḍa characters, and in the Kannaḍa language. Mr. Whitley Stokes has a note on "Another Baumayantra" obtained some years ago from a gentleman in Benares. Mr. K. T. Best continues "The Proverbs of Ali Ebn Abi Talebi." There is also a notice of "An Examination of the Claims of Ishmael as viewed by the Muhammadans," by J. D. Bate. The reviewer explains it to be the first chapter of the first section of an immense work that the author has in hand, entitled "Studies in Islam." The part issued is in itself a volume, and is an attack on the cardinal Muhammadan doctrine that Ishmael and not Isaac was the "Child of Promise." It is therefore considered as the commencement of a general attack along the whole line of Muhammadan dogma.

The September number contains a paper by Mr. E. Rehatsek on "Russian Icons." The second paper is by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, and gives a Kashmiri tale entitled "The Prince that was three times Shipwrecked." The third paper is a "Summary of the Alha Khand," by Mr. G. A. Grierson, B.C.S. In the Miscellanea Mr. K. T. Best concontinues "The Proverbs of Ali Ebn Abi Talebi."

In October, the Rev. Hinton Knowles writes on the Kasmiri Portable Brazier, called the *kângar* or *kângrâ*; Mr. Howorth continues his chronicle of Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors; a long paper by Mr. Ball on the identification of the animals and plants of India known to early Greek authors is reproduced, with additions and revisions, from the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*; and Mr. Fleet resumes his inquiries on Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions. In

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the Correspondence and Miscellanea, it is to be noticed that one of the six proverbs of Ali Ebn Abi Talebi, "The heart of a fool is in his mouth, and the tongue of a wise man is in his heart," is almost word for word Ecclesiasticus xxi. 20.

In November, Mr. Fleet's Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions and selection of Kanarese Ballads; a continuation of Mr. Ball's paper of the previous month; Mr. Pattibai Wadia's Folklore in Western India; and a learned article on the identification of places in the Sanskrit Geography of India, with a book notice and Miscellanea supplied by Mr. Grierson and Dr. Bühler, make up a highly satisfactory number; and the following double part issue, in completion of the year, is again largely indebted to Mr. Fleet and Mr. Ball, who, with Professor Kielhorn, the Hon. K. T. Telang and Dr. Bühler, contribute to its pages. The last-named able writer has an appreciative notice of the Centenary Review of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

For January, 1886, the first part of vol. xv., Mr. Longworth Dames writes on "Old Seals found at Harappa," in the Montgomery District of the Panjáb; Mr. Pattibai Wadia on Folklore; and Professor Kielhorn on Copper Plate Grants in Kanauj; Mr. Grierson introduces an English-Gipsy Index compiled by Mrs. Grierson; and Mr. Edward Thomas publishes extracts from Chinese authors concerning the history of the Kushans. M. Stein's "Afghanistan in Avestic Geography" is a reprint from the *Academy* touching upon questions which have been more largely treated by Sir Henry Rawlinson; and the book notices are remarkable for an elaborate article by Sir Walter Elliot, reviewing Mr. Egerton's Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms, and a preliminary notice of Beruni's Indica, by Dr. Bühler.

The number for February opens with a paper by Professor Kielhorn on the Sasbahu Temple Inscriptions of Mahipala of Vikrama Samvat 1150. This is followed by a continuation of Folklore in Western India; a translation into Sanskrit

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by Professor Weber of the British National Anthem; and an additional part of Mrs. Grierson's Gipsy-Index. The Miscellanea are unusually brief, but the book notices would be interesting, if only for including the Thousand and One Nights, by that marvellous traveller and Orientalist, Sir Richard Burton.

A question which—if Oriental study and research can ever be called popular—would be an especially popular one at the present day, is that of the comparative study of Asiatic Symbolism. Mr. Murray-Aynsley supplies "Discursive Contributions" on this in March. Colonel Jacob adds an article on the readings of the Nrisimhatapaniya Upanishad; and the Rev. Hinton Knowles one in the form of a Kasmiri tale, entitled Gullala Shah. Professor Kielhorn contributes notes on the Mahabhashya, while Mrs. Grierson continues her English-Gipsy Index. Book notices complete the number.

There is no new original contribution in April, which continues already mentioned papers by Mr. Murray Aynsley, the Rev. Hinton Knowles, Mr. Fleet, and Mrs. Grierson. The retirement of General Cunningham, after a connection with India, and "with the study of Indian Archæology in all its branches, that has lasted more than half a century," naturally calls for special notice.

The first three articles in May and the Gipsy-Index are continuations of papers. There is also a passage in the Jain Harivamsa relating to the Guptas from the pen of Mr. K. B. Pathak, B.A., with a note by Mr. Fleet. Prominent among the book notices is Mr. Fleet's review of the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, to which we have before alluded.

Palestine Exploration Fund.—At the annual meeting held on 24th June, 1885, it was announced that the Committee had received a magnificent contribution to the Survey of the East, in a packet of memoirs, plans, and maps from Herr Schumacher. This, certainly the most important examination,

so far as it goes, of the Jaulan district, as yet made by any traveller, is put forward as the principal work of the year. The map covers about 200 square miles; and the memoirs contain a list of Arabic names, a general description of the country, and an account, with plans and drawings, of the villages and sites visited. Among the principal ruins described may be mentioned Khurbet Arkub er Rahwah, which Herr Schumacher would identify with the Argob of the Bible, commonly placed at the Lejjah, and those in Bait Akkar and Ain Dakhar. North of the last is a field of nearly 500 Dolmens, called by the natives Kabar Bani Israil—graves of the children of Israel. Ancient stone bridges were found crossing the stream at Nahru'l Allan and Nahr Rukkad; also a remarkable altar and statue of basalt at Kefr el Ma. In a village called Sahem el Jolan, Herr Schumacher thinks he has discovered the Biblical Golan, which has hitherto escaped identification. The ruins of the remarkable underground city of Ed Dera were examined and planned for the first time, together with the towns and monuments of El Mezeirib, Tuffas and Nawar, identified by Mr. Oliphant with the land of Uz. Other subterranean buildings were found at Khurbet Sumakh and at Sheik Saad. The rock-tomb of Job was also photographed and planned. Mention is made of a Dolmen quite recently discovered in Judæa, where hitherto none had been observed, and it was supposed that all had been destroyed. It lies in a desert and hilly part of the country between Khurbet Aujeh-el-Foka (Sheet xv. O.r.) and El Mughair (Sheet xv. N.q.).

How Mr. Oliphant came upon the Dolmen and a sarcophagus in Zimmarin is related in the July number, which contains the Report, enriched also with an account of Mr. Guy Le Strange's interesting journey east of Jordan, and Herr Hanauer's note on a Rock Altar near Zorah suggestive of that of Manoah (Judges xiii.). Moreover, in this particular issue, a kindly notice of our late lamented Secretary, Mr. Vaux, and his

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connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund, must not be forgotten. It need scarcely be repeated here that Schumacher's "Across the Jordan," with appendices, maps, plans and drawings, is published as a separate record.

The Quarterly Statements for October, and January and April (1886), are full of valuable papers. Among them are Mr. Oliphant's "New Discoveries," and "Excavations on Carmel," Mr. Chichester Hart's "Naturalist's Journey," and contributions by Capt. Conder, Dr. Merrill, the Rev. W. F. Birch, Herr Hanauer and Mr. Greville Chester. But these are by no means all the names of those who supply this admirable serial with readable and instructive articles. A valuable archæological communication from the pen of a less prominent contributor may be found in the April number under the head of "The Aqueducts of Siloam."

Herr Schick, in describing this particular locality at the present day, writes: "When the Pool of Siloam is mentioned, that which contains water is generally meant; below this there is another and much larger pool, now used as a garden, and called *Birket el Hamra*; it is formed by a thick wall or dam built across the Tyropæan Valley from Ophel ('City of David') to the Western hill (Jerusalem)." Outside the dam the writer had himself observed, in 1846, a tank of an oval form, since filled up; and two other tanks were discovered by Professor Guthe, one as late as 1841, near the north of the Pool of Siloam. "There is now," he adds, "only one real *pool*, but ancient Christian writers mention several . . . one called 'Natatoria,' or the swimming pool; it was large, and had a kind of apsidal end; this appears to be the *Birket el Hamra*." He then goes on to describe traces of aqueducts now coming to light; the famous one, and several others which he took note of when clearing out the main aqueduct into which they all lead. Going down the road from the Pool of Siloam to the mill, he saw in the rock-wall to his left a hole; this he cleared out, and found to be a rock-hewn tunnel crossed by

another, the exploration of which led eventually to the discovery of a "second aqueduct." After a detailed account of his investigations, he concludes by making certain definite suggestions to the Palestine Exploration Fund, the last of which is to the effect that something might be found in the hitherto unexplored caves on the southern side of Ophel, which might throw light on the "Tombs of the Kings." Sir Charles Wilson, in remarking on Herr Schick's paper, gives an opinion that the discovery of a "second aqueduct," partially rock-hewn, is very interesting; moreover, that his description makes it clear how "the lower pool, *Birket el Hamra*, received water, direct from the 'Fountain of the Virgin,' at some period which Herr Schick places prior to the completion of the well-known Siloam Tunnel."

Mention has been made of the work in Western Persia carried on by M. Dieulafoy's collaborateurs; but, before leaving the subject of Biblical Archæology, it may be well to revert to that gentleman's own proceedings reported in the *Revue Archéologique*.

The mound of Susa, an artificial hill from 25 to 38 mètres high, and of about 100 hectares in extent, had been explored in 1851, by Loftus, who discovered there the celebrated Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Continuing these investigations, M. Dieulafoy came upon a double-headed capital, nearly four mètres long, similar to the Persepolitan capitals; part of the crown of the pylons placed before the palace of Artaxerxes; two fragments of a porcelain balustrade, of the Elamite epoch, curious specimens of the most ancient Susian art; fragments of bas-reliefs in enamelled brick, representing negroes clothed with royal insignia, suggesting an inquiry whether the dynasty which preceded that of the Achæmenians was of Ethiopic descent; various utensils of ivory, glass, bronze, and earthenware, but nothing of gold or silver; a great number of Elamite or Achæmenian seals, especially an opal which appears to have belonged to Xerxes or

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democrat, 1, a series of books and edicts with Constantinople, and 2, a series of books and edicts with Rome, and the Emperor Justinian, who was a Latin in his sympathies, and a monophysite system of Constitution. In a future supplement to this Review I propose to deal with the Emperor Justinian.

Dr. Bury's Appendix on the Notitia Dignitatum and the Eastern Bureaucracy is not an accurate Statement found in the Notitia Dignitatum, but is a list of the Offices which existed in the Eastern Empire in the time of Theodosius II. Dr. Bury's Appendix is a valuable contribution to the history of the administration but has made no Use (obviously, reading it) to the Notitia Dignitatum, which is a Statement of the Offices in the Eastern Empire at the time of the Emperor Arcadius, and not three the years places by the Marquis de Vogüé.

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The Appendix on Bachatios or Baba Lucas has been written by Professor Ramsay, who has made a special study of the Antiquities of Isauria, and who has published a book which they found a mention of such remarkable things as Bachatios or Baba Lucas, and which is a valuable contribution to the history of Isauria.

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Dr. Bury's book is the abstraction of the third chapter of a book in support of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the Hungria, in which the Imperial German Monarch is placed, and Constantinople, and Rome, and Ravenna, and Carthage are removed to the form of powers from the Egyptian Empire.

The fifth volume of the "Journal of Hellenic Studies" contains a paper on "Sepulchral Customs in Acient Phrygia," by Mr. W. M. Ramsay, representing a further outcome of the researches in Asia Minor which he intended to resume in the spring.

In "L'Art de la Verrerie," by Gerspach, recently published, are details on the antique productions of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Greece, while the division treating of Eastern glass deals with the products of Byzantium, Persia, Damascus, Arabia, and China. The ancient glass of this last-named country is considered by Dr. Friedrich Hirth, in his paper "Zur Geschichte des Glases in China und des Antiken Orienthandels," in the June number of the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, in which the writer concludes that the Chinese first derived their knowledge of glass from the Phœnicians.

Semitic Literature.—Hebrew and Chaldee.—"The various papers read at Canon Driver's house at Oxford," referred to in the last Report as about to be printed, have appeared under the general title of "Studia Biblica." The volume consists of ten articles, of which Dr. Neubauer and Professor Sanday have each contributed two, the remainder being the work of Dr. Edersheim, Professors Driver and Wordsworth, and Messrs. Ward, Gwilliam, and Randell respectively. A careful review in the *Athenæum* of the 19th September analyzes the several parts of this interesting collection of essays, nearly half of which are regarded as "adaptations, for English students of theology, of German work on Bible subjects." As the reviewer awards the palm for interest to Mr. Randell and Dr. Neubauer, it may be well to state that the first bears testimony to the importance of classical epigraphy in the early history of the Church, and the second gives a learned *résumé* of recent discoveries in Nabathæan and Temanite epigraphy, with a separate paper on the languages spoken in Judæa in the time of our Lord.

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Dr. Moïse Schwab, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a scholar distinguished in the field of Rabbinical literature, who has for some years past been engaged upon a French version of the Talmud, of which five volumes have appeared, has now undertaken an English translation after the model of the French, of which the opening tractate, the "Tractate Berachoth," has recently been published. In the *Standard* of 22nd August is a long article with special reference to this publication. The writer points out how, when the Syro-Aramæan dialect fell into disuse, and was gradually forgotten, much of the Talmud became unintelligible without numerous glosses, which in time slipped from the margin into the text, and when, finally, came the scissors of the Church censors, confusion was made worse confounded. Thus, any modern translation of the Talmud should be accompanied by full explanations and comments, to make the allusions—of which the work is full—clear, and the meaning manifest to those unacquainted with the methods of Rabbinical teaching. This appears to be a want in Dr. Schwab's version.

In the *Academy* of 25th July is a review by Dr. Driver of Prolegomena to the History of Israel, with a reprint of the article "Israel" from the Encyclopædia Britannica, by Julius Wellhausen. "Its aim, viewed as a whole, is," we are told, "to develope and illustrate a theory of the history and legislation of the ancient Hebrews, which, though commonly associated with the name of Graf, has found its most able and powerful exponent in Professor Wellhausen." Messrs. Black and Menzies are praised for the manner in which they have accomplished the translation, and retained the "lucid and incisive" style of the original.

The *Athenæum* of 11th July briefly notices Dr. Robert Young's "Grammatical Analysis of the Book of Psalms in Hebrew," and recommends it to students as the "outcome of careful labour and extensive knowledge." It also reviews the Rev. W. Randolph's "Analytical Notes on the First and

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three Last of the Minor Prophets," a book intended for the use of Hebrew students of the intermediate class.

In a letter to the *Athenæum* of the 1st August Dr. Ginsburg states that he possesses an edition of Kimchi's Hebrew Grammar, nearly ten years older than the supposed *editio princeps*, which is dated 1534. Unlike the 1534 edition, it does not give in the margin the references either to the respective books of the Scriptures or to the chapters of the books quoted in the body of the text. He notes, moreover, that folios 53, 60, 77 and 82 are blank, a circumstance he had remarked in other early-printed Hebrew books.

The same journal of the 8th August announces that Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld, the translator into German of Judah Halevi's philosophico-theological work usually called "Khuzan," has in readiness for the press the original Arabic text according to the unique MS. preserved in the Bodleian Library. He is to add in parallel columns the Hebrew translation by Jehudah Ibn Tibbon, collated with several MSS.

The *Academy* of 5th September notifies the publication by Herr Morris Jastrow of an able and careful monograph entitled "Abu Zakarijja Jahja ben Dawûd Hajjûg und seine zwei Grammatischen Schriften." Hayyûj, who belongs to the middle of the tenth century, may be regarded as the founder of scientific Hebrew grammar. The two treatises by him which are the subject of this essay are still unpublished, although several MSS. exist.

The *Academy* of 3rd October has a note on "Das Buch Kohelet: nach der Auffassung der Weisen des Talmud und Midrasch und der jüdischen Erklärer des Mittelalters," Theil i., "Von der Mischna bis zum Abschluss des babyl. Talmud. Nebst zahlreichen kritischen Noten, und einer grössern Abhandlung, von Rabbiner Dr. Sinai Schiffer." Dr. Schiffer thinks that a collection of the Talmudic and Midraschic explanations of biblical passages, arranged chronologically, will be of much use to philological expositors of the Old Testament.

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In the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, Janvier-Juin, 1885, M. J. Halévy, Recherches Bibliques III., writes "Sur l'origine du ב dans les noms propres composés," and under the head "Bibliographie" reviews Frederic Delitzsch's "The Hebrew Language," with special reference to its comparison with Assyrian.

In the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of the 11th July is an appreciative review of "The Comparative Philology of Hebrew-Arabic Tongues," by Abúl Walîd Merwân Ibn Ganâh (Rabbi Jona). The learned reviewer, Professor Bucher, has since published the Life and Works of the Grammarian, favourably noticed in the *Revue des Etudes Juives.*

Dr. F. Rosenthal has published "Vier Apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas." The publication is reviewed with approval by M. Steinschneider in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of 5th September.

From the pen of Dr. Wünsche we have, in the Bibliotheca Rabbinica, "Der Midrasch," and "Der Midrasch Bemid bar Rabba," a review of which appeared in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of 22nd August. In the same journal, No. 30, of 18th July, M. Perles' "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebraïschen und Aramaïschen Studien" was pronounced to be full of interest.

One of the communications presented to the meeting of the American Oriental Society at Boston in May, 1885, was on "The Holy Houses from the Hebrew Scriptures; also from the original texts of the Chronicles, Ezra, Maccabees, Septuagint, Coptic, Itala, Chaldee, Syrian, Samaritan, Talmud and leading Rabbis, by Professor J. A. Paine, of Elmwood, Massachusetts."

The *Academy* of the 12th September, mentioning the contents of the Expositor for that month, refers to Professor Driver's notes on the revised version of Leviticus and Numbers as "very full and valuable for the history of exegesis." They are concluded in October.

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In the *Athenæum* of the 7th November we read of a description, in the press, of the Hebrew MSS. of the Pentateuch in the Chetham Library, Manchester, by the Rev. C. G. R. Gillespie, to be issued in pamphlet form, under the title of "Codex Chethamensis." On the 14th, the same paper announces the appointment, at Berlin, under the auspices of the Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund, of a historical Commission for the publication of original documents concerning Jewish settlers in the Holy Roman Empire up to A.D. 1273, and minor papers, a special volume being devoted to writings in Hebrew.

The annual notices of Continental literature which mark the first issue of the *Athenæum* for the New Year are papers of great interest and value, but they contain little of progress under the present head. When a Mosaic theme is treated, it is rather from the philosophical than philological point of view. We may, however, notice two publications which appear under the head "Theological Books," in the number of the 14th February; one, a Rabbinical commentary on Genesis, translated by Mr. Hershon from the Judæo-Polish; and another, the Talmud of Jerusalem, translated "for the first time" by Dr. Moses Schwab. This last, as already stated, is a translation into English of a French translation; but it is shown that the meaning is far from clear, and the reviewer reaches the conclusion that "the Talmud must be studied in the original language, and with critical knowledge of the various subjects treated in it." So far back as the 3rd October the *Academy* had noticed the English translation as by an unknown *collaborateur* who had done his work imperfectly, but the *Athenæum* speaks of it as by Dr. Schwab himself. Under "Literary Gossip" the *Athenæum* of the 29th May states that Dr. Neubauer's Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in Oxford was approved for publication by the Delegates of the Press; and repeats a statement of the *Jüdische Wochenschrift* that Signor E. Hoepli, the Milan bookseller, possesses a

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MS. of Maimonides' ritual work, entitled "Mishneh Thorah," purchased by Don Isaac Abraband in the 15th century.

A long article on "Animal Names of the Revised Version of the Bible," in the *Academy* of April 24, by the Rev. W. Houghton, opens an interesting field of inquiry, and will, no doubt, have attracted the attention of Oriental scholars.

Vol. viii. part 3 of the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (1885) has some remarkable papers. That upon the "Handicrafts and Artizans mentioned in Talmudical Writings," by Dr. Louis, intended to throw light upon the social and industrial habits of the Jews about 2000 years ago, contains information which may be useful to those who are students, as well as mere readers of the Bible. In the *Proceedings* of the Society the Rev. C. J. Ball continues his illustrations of Hebrew verse, by adding to his specimens of trisyllabic metre, suggested metrical arrangements of Bible passages, such as "The Great Pæan, or Lob-gesang, of which we have two independent copies preserved respectively in 2 Sam. xxii., and in the Psalter (Psalm xviii.)." He has examined and metrically divided, and he shows the Poem to consist of "combinations of octosyllabic, heptasyllabic, and hexasyllabic stichi, with an obviously Iambic rhythm." It may interest Hebrew scholars to know that an entirely new French version of the Psalms, preceded by a word for word rendering, and a "petite grammaire Hebraïque et dictionnaire des racines," by M. B. Mossé, a Rabbi of Avignon, was published in that city, as also in Paris, in 1880, and, though not perhaps likely to afford much aid to critical research, cannot fail to be useful in comparing translations. While on this subject it may be stated that the Rev. Dr. Chotzner's work on Hebrew rhymed prose, called "Sichronoth; or Reminiscences of a Student of Jewish Theology," is accompanied by an English essay on the "Rise and Progress of Hebrew Poetry in post-Biblical Times."

Among the more recently published books may be mentioned the following:

The Pentateuch, its Age and Authorship, by Dr. Kennedy; Ewald's History of Israel, translated by J. F. Smith, vol. vii.; Le Poème de Job, d'après le texte Biblique, par l'Abbé J. Bernard de Montmélian; La Cantique des Cantiques, traduction en vers, par Jean Laher, d'après la version de M. Reuss; Découvertes en Chaldée, par Ernest de Sarzec, 1ere Livraison; La Monarchie chez les Juifs en Palestine, par Emile Lévy; Le Prophète Habakuk, introduction critique et exégèse, avec examen spécial des Commentaires Rabbiniques du Talmud et de la Tradition, par Antoine J. Baumgartner. [The author truly says: "Une production littéraire de la valeur du Livre d'Habakuk mérite, en effet, plus qu'aucune autre, l'attention de tous ceux qui aiment et qui admirent l'antique poésie des Hebreux." Dr. Pusey (Minor Prophets) and other well-known English commentators have taken up the subject, and the third and last chapter of this grand book is described in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible as "the magnificent Psalm . . . unrivalled for boldness of conception, sublimity of thought, and majesty of diction."] B. Strassburger, Geschichte der Erziehung und Unterricht bei den Israeliten, von der Vor Talmud Zeit bis zur Gegenwart; B. Drachman, Die Bedeutung d. Jehuda Hajjug in der Hebraischen Grammatik; G. Karpeles, Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur, part i.; P. Friedrich, Die Hebraïschen Conditionalsütze; Carl Siegfried, Grammatik der Neuhebraïschen Sprache; Herm. L. Strack, Abriss der Neuhebraïschen Literatur [the two last Leipzig publications, reviewed in the Austrian Monatsschrift für den Orient for October].

Assyriology.—On the 2nd June, 1885, at the Society of Biblical Archæology, Mr. T. G. Pinches read a paper "On a Series of Specimens of the Familiar Correspondence of the Babylonians and Assyrians"; and on the 3rd idem, at the

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a resumé of recent work in Assyriology. Honourable mention is made of M. de Sarzec's excavations, resulting in the rich collection of ancient Babylonian inscriptions, of which we reported last year the issue of the first part; also of M. Joachim Ménant's *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné de la Collection de M. de Clercq*; the autograph by the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, of "a beautiful Cuneiform text from a recently discovered cylinder, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York" (transcribed and translated, with introduction and notes, by Dr. O'Conor, of the Woodstock College, in Maryland); the researches of Mr. Pinches, recorded in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology and *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, and of Professor Sayce; and the third edition of Professor Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke*, "with grammatical paradigms, a full list of signs, augmented by Babylonian and archaic forms of the Cuneiform characters, newly collated or entirely new texts, like the so-called Zurich vocabulary, the interesting 'reading-book' of the young Asnapper (Kouyunjik 4378), the eleventh tablet of the Nimrod series, or so-called Deluge tablet, newly translated by Professor Oppert, and a short Assyrian glossary." As regards the labours of our own countrymen, the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology for May, 1885, show the interpretation of a curious Babylonian text by Mr. Pinches, referring to work done by Babylonian workmen on board the state-barge of Darius, and papers by Professor Sayce on inscriptions of Assur-Bani-Pal and Tarkondemos. Besides the above, the learned editor notices especially Dr. Jensen's dissertation on the sixth tablet of the Surbu series as useful for lexicography and comparative studies; a brochure called "Babylonische Buss-psalmen," by Dr. Zimmern, of Erlangen (who by the way rejects the theory on the Sumerian language of our contributor, Dr. Fritz Hommel); an "excellent" paper on Assyrian Phonology, by Professor Haupt, published in the Chicago Hebraïca; and an "interesting" paper by Mr.

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Bertin on Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns, which appeared in our Journal for January, 1885.

In the *Academy* of July 4 is a favourable review of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," by Professor Eberhard Schrader, of Berlin, translated from the second enlarged German edition by the Rev. Owen Whitehouse, M.A. The reviewer expresses his regret that the translator has not always given the Hebrew proper names in the forms adopted in the English Bible.

In the *Muséon* for June, 1885, Mr. E. J. de Dillon notices Prof. Sayce's "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments," and gives a cordial welcome to this new work from his "plume infatigable." At the annual meeting (May, 1885) of the American Oriental Society at Boston, Professor Lyon gave an account of recent progress in Assyriology. Independently of German and English publications, he referred to Professor Paul Haupt's contributions to the American *Hebraïca* of a valuable paper on Assyrian vowels, and of a minute commentary on the confinement at Nineveh of a Kedarene prince, related in the annals of Assurbanipal. Mention also was made of "an entertaining and scholarly address by Professor Francis Brown" under the title of *Assyriology: its use and abuse in Old Testament Study.* Professor Lyon's own work, entitled *An Assyrian Manual*, announced as in the press, was intended for those who wish to study the language with or without a teacher; and would contain texts partly in Cuneiform character, but mostly transliterated, together with paradigms, notes, glossary and lists of Cuneiform signs.

In the *Revue Critique* of 27th July is a notice by M. Halévy of Dr. Jansen's "Dissertations" and Dr. Zimmern's *brochure* mentioned in M. Bezold's *resumé* which has been summarized above. He couples the last with Dr. Fritz Hommel's *Sumerisch-Akkadische Sprache*, giving as a reason that they exactly represent the three successive stages through

which the Akkadian question has passed in Germany within a year. Dr. Hommel's work will, he believes, be the last put forward in support of the theory of the Turanian origin of the Sumerian or Akkadian language. As before shown, however, in the pages of this Journal (see Report for 1883, p. LXXXIII), many eminent scholars differ from this view and would utterly reject the dictum of his penultimate sentence; "En on mot, l'Accadien ou Sumérien pur est une chimère; il ne se trouve nulle part, parcequ'il n'a jamais existé.

Besides a note in the *Hebraïca* on Fred. Delitzsch's religion of the "Kassites" (*die Sprache der Kossäer*), there is, in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of the 11th July, a laudatory review of the same scholar's Assyrian reading-book, described as very useful and trustworthy.

Professor Sayce's "Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People," published by the Religious Tract Society, is very favourably reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 15th May, 1886. While the author himself is described as an "eminent and brilliant leader in the difficult study of Assyriology," his small volume is pronounced to be "instructive and remarkably interesting." The chapters on religion and Assyrian art and literature are specially selected for comment. Not the least important feature to be noted with satisfaction in this modest but valuable publication, is the aid afforded by the Cuneiform Inscriptions to the elucidation of history.

No. III. of the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* contains, among other interesting papers elsewhere noted, one by M. Bertin on "L'Incorporation Verbale en Accadien." The Editors take exception to the title on the plea that, while admitting the term Sumerian, they are doubtful whether "Akkadian" can be applied to a special dialect of Sumerian or to the Semitic language of the Assyrians; but the able and painstaking writer may be left to assert his own theories on the matter.

Among lately published works, not heretofore specified,

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may be noticed: "By-paths of Bible Knowledge," written by Professor Sayce for the Religious Tract Society, on the Assyrians and their History: Die Annalen Asurnazirpal (B.C. 884–860), from the London edition, by Heinrich Shotzky: "Les Langues perdues de la Perse et de l'Assyrie," by J. Ménant: Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient jusqu'aux Guerres Médiques, tome iv., 9ème édition: "Les Assyriens et les Chaldéens: Aug. Vogel's "Nach Kanaan, Tagebuch, eine Reise durch Ægypten, Palastina und Griechenland": Fr. Hommel, "Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens; mit Abbildungen und Karten": D. G. Lyon, Assyrian Study, its bearing on the Old Testament (in the *Christian Year*, Nos. 15 and 16): J. Ménant, Catalogue Méthodique, etc., above alluded to in M. Bézold's notice, 1ère et 2me Livraison (deux fascicules); a beautifully printed and illustrated work: the same author's "Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale," 2nd part, Assyrian Cylinders (1886), of which the first part was published in 1883: Acta Sancti Maris Assyriæ, Babyloniæ ac Persidis, seculo i apostoli Syriace sive Aramaice, ed. J. B. Abbeloos (reviewed by Nöldeke in the Austrian Monatsschrift für den Orient, October): Die Keilinschriften am Eingange der Quellengrotte d. Sebeneh-Su by E. Schrader (reviewed by Müller in the November number of the same): Assyriologische Bibliothek (vol. iv. parts 5 and 6), Delitzsch and Haupt.

Arabic.—Some further correspondence on the "Arabian Matriarchate" (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVII. Part 2), will be found in the *Academy* of 4th July, where is a letter from Mr. J. W. Redhouse in reply to one from Professor E. B. Tylor, which appeared on 27th June. Writing again on 15th August, Professor Tylor mentions that Dr. G. A. Wilken has published the "Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië"; but, as the said publication is apparently not so accessible to English anthro-

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pologists as it deserves to be, he cites some of its chief points. To this there is a rejoinder by Mr. J. W. Redhouse, in the issue of 22nd August, in which he expresses the opinion that his main contention had been overlooked; and declined to commit himself to any decided view on a "conceivable prehistoric Arabian or Semitic matriarchate."

In the *Academy* of the 8th August is a review by Mr. C. J. Lyall of the Arabic-English Dictionary by Dr. F. Steingass, commending the book, in that it furnishes students, for the first time in English, with a trustworthy authority in a compact and convenient form. He points out that there is room for improvement in the classification and grouping of the different significations.

A long-felt want has, it is hoped, been supplied by the publication of Dr. Tien's "Manual of Colloquial Arabic," noticed in the *Athenæum* of 25th July and *Saturday Review* of 22nd August.

In the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, Professor W. Robertson Smith has a note on M. Wellhausen's paper, the "Lieder der Hudhailiten," in the preceding number of that Journal, pointing out that the hareheads on the hands of the maidens are not metaphorical, but, without doubt, actual heads, intended as amulets and worn as bracelets.

The *Academy* of 25th July announces the issue by Otto Schulze, the Leipzig publisher, of the "Buch Al Chazari" of Abu'l Hasan Jehuda Hallewi, by Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld. It is published by subscription, in two parts (at the cost of 5 marks each), and contains the original Arabic text in square Hebrew characters from the unique MS. in the Bodleian Library; also, in parallel columns, the Hebrew translation, by Jehuda Ibn Tibbon, which is preserved in five MSS. collated for the purpose, with critical notes.

In the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* for June and July are two long notices by Dr. Ign. Goldziher, of "Aben Pascualis Assila" (dictionarium Biographicum) Ad fidem

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codicis Escurialensis Arabice nunc primum edidit et indicibus locupletissimis instruxit Franciscus Codera. The reviewer welcomes the appearance of Ibn Bashkuwâl's (A.H. 494-578) Biographies as evidence of the progress in Spain in the region of Oriental studies. The work forms the first two volumes of a *Bibliotheca Arabica-Hispana*, on the continuation of which Signor Codera gives a short programme in the preface. The editor, who is Professor of Arabic in the University of Madrid, has already acquired considerable reputation by his works on the history, numismatics, etc., of Muhammadan Spain. To these must now be added the present publication, a source of Spanish-Arabic literary history from the 4th to the 6th century of the Hegira. Ibn Bashkuwâl's work, in continuation of that of Ibn al Faradî to his own time, is again continued by Ibn Al Abbâr, and Abu'l Hasan Hazim of Carthagena. In editing this curious and instructive book, Signor Codera has rendered a service to Oriental science which merits acknowledgment. Although the reviewer indicates that the edition is in some respects inadequate in satisfying philological requirements, he bears evidence to the fact that much very learned information is conveyed in the 1440 biographical notices which it places before the reader. Three indices are appended, one topographical, one biographical, and one bibliographical. On the completion of the "Bibliotheca," it is intended to supply a general biographical index covering the whole of the names therein contained. Such a task, if well performed, would afford welcome aid to students of Arabic literature. The third volume of the "Bibliotheca Arabica-hispana," by MM. Codera and Ribera, has also been issued. Its title is "Desiderium Quærentis historiam virorum populi Andalusiae auctore Adh-Dhabbé. Ad fidem codicis Escurialiensis Arabice nunc primum ediderunt Franc. Codera et Jul. Ribera." 8vo. Madrid, 1885.

In the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, No. 26 of 20th, June, is a notice of the "Saadia Al-Fajûmî, Arabische Psalmen-

übersetzung, nach einer Münchener Handschrift herausgegeben und in Deutsche übertragen," von Dr. S. H. Margulies, 1. Theil. In No. 27 "Die Zahiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte," by Dr. Goldziher, is favourably reviewed as being a very important contribution to our knowledge of the development of Musalman jurisprudence and theology, and in No. 31 "Das Matriarchat bei den Alten Arabern, Uebersetzung aus dem Holländischen," by Mr. G. A. Wilken of Leiden, is noticed. To this last allusion has already been made.

In the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, No. 22, of 30th May, Ranke's "Weltgeschichte, V.; die Arabische Weltherrschaft und das Reich Karls des Grossen," is reviewed by M. Kaufmann, who praises the chapters dealing with the commencement and development of Islam as distinguished by valuable evidences of special research. In No. 36 of 5th September is a notice by M. J. Schmidt of Roches' "Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam 1832–64, vol. ii. Mission à la Mecque; Bugeaud en Afrique"; a work also noticed in the *Saturday Review* of 4th July.

Among books issued during the past year may be specially mentioned "Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry chiefly Prae-Islamic," by Charles J. Lyall. Reviews of this volume appear both in the *Academy* and *Athenæum* of the 3rd October. The first, bearing the well-known signature of R. F. Burton, gives ready testimony to the translator's exceptional scholarship, but does not find in his translation that most rare of all rarities in renderings from Oriental texts, the "peculiar *cachet* of the original." Burton's own words immediately following this expression are worthy of repetition, not only from their characteristic force, but to show the difficulty of the task signified: "This old-world Oriental poetry is spirit-stirring as a trumpet sound, albeit the words be thin. It is heady as the golden wine of Libanus, which tastes like water and is potent as brandy—the clear contrary of our nineteenth-century style. It can

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be represented only by the verse of the old English ballad, or by the prose of the Book of Job." From the review in the *Athenæum*, the concluding passage may be taken to express the general opinion entertained of Mr. Lyall's great merits: "The book is replete with novel and valuable materials for the student of poetry, and we do not doubt it will receive the hearty welcome which so original, scholarly, and charming a collection deserves." There may also be noted: R. Dvorak, "Ueber die Fremdwörter in Korân"—"Ibn Ginnû," de flexione libellus, arabice nunc primum edidit in latinum sermonem transtulit, notis illustravit Godfredus Hoburg. H. Derenbourg "Les MSS. Arabes de l'Escurial," tome i. H. Derenbourg and J. Spiro, "Chrestomathie élémentaire de l'Arabe Littéral, avec un glossaire.' "Arabic Bibliography," edited by Dr. A. Sprenger. Prof. Giuseppe Sapeto, "Grammatica arabica volgare ad uso delle scuole techniche," 2ª ediz. Professor M. Nahmias "Manuale pratico d'italiano e arabo moderno, per uso dei viaggiatore italiani in Oriente." "Ueber meine Sammlung Orientalischer Handscriften" by Alfred von Kremer. [Upon this last work Müller remarks in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* for August, that these MSS. which, with the exception of 17 relating to Turkish and Persian-speaking districts, belong entirely to Arabic Literature, were collected by Herr von Kremer during a period of over 30 years (1849–80) in various centres of Muhammadan life in the East.] Ahlwardt (W.), Verzeichniss der Landberg'schen Sammlung Arabischen Handschriften. Socin's "Arabische Grammatik. Paradigmen, Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar," of which an English translation has appeared: "Le Livre de Sibawaihi: Traité de Grammaire Arabe," tome ii. part 1, by H. Derenbourg. Dieterici (F.), Die Abhandlunger der Ichwân es Safâ in Auswahl. Fifth edition of the "Dictionnaire Français Arabe des dialectes vulgaires d'Algerie, du Tunisie, de Maroc et d'Egypte, avec la pro-

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nonciation figurée en lettres latines," by J. J. Marcel. All foreign systems of transliterating Arabic must, unfortunately, be perplexing; a truth self-evident to the English tyro, in the difficulty experienced by his countrymen in accepting an uniform system for themselves.

Two publications by Brill of Leiden merit remark. Müller's Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel of Abu Muhammad al Hasan bin Aḥmad bin Yaḳub bin Yusuf bin Dáwud Abi Bakr, and the Kitabu 'l Baldán of Abi Bakr Ahmad bin Muhammad al Hamadáni.

Samaritan.—Dr. Kohn, in his review of the first volume of the Bibliotheca Samaritana, noticed in our last year's report, and again mentioned this year among the contents of the Z.D.M.G. vol. xxxix. pt. 2, points out that the remnant of Samaritan which has survived the lapse of time has not received the attention which it demands. Of original Samaritan literature still extant, but a very small portion is accessible, while in respect to the numerous MSS. which lie inedited in the Libraries of Oxford, St. Petersburg, Paris, Berlin, etc., not only the contents, but even the titles are scarcely known. The Bibliotheca Samaritana of Dr. Heidenheim should remedy this manifest deficiency. Its contemplated periodical issue in the Hebrew Square character, with the requisite Introduction, Notes and Supplement, should supply a series of valuable texts, and material for the thorough elucidation not only of the history, but of the language and religious and spiritual life of the Samaritans. In conclusion, Dr. Kohn regards the Bibliotheca Samaritana in the light of a praiseworthy undertaking; but he holds that if it is to promote the study of Samaritan, it must be carried to completion with more attention to grammatical precision and accuracy, and more systematic and scholarly supervision than hitherto evinced. The second volume of the Bibliotheca Samaritana has recently been published.

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Hittite. — Notwithstanding certain specific objections to some of the author's conclusions, Dr. Francis Brown's criticism of the "Empire of the Hittites," in vol. i. of the American Journal of Archæology, admits that Dr. Wright's book "opens a new and attractive field to the general reader, and will be welcome to those who are concerned for the historical accuracy of the Old Testament." He further points out the strong evidence that there was once a large and formidable population between the Middle Euphrates and Orontes, with some kind of natural organization, to which the Assyrians gave the name of Chatti . . . and that the "Chittites"—A.V. Hittites—of the Bible present the same name in a very slightly modified form.

Syriac.—The *Athenæum*, 13th June, states that there is in the press a Neo-Syriac (dialect of Salamâs) translation of Thomas à Kempis by Father Bêdjan. In the *Academy* of the 20th June is Capt. (Sir Richard) Burton's review of "Kalīlah and Dimnah, or the Fables of Bidpai, being an account of their literary history, with an English Translation of the later Syriac version of the same and Notes," by J. G. N. Keith-Falconer. The eighth Essay in the "Studia Biblica" is a careful study by Dr. Gwilliam of a Syriac version of Saint Matthew and Saint Mark in the Tattam collection.

The advertised course on Semitic languages at the Johns Hopkins University comprises no less than thirteen series of Lectures for advanced students, among them being one each for Syriac, Aramæan, Ethiopic, Babylonian, Akkadian and Sumerian.

At the May meeting of the American Oriental Society in Boston (1885), Professor Hall reported receipt of a letter from Professor Albert Long, intimating that he had found a fragment of a Syriac MS. of the Gospels, containing a portion of St. Luke. It was not Peshitto, but in the style

of the Harklensian version. He had also received a package of fragments of Syrian MSS. from the Rev. Dr. Hayes Ward, obtained from a monastery in the Tûr (name not given), rather valuable as specimens of writing than for other reasons. Of two carefully examined, one, a leaf from a Lectionary, was in splendid Estrangela, of uncertain age, containing portions of lessons from three of the four Gospels: the other was in old Estrangela, and Professor Nöldeke had identified it as almost a similar text to one found in Cureton's Ancient Syriac documents—a part of a Syriac translation of Eusebius. Of the remaining fragments, the most remarkable was a folio (two leaves) of vellum, each leaf rather over 16 by 11¼ inches in dimension: it was a service-book, written in magnificent monumental Estrangela. One on vellum, written in old Jacobite, contained an entire rubric, "Supplications of (the feast of) my Lord James (or Jacob)."

Among the new books on Philology advertised in the *Athenæum's* special List on the 18th July last year, was the Verzeichniss der Sachau'schen Sammlung Syrischer Handschriften.

Ethiopic, or Himyaritic. — Under the heading *Sabäische Glossen*, the Austrian *Monatsschrift für den Orient* has a learned notice of Dr. J. H. Mordtmann's paper on new Himyaritic Inscriptions, the third in the list of contents, vol. xxxix. part 2 of the German Oriental Society's Journal, before specified.

Aryan Languages.—Sanskrit.—Among the papers before specified in the contents of the four parts of the Z.D.M.G. may be selected for repetition under this head: 1. Theodor Aufrecht's "Strophen von Kâlidâsa":—in this the Professor has brought together those verses which, in the Subhâshita and other writings accessible to him, have been ascribed to Kâlidâsa, but which are not to be found in any work of his

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at present known to exist. 2. Dr. F. Kielhorn's "Prâkṛitwörte in Mahâbhâshya":—the writer observes that a few Prakṛit words are known to exist in the Mahâbhâshya, but the more interesting of these do not appear to have hitherto received any attention.

In the *Oesterreichsche Monatsschrift für den Orient* for May and June, 1885, Professor George Bühler, of Vienna, reviews at length "A Second Report in Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle." Like the former report, he considers it to be replete with matter both interesting and instructive; and he remarks that Dr. Petersen can render a very great service to his colleagues if he will see that all the Sanskrit anthologies are printed. In the number for July Professor Bühler speaks in high terms of Professor Jolly's "Tagore Law Lectures," a work useful to the general student of Sanskrit, and the first attempt to trace in a comprehensive manner the historical development of some of the most interesting topics of the Hindu Law. His confirmation of the discovery that the so-called Bṛihat or Vṛiddha Manu was a later recension of Bhṛigu's Samhitâ, deprives of its foundation the former opinion that "our Manu must be later than the fifth century, because *its predecessor*, the Vṛiddha Manu, enumerated the signs of the Zodiac." In the number for August, Dr. Rudolf Meringer reviews the first volume of M. A. Bergaigne's "Etudes sur le Lexique du Ṛigveda," and trusts that the appearance of his work will have the effect of giving fresh impetus to the discussion of questions connected with this particular subject.

In the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, No. 23, "The Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila, with Illustrative Extracts from the Commentaries," translated by Dr. Ballantyne, 3rd edition, is reviewed by M. Deussen, who considers it to be the best work on the subject. In No. 29 M. Garbe reviews "La Théodicée de la Bhagavadgît, etudiée en elle même et dans ses origines," par Ph. Colinet, which he considers well done, though diffuse;

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and in No. 30 is a review of Prof. Edgren's Sanskrit Grammar, which is said to be based essentially upon Whitney's, repeating its isolated faults, but behind it in exactness of detail and correctness of printing.

At the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society at Boston, on the 6th May, 1885, Professor Hopkins stated his reasons for dissenting from Burnell's argument in regard to the date of the *Mānava-dharma-çāstra*. We cannot, he thinks, judge the age of the work by its latest portions; we have no grounds for narrowing the date to the time of Pulikeçi I. Professor Whitney concurred in this view. He further alluded to his own work on "Numerical Results from Indexes of Sanskrit Tense and Conjugation Stems," as nearly through the press; described its character, and gave some examples of the statistics of classification he had adopted. Prof. Lanman continued the discussion, and took occasion to describe a Sanskrit manuscript of a Hindu treatise on Logic, which had come into his hands since the October meeting. A paper by Professor Edgren, of the Nebraska University, on the so-called *Tan*-class in Sanskrit was presented by Professor Whitney. Professor M. Bloomfield, of Baltimore, remarked on some Vedic derivatives of the root *praç* "ask," hitherto misunderstood, and referred to the respective translations of a Vedic hymn by Weber, Ludwig, and Grill as missing the point of the original.

The *Academy* of the 6th June quotes from the *Cambridge University Reporter*, Mr. Cecil Bendall's preliminary report on his tour in Northern India in the previous winter in search of Sanskrit MSS. In its issue of the 29th August we are told that among those collected in Nepal is a palm-leaf copy of Nārada written in A.D. 1407, which contains an entirely new recension of that law-giver's code. The title of the work, *Mānava nyāya çāstraṃ Nārada proktā saṃhitā*, confirms the Indian tradition as to its connection with the celebrated Institutes of Manu. Mr. Bendall has lent the

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MS. to Professor Jolly of Würzburg, who is printing the text. The *Athenæum* of the 15th August, 1885, notifies that Mr. Cecil Bendall, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and in charge of the Oriental Books at the British Museum, has accepted the post of Professor of Sanskrit at University College, London.

Part I. of the Catalogue of the Old Collection of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of Deccan College, issued during the past year, was prepared under the superintendence of Professor F. Kielhorn, and Part II. with Index by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar.

On the authority of the *Academy*, we learn that in the course of last year, Mr. Anundoram Borooah, Officiating Magistrate and Collector, was preparing for the press a critical edition of the Amarakosa, to which end he had borrowed a large number of MSS. from various quarters, among them the entire Kosa Collection of the India Office, which is probably the richest that any library can boast. Subject to receiving substantial support, he intended to issue a cheap edition of the text, with the commentaries of Xirasvami and Rayamukuta in full, and material extracts from all other important commentaries.

The *Academy* of July 4 notices an interesting monograph by Dr. Von Brandke on *Dyâus Asura, Ahura-Mazdâ und die Asuras*, the aim of which is to show, by passages from the Rig-Veda and other works, the true signification of *Asura*.

The *Academy* of July 11 publishes the Latin diploma of the University of Göttingen, conferring the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy upon Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, of the Deccan College, Bombay. This is an honourable recognition of the learned Professor's high proficiency in the ancient languages of India. Professor Bhandarkar has long been an Honorary Member of the London Royal Asiatic Society, and is an important con-

tributor to the number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch, noticed in p. lxi *antè*.

In reviewing "The Ordinances of Manu," translated from the Sanskrit, with an Introduction by the late A. C. Burnell, the *Athenæum* of June 6, 1885, states that the translator's sound scholarship and accurate knowledge of Indian literature qualify him in an eminent degree for the undertaking. He had only however reached the beginning of the eighth lecture when failing health compelled him to lay aside his pen, and for the remaining five lectures we are indebted to Dr. E. W. Hopkins. It is added that a happier choice of an editor could not have been made, that Dr. Hopkins had cordially entered into the scheme of the work as originally devised, and had ably supplemented Dr. Burnell's annotations left incomplete at his death.

The *Athenæum* of June 13 contains an interesting communication from Professor Max Müller, furnishing proof of the existence of the "Horiuzi Palm Leaves" in A.D. 1235, in which year they are spoken of with reference to their former history. In the 4th and 18th July and 8th August a discussion is carried on between Professors Max Müller and Beal as to the value of the historical and palæographical evidence of the high antiquity assigned to these leaves. Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., contributes a note on this subject to the *Indian Antiquary* for August, intimating that a second old palm-leaf MS. had been newly discovered in Japan by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. It is but a single fragment, but possesses high importance for Indian Palæography. The contents are Buddhistic and probably belong to one of the larger Sûtras. Short as the piece is, it furnishes several new words not hitherto found in Sanskrit dictionaries.

The *Athenæum* of 11th July mentions that the number of the "Anecdota Oxoniensia (Aryan Series)," then ready for publication, would contain the "Dharmasamgraha," a collection of Buddhist technical terms. The materials were collected

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by Kenyiu Kasawara, one of the Buddhist priests who came from Japan to Oxford to study Sanskrit, and who died soon after his return to Japan. Prof. Max Müller, assisted by Dr. Wenzel, the well-known Tibetan scholar, who has been resident at Oxford for several years, had superintended the work when passing through the press. It contains copious notes and indices.

Prof. George Bühler writes to the *Academy* of 15th August giving a short description of a *Saurayantra* belonging to Mr. Whitley Stokes, which, being of good execution, and apparently some antiquity—perhaps between 300 and 400 years—he deems worthy of notice. This tablet was probably used in worshipping the sun, just as the *Bhaumayantra* in the adoration of the planet Mars. Edgren's "Compendious Sanskrit Grammar, with a brief sketch of Scenic Prakrit," being No. xiii. of Trübner's Simplified Grammars, is commended in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of the 24th October. Reviews of the same work, both in the main favourable, had before appeared in the *Academy* of 11th and *Athenæum* of 25th July. So also Jolly's "Outlines of an History of the Hindu Law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption, as contained in the original Sanskrit treatises," is again favourably noticed in the *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* of the 14th November. In the *Academy* of January 9 is a letter from Professor Max Müller stating that he is not aware any Sanskrit scholar had ever referred the date of the Râmâyana to later than the 7th century A.D., but as regards that century the testimony of Subandhu was available. The same paper of the 13th February, referring to Sanskrit study in Benares, mentions that the Prātiśākhya of the White Yajurveda with Uvata's Commentary; Bhartrihari's Vakyapadīya; Tantravārttika, the great Mīmāmsā work of Kumārilabhatta; and Prasástapādabhāshya, the oldest commentary on the Vaiśeshika-sūtras, are in progress in the local series. Other items of literary interest in connection with the above-mentioned city

are also given. The *Academy* of the 13th March contains a notice by Professor Max Müller of Oriental translations of the National Anthem; including one by Professor Weber of new lines added to the old and well-known verse. One alleged objection to these is that they deviate from the rhyme and metre of the original, an objection to which Captain Temple has something to say in reply in the next week's issue, calling forth a rejoinder in the number succeeding. We learn from the same source that the Executive Committee of Cornell University had decided to discontinue the Chair of Sanskrit and Modern Oriental Languages, occupied for 17 years by Professor Roehrig. In the philology notes of the same journal of April 10th we learn that Dr. Böhtlingk's Sanskrit Dictionary was near completion, and that the same scholar was about to re-edit Panini's Grammar. The following number contains a careful review of Whitney's Roots, Verb Forms, etc., a work already mentioned. Mr. Cecil Bendall's instructive and elaborately-illustrated volume describing a "Journey of Literary and Archæological Research in Nepál and Northern India," will be welcome, not only to archæologists, but to Sanskrit scholars and connoisseurs in Jain MSS. It is brief, but full of information well tabulated and put together, and supplements the previous items of detached information received on the subject.

Among books recently published in Sanskrit, or relating thereto, may be mentioned:—Rajaçekhara Pracandapândava. Ein Drama. Zum ersten Male hrsg. v. C. Cappellen:—Charu-Niti Patha. By Kalikrishna Datta:—Madhava et Malati. Drame en dix actes, et un prologue de Bhavabhouti. Traduit du Sanskrit par G. Strehly, Professeur au Collège Rollin; precédé d'une Préface par A. Bergaigne:—The Song Celestial, or Bhagavad-Gita, from the Mahâbhârata. Translated from the Sanskrit text by Edwin Arnold, C.S.I.:—Agastimatam-Sanskrit Gems, edited by Rám Dás Sen:—Dwadasha Stotram; or the Twelve Hymns. By Anandatirtha Bhagawatapada-

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charya:—Jyotisha Sár. The essence of Astrology, Sanskrit and Hindi. By Pandit Brindaban Dás:—Muhurtamártandah Satikah; a treatise on days auspicious for commencing any work:—Shiva Puran; or the Puran glorifying Shiva. By the reputed author Vyas; together with a commentary in Sanskrit:—Siddhanta Chandriká. By Ramashrama:—Yadnyavalkya Shiksha; or, instruction in proper articulation and pronunciation, by Yadnyavalkya:—Yajurvida-Sanhita; or a collection of the Mantras of the Shukla or White Yajurveda:—Veda chrestomathie, by A. Hildebrandt:—Das Dhammapada metrisch übertragen, by Th. Schulze:—Sanskrit Wörterbuch in kurzerer Fassung, div. 6, part i. by Böhtlingk:—The Divyavadana, a collection of early Buddhist Legends, ed. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil:—Panini's Grammatik, hrsg. u. übers. v. Otto Böhtlingk:—Indo-Germanische Grammatiken, Band ii. Supplement:—The Roots, Verb Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language, a supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar, by William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College (Leipzig, 1885). Also German translations of the same book by H. Zimmer.

Vol. xxvi. of the Sacred Books of the East contains part 2, or books iii. and iv., of the Satapatha Brahmana, translated by Professor Eggeling, of which the former part, or books i. and ii. appeared in vol. xii. of this remarkable series.

An article headed "Translations of the Rig Veda," which appeared in the *Athenæum* of the 6th February last, is short but suggestive. It refers to the increasing popularity which Vedic Literature, and more particularly the Rig Veda itself, has acquired among native students. An edition of the latter, begun at Bombay in 1876, with both a Marathi and English translation; Dayananda Sarasvati's edition, with translations and commentary in Sanskrit and Hindi; and the first volume of a quite recent Bengali translation by Mr. R. C. Dutt, of the

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Bengal Civil Service—all these bear testimony to the attraction of this branch of study to the present generation of Indian scholars.

Pâli.—In the *Academy* of the 19th September Dr. R. Morris writes that all who take an interest in Pâli philology and Buddhist Literature will hail the appearance of the excellent and carefully-edited text of the Sutta Nipâta which had just been issued by the Pâli Text Society among its publications for 1884. The Journal of the Society for the same year, and part 1, Sagatha-Vagga, of the Saṃyutta-Nikâya of the Sutta-Pitaka, edited by M. Léon Feer, have also been published. In vol. xx. of the "Sacred Books of the East" are Vinaya texts, translated from the Pâli by T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg.

Müller's Simplified Grammar of the Pâli Language receives a lengthy notice in the *Literatur-Blatt* for October—December, 1885. This is one of the issues of Trübner's Simplified Grammar Series edited by Dr. Rost. It is also commented on in the *Academy* of the 3rd October, where it is stated that, notwithstanding some shortcomings, it is the best book on Pâli Grammar now obtainable in any European language.

Prâkrit.—Vol. xxii. of the Sacred Books of the East is "Gaina Sutras. Translated from Prâkrit by H. Jacobi. Part I. Akârânga Sutra; the Kalpa Sutra."

Sinhalese.—The *Athenæum* of 25th July notices "A Catalogue of Pâli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon," recently printed at the Government Press, Colombo. The Mahá Mudaliyár Louis de Zoysa, Government translator, who had for a number of years been engaged on its compilation, unfortunately died before completion of his work. He was a Sinhalese gentleman of high linguistic attainments, and a frequent contributor

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to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Colombo. As far back as the autumn of 1875 he had reported to the Government of the island on the results of his inspection of the temple libraries. In the present publication those results are classified in all their details under appropriate heads: but a last section, to have been reserved for works of a miscellaneous kind, was not ready for the press at the author's death, and the Catalogue is so far incomplete. In its present state, however, it is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Pâli and Sinhalese literature.

We gather from the *Academy* of the 29th August that Shakspere is in favour with the natives of Ceylon, for whose benefit the Two Gentlemen of Verona has been translated, with the addition of verses to be sung in chorus in the Sinhalese stage adaptation.

Pahlavi.—Vol. xxiv. of the Sacred Books of the East contains the third part of Dr. West's Pahlavi Texts, of which the previous parts are in vols. v. and xviii. It consists of the Dinâî Maînôg-i-Khirad, or Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom; the Sikand Gûmânîk Vigâr, or the doubt-dispelling explanation; and the Sad Dar, or hundred subjects.

Zend.—A curious dissertation on the words *aqaretem qarenô* (*sic*), interpreted as the majesty, or happy state of the just, leading on to the definition of other expressions in the Avesta, is to be found in the *Muséon* of August, 1885, and is from the pen of Professor E. Wilhelm of the Jena University.

In the *Literatur-Blatt*, No. iv. of the second volume or last quarter of 1885, is a notice of the first part of Karl Geldner's Avesta, which promises, by the great care taken in compiling and collating, to supply the deficiencies of previous editions, and to merit the thanks of all Zend students.

Under the title of "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in

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ancient times, with an Introduction on the Religion of the Avesta," Mr. Dārāb Dastur Peshotan Sanjáná, B.A., member of the German Oriental Society, has completed a translation of Dr. Wilhelm Geiger's *Ostiranische Kultur im Alterthum*, lately published by Frowde.

Persian.—M. James Darmesteter's inaugural lecture at the Collège de France last year, under the designation of *Coup-d'œil sur la histoire de la Perse*, has been published, as well as his clever paper on the Mahdi, in the "Bibliothèque Orientale Elzevirienne." No. 41 of the series is "Les Langues Perdues de la Perse et de l'Assyrie. I. Perse," by Joachim Ménant.

The *Academy* of September 5 states that Mr. A. N. Wollaston's *Complete English-Persian Dictionary* is in an advanced state of preparation; that it will appear in a royal quarto volume of about one thousand pages; but that, notwithstanding a grant in aid from the Secretary of State, the publishers appeal to Oriental Societies, and individuals interested in Persian, to subscribe for copies to defray the great cost of publication.

Mr. Finn's *Persian for Travellers* is said by the reviewer in the *Academy* of the 26th September to be a welcome contribution to our word-books for "all scholars who are anxious for any addition to the materials now existing for a compilation of a dictionary of the living language of Irán." But he objects, as the *Athenæum* had done before, to the mode of transcription which has been followed for Anglicizing Persian words.

Mr. Sidney Churchill has a short paper in the *Academy* of December 19, on the *Matla'u'sh-Shams*, vol. ii. issued from the Tehran Press by the Sanīu'd-daulah. It is mainly an account of the city of Mash-had and its notabilia.

A second edition of Palmer's Simplified Grammar of Hindustani, Persian and Arabic, and the first volume of a

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Dictionnaire Français-Persan, by J. B. Nicolas, A—K, are reported available. In the Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides, par M. Th. Houtsma, vol. i., "Histoire des Seljoucides du Kerman par Muhammad Ibrahim," has been quite recently published by Brill.

The second volume of M. Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane* for the use of the pupils at the Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, belongs to that class of publications which the industrious and able author knows so well how to prepare. The only flaw is one which may be rather apparent to the eye of an English than a Continental critic; and that is, the diminutive character of the Persian type.

"Notes of a Journey from Kasvin to Hamadan, across the Karaghan Country," is the title of a lately published volume (Madras, 1885), in which Mr. J. D. Rees, Under Secretary to Government, describes his personal experience of Persia. In a literary point of view its official form hardly does justice to so promising a launch into the world of letters. The book is favourably noticed in the *Athenæum* of February 27th, and has met with like welcome in other periodicals.

The Messrs. Scribner, of New York, have issued a new volume entitled "Persia, the Land of the Imáms," by Mr. James Basset, a Missionary of the Presbyterian Board. His narrative extends over a period of fourteen years, or from 1871 to 1885. That part of it which relates to Urmía and the country between Urmía and Hamadan will, perhaps, be the most attractive to readers of travel, as it is less known than the author's routes from Tehran to Mashhad on one side, and to Bushahr on the other, which have been repeatedly traversed and described by Englishmen.

Vol. i. part i. of the Umdatu't Tawárikh, in Persian, by Lala Sohan Lal, to be completed in eight volumes, has been announced among Messrs. Trübner's new Oriental publications. It is edited in English by Captain R. C. Temple.

The "Trois Comédies traduites du Dialecte Turc Azeri en

Persan par Mirza Dja'far et publiées d'après l'edition de Tehrán avec un Glossaire et des Notes" forms an inviting little volume for which students of Persian are indebted to M. Barbier de Meynard and the late Stanislas Guyard. For the more proficient, the Tehran edition itself is preferable, having the stamp of genuineness, both in binding and type, without a trace of the European printer or publisher. The three "comedies" in the French are all to be found in the Persian edition; and indeed other dramatic sketches also.

Balúchi.—The Reverend Arthur Lewis' "Balúchi Stories," in the language spoken by the nomad tribes of the Sulaiman Hills, was noticed in the *Academy* of June 6, 1885. They were recommended as likely to interest both the philologist and student of folk-lore; and, having been taken down from the lips of the Panjáb Frontier Balúchis, are undoubtedly genuine. Translations are attached.

Brahúi.—A contribution to the Asiatic Society's Journal by Dr. Th. Duka promises to throw additional light on the study of this language, which Mr. Cust has classed with Pashtu, to represent the Iranic branch of the Aryan Family. It will appear in January.

Urdū.—Mr. Platts has done good service by his publication of the Dictionary of *Urdū, Classical Hindī and English*; and his work has met with the favour which it merits at the hands of the reviewer. The commendation given to it in the *Athenæum* of the 20th June (1885) is not merely general: it applies to the book in detail and on given grounds. There can scarcely be two opinions on the proposition that "no Hindustani lexicographer should be without a complete knowledge of Persian, and, as a natural consequence, of all the Arabic phraseology which forms part and parcel of the modern Iranian tongue." And it is satisfactory to learn that such

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condition "is fulfilled in an excellent way by Mr. Platts, who is as competent in the one language as in the other."

Bengali.—We learn that the first part of an Encyclopædic dictionary in Bengali, edited by two native scholars, has been published in India. It contains descriptive derivations of Sanskrit and Bengali words with Sutras quoted from Panini the grammarian; Arabic, Persian and Hindi words introduced into the Bengali language; notes on the ancient and modern religious beliefs of India, the Vedas, Puráns, Tantras and other sacred books; besides short articles embracing the whole range of modern science. A grammar of the language, by Mr. J. F. Blumhardt, of the British Museum, has been notified as in preparation. Mr. H. A. D. Philips has published Kopul Kundala, a Tale of Bengali life, translated from the Bengali of Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee.

Bihârî.—The *Academy* of the 20th June last year has much to say with reference to the first part of the Comparative Dictionary of the Bihârî Language, on which Dr. Hoernle and Mr. G. A. Grierson had been for long engaged. Opposite the title-page are four maps showing the progress of the language from the old Prakrit of B.C. 500 to the Bihârî dialects of the present day. The part comprises an introduction of fifty pages, containing an exposition of the system of transliteration and spelling adopted by the editors, and other necessary details; forty pages of dictionary proper, and ten pages of the promised Index to the Rāmāyan of Tul'sī Dās. Although nominally a dictionary of the Bihârî language, it deals scientifically with all the Aryan languages of India, from Sindhi on the extreme west, to Assamese on the extreme east. According to the "Calcutta Englishman," it would be impossible to convey any idea of the diligence and erudition displayed by Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Grierson upon a subject apparently so uninviting. A glance

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at the list of philological works laid under contribution will be enough to convince the reader of the wide and profound character of the authors' investigations. Another review of the Dictionary is in the Austrian Monatsschrift für den Orient for December.

Mr. Grierson has also published parts i. to iv. of "Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihári Language," compiled under the orders of the Government of Bengal. They are thus arranged :—I. Introductory, with map. II. Bhojpuri dialect of Shahabad, Saran, Champaran, North Muzaffarpúr and the Eastern portion of N.W. Provinces. III. Magadhi dialect of South Patna and Gaya. IV. Maithil Bhojpuri dialect of Central and South Muzaffarpúr. This gentleman's work on "Bihár Peasant Life" is replete with information of great value to scholars and general readers, is a worthy specimen of the resources of the Bengal Secretariat Press, and cannot fail to enhance the already high reputation of its author.

The *Homeward Mail* of 6th July says that a choice literature of vernacular Bengálí has been called into existence of late years and that the province of Bihár has gained especial literary distinction. Foremost among the pioneers of progress is noted the Khadga Vilās Press at Bangkipur, which rapidly sends forth work after work in Hindi, each steadily rising in the scale of improvement. As an instance is given the Bhâstiâ-Sûra, or a selection from the best writers in Hindî, in the first part of which are specimens from Lallû Lâl, Râjâ Siva Prasâd, Bâbû Harischandra, Sri Giridhara Dâs, Rama Tiwârî and Bâbû Gadâdhara, all of whom have made their mark in the vernacular of the North. The Bhûtattwapradîp is cited as an excellent work on physical geography by Munshî Râm Prakâsh Lâl, while the Mahârâsâ Nâtak is a dramatic version of part of the Bhâgavata Purana by Lâl Khadga Bahâdur Malla.

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Asamese.—The *Athenæum*, 26th September, notes a remarkable revival of linguistical research in Assam, mainly due to the enlightened zeal of Mr. E. Stack, of the Shillong Secretariat. The "Outline Grammar of the Kachári Language," by the Rev. S. Endle, has been succeeded by a "Short Account of the Kachchar Naga Tribe, with an Outline Grammar, Vocabulary and Illustrative Sentences," by Mr. C. A. Soppitt, a young officer in administrative charge of the North Kachar Hills. The Kachcha Nagas live west of the Angami Nagas, between these and the Khasis; their language has affinities with Mikír and Kachári. The same gentleman is now engaged upon a Kuki grammar, while Mr. Needham's "Abor Grammar" is in type, and Mr. MacCabe's "Angami Naga Grammar" ready for the press. The last-named language is, in spite of its tribal designation, quite different from the Kachcha Naga, and is a tonic tongue. Mr. Stack himself is working up his materials towards a grammatical account of the Bhutia Changlo dialect, and is likewise preparing from his rich collectanea a grammar and phrase book of Mikír. The *Athenæum* further states that, by order of the Assam Secretariat, Mr. Soppitt has recently printed "A Historical and Descriptive Account of the Kachari Tribes in the North Cachar Hills, with Specimens of Tales and Folk-lore." The history of the Kacharis, who number upwards of 400,000 souls, cannot be traced further back than the beginning of the 14th century. Mention is also made of Mr. C. J. Lyall's able Census Report for Assam; the dictionary of the Garo language under preparation by the American Missionaries at Tura, and the proposed publication of Major Macgregor's "Notes on the Singphos and their language."

At the Boston May meeting of the American Oriental Society, Prof. Avery analyzed and illustrated the character of the said Garo. He described the language to be one of a numerous and loosely affiliated group of tongues known as Tibeto-Burman; its nearest kindred being the Pani-koch, the

Kachari, the Deori-Chutia, and the Tipura. Reduced to writing by American Baptist missionaries some twenty years ago, the character used was the Bengali. The local government were printing a Tipura vocabulary, and grammars of the Garo and Miri were preparing.

Burmese.—Among the papers read at last year's session of the American Philological Association at Yale was one on the Tibeto-Burman group of languages, by Professor John Avery, of Brunswick. It is stated that a Burmese translation of Dr. W. W. Hunter's "Brief History of the Indian People" has been published at Rangoon. The Jardine Prize Essay on "The Sources and Development of Burmese Law, from the period of the first introduction of Indian Law to that of the British occupation of Pegu," by Dr. E. Forchammer, has been published. Of three books on Burma reviewed in the *Athenæum* of May 1st, Mr. Scott's "Burma as it was and as it will be," and Mr. Grattan Geary's "Burma after the Conquest, viewed in its Political, Social, and Commercial Aspects from Mandalay," are likely to interest the general reader, the first as the work of a specially qualified authority on his subject, the second as that of a pleasant and experienced writer. Mr. Gray's "Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Niti Literature of Burma," is rather calculated to draw the attention of specialists.

Dravidian Languages.—Tamil—Telugu.—Dr. Pope's appointment as Teacher of Tamil and Telugu at Oxford is an honourable recognition of the reverend gentleman's high qualifications. Formerly warden of the Bishop Cotton College at Bangalore, he has written standard books on the language and literature of Southern India, and has contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The *Academy* of October 3rd, in criticizing M. Seshagiri Sastri's "Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology," points

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out that, while the writer's linguistic attainments are exceptionally great, he has failed to make his book useful from want of philological experience and proper guidance.

Malto.—In noticing the "Introduction to the Malto Language and Vocabulary," compiled and published by the Rev. E. Droese, senior Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Bhagulpur, N.W.P., the *Academy* of August 8th remarks that Malto is the language of the Paharis or people on the tops of the hills in the Santâl country, who call themselves Maler (men). It possesses a philological interest as being generally considered the most northerly offshoot of the Dravidian family of speech prevalent in Southern India. Mr. Droese, while recognizing Dravidian elements, *e.g.* the pronouns and the first two numerals, indicates many essential particulars in which it differs from the Dravidian type. His work is mentioned by Bishop Caldwell to be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Non-Aryan languages of India. Although there are native Maler Christians, there is at present no Maler missionary, but the gospels and a few hymns have been translated into Malto.

Chinese.—The first part of the translation by M. P. L. F. Philastre of the Le Yi King, or book of the revolutions of the Tsheou Dynasty, has been received by the Royal Asiatic Society, and is a worthy issue (vol. viii.) of the Annales du Musée Guimet, published by the never-tiring and never-failing Ernest Leroux.

Parts 3 and 4 of the first volume of the Netherlands-Chinese Dictionary, by Dr. G. Schlegel, have been published by Brill at Leyden in the complete form for which that house is so remarkable.

According to a review of Dr. Beal's translation of the "Si-Yu-Ki, a Buddhist Record of the Western World, by Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)," in the *Academy* of the 12th

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September, by Mr. T. W. Rhys-Davids, the results of this new effort in the cause of research will probably be found to be of the greatest permanent value of all the translator's self-sacrificing labours.

"The Chinese painted by themselves" is the title of a little book, published in the summer of last year, in which the account of the institutions and manners of the author's native country is stated by the *Academy* (July 16) to be "well worth reading." It is a translation from the French of Col. Tcheng-ki-Tong, Military Attaché of the Chinese Embassy in Paris, reviewed in the original in the *Athenæum*, 26th July, 1884. Vols. xxvii. and xxviii. of the Sacred Books of the East contain the Li Ki, which is part 3 of the Texts of Confucianism, translated by Professor Legge. Parts 1 and 2 will be found in vols. iii. and xvi. respectively.

Of Miss Gordon Cumming's "Wanderings in China," the *Athenæum* of Feb. 20 says that it "knows no book of travel which sketches so graphically the Chinaman and his surroundings."

Among other books may be mentioned:—V. Tissot, "La Chine d'après les voyageurs les plus récents"; the Rev. S. Beal, "Buddhism in China"; Le Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, "Trois Nouvelles Chinoises, traduites pour la première fois"; Mr. C. Hunter, "Bits of Old China"; E. J. Dukes, "Scenes along river and road in the Celestial Empire" (for the Religious Tract Society); and those incidentally mentioned in the notices of reviews and serials.

The *Athenæum* of 19th October, in reviewing Balfour's Taoist Texts, considers that his selection of the commentary of Lü Tsu as a basis for translation of the "Taou-tih-king," or Bible of the Taoists, while imparting interest to his work, renders it in some sense unsatisfactory.

Annamite: Cochin-China.—Two admirably-printed volumes (the second in two parts) have been issued by Leroux for

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the École des Langues Vivantes, entitled Kim van Kieû Tân Truyên, the translation of an Annamite Poem by Nguyên Du, Hîou tam tri of the Ministry of Rites in the reign of Gia long. The style of the poet is said to be Tonquinese, and the translator received one of the copies from which he prepared his text direct from Tonquin. Roman characters are placed on corresponding pages to those of the French version, which contains many graceful and charming lines.

The "Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise de France," second series, vol. ii. (1882–3), has been issued, and has many papers of archæological, scientific, and general interest. It opens with an analysis of Inscriptions Khmers (Kamboj) and Inscriptions Qhiames de l'ancien Ciampa.

The ably-conducted periodical which records the progress of research in Cochin-China under the title of "Excursions et Reconnaissances" has in its May–June number (1885) four main articles:—1. Historical Reminiscences of Saigon and its Environs, by M. Tru'ong Vinh K'y. 2. An Inscription on a statue of Síwa, discovered in a forest which covers the site of the old city of Kamphëng Phet, by M. Schmitt. 3. Annamite Tales and Legends, by M. Landes (continued). 4. Notes on the Fish of Lower Cochin-China and Kamboj. In July–August, it has Notes on Annam (Binh Thuan), by M. Aymonier, and a sketch of the Province of Battambang—a contribution, the second part of which appears in January–February, 1886. There is, also, in this last-named issue, a continuation of the Annamite tales and legends; the account of a Siamese inscription at Bangkok, by M. Schmitt, and an Annamite dialogue, "Bonze et Bonzesse," translated from the original by M. Chéon.

China Review.—Mr. E. H. Parker has two articles in No. 5 (March and April, 1885), one of a controversial nature and

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one composed of extracts from the "P'éi-wên-yûn-Fu"; being No. 1 of contributions towards the "Topography and Ethnology of Central Asia." Mr. Piton gives a biographical narrative of two rival statesmen of Ts'in, "Wei Yen and Fan Tsü," from which we learn that the former was ennobled as Marquis of Yang in B.C. 291, and the latter as Marquis of Ying in B.C. 266. If to these titled officials we add the Marquis of Tang and Duke of Western Chow, other characters in the history, it would appear that patents of nobility were granted in those days as freely as at present. A short paper by Dr. Chalmers on the "Chinese Ch'ih Measure," notices of new books, and notes and queries, provocative of comment, make up a reputable number. The Rev. Hilderic Friend's original tale of "The Willow Pattern," dealing with Chinese life, is favourably noticed; and the narrative of the French Tongking campaign of 1884 is pronounced by the literary critic of the Review to evince great power of observation and description. No. 6 (May and June, 1885), opens with another biographical sketch by Mr. Piton, under the head of "Lü-Puh-Wei, or from Merchant to Chancellor." This is followed by a continuation of Mr. Parker's "Extracts" commenced in the last issue. Two papers by Dr. Edkins and one by Dr. Chalmers, notices of new books, and notes and queries, are the remaining contents. Among the books received are a reprint of Dr. Edkins' article, "The Yi King of the Chinese," which appeared in Vol. XVI. Part 3 of this Journal; No. 4, vol. xvi. of the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal,* in which the only article of Sinologic interest is said to be one by Mr. E. H. Parker on the "Ancient Language of China." The reviewer thinks that the Chinese themselves have "never shown any really philologic interest . . . but that the whole field of Chinese philology is as yet a barren waste," only lately brought under cultivation, in which labourers would do well to pursue each his own course without depreciating the work of another. Mrs. Bryson's "Child Life in Chinese Homes"

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meets with approval, and the "Cochin-Chine Française," in Nos. 17-21 of the Saigon "Excursions et Reconnaissances," calls forth the remark that, whatever the political results of French conquests in Indo-China, they will convey immense advantages to the interests of science. Dr. Hirth's "China and the Roman Orient" is considered an instance of the expenditure of valuable time and energy on philological research, the results of which are not equivalent to the cost of the *chandelle*.

Turkish.—The "Dictionnaire Turc-Française," by Barbier de Meynard, is a useful and admirable supplement to previous dictionaries, containing words of Turkish origin; Arabic and Persian words used in Osmanli Turkish with their particular significations; proverbs and popular sayings, and a geographical vocabulary of the Ottoman Empire. The fourth part of the 1st volume has been published by the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes.

The *Athenæum* of May 8 heralds the forthcoming translation by Mr. E. J. W. Gibb of the "History of the Forty Vazirs," a Turkish story-book of the 15th century. It adds that the only complete translation of this collection into a European language is that in German by Dr. Behrnauer (1851), containing 80 subordinate stories; but that, as MSS. differ in the selections made, Mr. Gibb proposes to publish no less than 112 distinct stories collected from separate versions, some of which will be found variants of widely-distributed popular tales.

In the preface of his little "Vade Mecum of Ottoman Colloquial Language," published in 1885, Dr. J. W. Redhouse promised to prepare a series of more complete and scientific works for the use of those who might wish to penetrate deeper into the arcana of what he justly called the "really beautiful" Turkish language. This pledge, which was in part redeemed

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by the publication of a small but excellent English-Turkish and Turkish-English Dictionary in 1856, and of a very complete English-Turkish Lexicon in 1861, is now receiving its crowning fulfilment in the issue of an elaborate and exhaustive Turkish-English Lexicon. This book, three parts of which are out, is being published by the Board of American Missionaries at Constantinople[1] (no English firm having been found willing to take the risk), and will, when finished, form the most complete and trustworthy work of the kind in any European language. It contains 94,000 words, and occupied four years in compilation. But this does not represent anything like the amount of time that has been spent in collecting the materials utilized in compiling it. Some twenty years ago the learned and industrious author commenced an enormous Thesaurus of Arabic, Persian, Ottoman and Eastern Turish words and phrases, explained at first both in Ottoman Turkish and in English, latterly in English alone. This gigantic undertaking, in which it was intended to include every procurable word in those languages, was brought down to the end of the letter س, when the long time that would be necessary to complete the work, and the extreme improbability of finding any publisher willing to take it up, determined the author to abandon his Herculean task. The tangible result of years of uninterrupted and loving labour, the huge folio volumes containing upwards of 84,000 words, many explained at great length, were last year (1885) presented by Dr. Redhouse to the British Museum, where, the author modestly hopes "they may prove useful to young Oriental students in various ways, partly as an inducement to do better, and partly as a warning against attempting too much." It is owing to the stores collected during the years of work at the Thesaurus that Dr. Redhouse has been enabled to complete his Ottoman-English Lexicon in the comparatively short space of four

[1] Messrs. Trübner and Co. are the agents for its sale in this country.

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years. Gifted with linguistic talents of a very high order, and having devoted a long life to the study of the Turkish language, and especially to Turkish lexicography, Dr. Redhouse is probably better equipped for the task undertaken than any other living scholar. Under these circumstances it was natural to expect that his work should be in every respect far superior to all existing European Turkish dictionaries. Judging from the three parts that have already appeared, these expectations will be more than realized; numerous words and phrases occurring in the classical writers of Turkey, which are absent from the pages of his predecessors, are to be found here; many meanings unknown to the earlier workers are entered; and in several instances erroneous or defective definitions are corrected or amplified. In preparing this invaluable work, Dr. Redhouse may well be said to have set the seal on his own reputation, and to have placed every student of the Ottoman language or literature under a lasting debt of gratitude.

Uzbek.—In the *Athenæum* of 21st November there is a review of "Die Scheïbaniade:" an Uzbek Epic Poem in Seventy-six Cantos. The author of the original Túrki work was Prince Muhammad Salih of Khwárizm; and Professor Vambéry has now reprinted the native text with a German translation, introduction, and notes.

Egyptology.—On this subject there are in the *Academy*:—June 6, 1885, a communication from Dr. W. Pleyte, of Leiden, reviewing the discoveries of M. Naville at Pithom. June 20, an article by M. Naville on the identification of Goshen. August 8 and 15 contain papers by M. Maspéro, giving an account of his excavations during the preceding winter:—the discovery of a funereal chapel of the 11th Dynasty, a little distance from El-Khozám, north of Thebes:—an amusingly-told discovery of a mysterious chamber 40 feet

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below the surface of the ground in the cemetery of Drongah, south of Siút, containing more than 200 vases in stone and bronze, probably as old as the 4th or 5th Dynasties. Near the village of El Qaçâa, a little south of Edfu, was found a tomb dating from the end of the Ptolemaic period. Interesting details are given of the tombs at Gébéléïn, the ancient Aphroditêspolis. The second part of M. Maspéro's report is chiefly devoted to a description of the Necropolis at Akhmîm, near El Hawawîsh. He concludes by mentioning the discovery at the village of Helleh, of the tomb of an equerry belonging to the time of Ramses III., and the picture of the king's two war-horses: of a temple built by Ramses III. at Mesheikh: while from a Coptic convent near Assuân he procures twenty monkish epitaphs of the seventh century, among them those of two Bishops of Philæ, hitherto unknown. Further details of M. Maspéro's work can be learned from his paper read before the Académie des Inscriptions on the 24th July, and from the accounts forwarded by him from time to time to the "Journal des Débats."

August 8 has also a notice of the Exhibition of the Objects found by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Naukratis, at the Room of the Royal Archæological Institute, Oxford Mansion. The same notice tells us that the principal results of the past season's work are:—1. Discovery of the site of Naukratis and of the plan of the Streets; 2. Discovery of the remains of the only archaic Greek temple known in Egypt; 3. Discovery of the only series of ceremonial foundation deposits yet known; 4. A large collection of archaic Greek iron tools of the sixth century B.C.; 5. A large collection of archaic Greek pottery, much of it incised with dedications of the sixth and seventh centuries B.C.; 6. The largest number of Egyptian weights yet known; and 7. A series of over a thousand stamped amphora handles. October 3 contains a long review of the Exhibition by Mr.

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Ernest A. Gardner, while October 17 and 24 have an account of the Terra-cottas of Naukratis by Miss Amelia B. Edwards. In September 26 she reviews, under the head "Some Minor Egyptological Literature," the following books:—"Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben in Altertum," by Dr. Adolf Erman; "Egyptian Religion," by J. Lieblein; "Gammelaegyptisk Religion," by J. Lieblein; "Ueber Altägyptische Religion," by J. Lieblein; "Ueber Pithom, Hero, Klysma nach Naville," by A. Dillmann; "Gedächtnissrede auf Karl Richard Lepsius," by A. Dillmann; "Richard Lepsius: ein Lebensbild," by G. Ebers; "Antichità Sarde e loro Provenienza," by G. Ebers. August 15 tells us that the Louvre has recently acquired about 31 demotic papyri, chiefly dating from the reigns of Psammetichus and Amasis. October 31 and November 7 contain an account of the third annual general meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and of Mr. Petrie's paper on "Naukratis," and M. Naville's on his excavations in the Delta and identification of Goshen.

November 7 has, too, a letter from Dr. G. Bühler on the recent discoveries made by Prof. Karabacek and Drs. Wessely and Krall in the course of their exploration of the Archduke Rainer's famous collection of papyri. In December 5 is a long notice of the Revue Egyptologique, 1881–85, by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, and in December 26 a review of E. A. Wallis Budge's "The Dwellers on the Nile" by Thomas Tyler. January 2 and 30, and February 6, have contributions from Mr. Flinders Petrie and Mr. Ernest Gardner, on the progress of discovery at Naukratis. January 2 has also a short communication from Mr. F. Ll. Griffith on the identification of Kom-el-Husn (a three hours' walk south of Naukratis) with Amu. We have most interesting "Letters from Egypt" by Professor Sayce, in the Nos. of January 23, February 13, March 20, and May 1. In that of March 20, dated from Luxor, February 26, he gives us some account of

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the excavations at Assuán by General Grenfell and his soldiers. There are also two short notices on this subject by Miss Amelia B. Edwards in March 13 and May 1. In Feb. 13 notice is given of Mr. P. le Page Renouf's appointment as Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, in succession to Dr. Birch, and also of the advent, long looked for, and eagerly awaited, of M. Edouard Naville's edition of the "Book of the Dead." Under the head "American Jottings," Jan. 30 and May 8, we learn that the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund numbers already over five hundred subscribers, and also that Mr. A. W. Thayer, formerly U.S. Consul at Trieste, dedicates to that Fund the entire net proceeds of the sale of his book, "The Hebrews and the Red Sea." In Feb. 27 we have communications from Mr. Petrie and Mr. Griffith from Tell Nebesheh, one of the cemeteries of Tanis, giving a description of the cemetery, and of a temple in which was found a black granite altar of Amenemhat II. (XII. Dynasty), beside which were the thrones of two life-sized statues of kings of that dynasty, and a fragment of a statue important as confirming a geographical inference as to the hieroglyphic name of the nome of Tanis. Two foundation deposits were discovered in the corners of an unimportant building in the cemetery. At the gateway of the enclosure of the temple a headless sphinx in black granite, with inscriptions much erased, but probably dating from the XII. Dynasty, was found; in the temple some sculptured blocks of red granite, two bearing figures of Khem; and the lower part, from waist to ancles, of a statue of Ptah in black granite.

Some of the identifications already made by the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund are noted as follows: Pi-Tum (Pithom)=Hero=Tell Maskhuta; Naukratis=Nebireh; Kes (Goshen)=Phakoussa=Saft-el-Henna; Amu, capital of Libyan nome=Tell Hisn; nome of Am Pehu=Tanite nome, and Am=Tell Nebesheh or Tanis. The same *Academy* has a

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letter from Mr. Greville Chester on the genuineness of a set of chessmen from Thebes. The number for March 13 has a notice from Mr. Petrie on Tell Ferâin (Buto), and some further remarks from Mr. Griffith on Tell Nebesheh. March 27 has news of excavations at Naukratis from Mr. Ernest Gardner. April 10 gives us, from Mr. Petrie, an account of more discoveries at Tell Nebesheh, and of the finding, by Mr. Griffith, at Tell Gemayemi, of the traces of a large building and enclosure, with foundation deposits and several bronzes; the remains of a wooden shrine richly inlaid with inscriptions and patterns in coloured glass, unhappily broken up by the decay of the wood; a fine seated statuette of Isis; and a curious set of plaster casts of statues. In May 29 we have recorded the grateful thanks of the Trustees of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for the large and valuable collection of pottery, metal work, and other objects excavated at Naukratis and San, and presented by the Egypt Exploration Fund in acknowledgment of the American contributions. In the *Academy* of March 6 is a review of Mr. Petrie's "Tanis," part i., by Georg Ebers.

At the June meeting of the Society of Biblical Archæology papers were read on "The Topography of Northern Syria, with special reference to the Karnak Lists of Thothmes III.," by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins; "The Eclipse in Egyptian Texts," by Mr. le Page Renouf; "The Site of This," by Prof. Sayce. The "Proceedings" of the Society contain papers by: Mr. Cope Whitehouse on "The Bahr Yusuf and the Prophecy of Jacob"; Dr. A. Wiedemann on "The Queen Pekersala, of the beginning of the Saitic Period," on "The Egyptian Monuments at Venice," and "Notes on the Cult of Set and on the Hyksos Kings"; Mr. P. le Page Renouf on "The Myth of Osiris Unnefer" (see remarks and correspondence on this subject in the *Academy* of May 8 and 15); and Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge on "Sepulchral Boxes." There are also communications from Prof. Sayce on "A Hieroglyphical

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Inscription at How," and from Mr. P. le Page Renouf on "The name of the Winged Solar Disk on Egyptian Monuments."

In the *Revue Egyptologique* we have the following communications:—"On the Poem of Pentaur," by J. De Rougé; Letters to M. Revillout on "the Fayum Greek contracts in the Louvre," from Charles Wessely; on the Ancient Rights of Women, by Victor Revillout; on House Taxation, from a Greek papyrus in the British Museum; from Eugene Revillout, "Adoption by Mancipation (purchase) in the reign of Amasis, and divers forms of mancipation relating to human beings," "The Prayers for the Dead in Egyptian Epigraphy," "Accounts of the Serapeum," Greek papyrus 45 of the British Museum, and a new extract on the subject of the jackal Koufi and the Ethiopian cat; from W. N. Groff, a Letter to M. Revillout on the names Jacob and Joseph in Egyptian.

In the *Illustrated London News* of July 18 is a long and interesting paper by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, giving an account of the excavation of the Great Temple of Luxor, carried out under the able direction of M. Maspéro, with five illustrations from photographs.

The *Archæological Journal* (No. 164) contains an account of Antiquities from San, by Mr. Flinders Petrie.

The *Athenæum* of August 29 has a paper by Mr. Cope Whitehouse on the Reian Basin of Lake Mœris, and of August 15 a review of Brugsch's "Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter"; in Dec. 26 is a notice of Commander H. H. Gorringe's "Egyptian Obelisks"; and in April 24 mention is made of MM. Derenbourg's transcriptions, translations, and explanations of sixty-one Phœnician inscriptions copied by Prof. Sayce from the *graffiti* in the temple of Seti I. at Abydos.

In the *Journal Asiatique* (No. 2, 1885) M. Maspéro gives an Arab version of the story of Rhampsinitus, which, curious

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to relate, has returned to Egypt quite recently by means of the same writer's "Contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne," given by him to a schoolmaster at Erment. He, in his turn, passed the stories on to the people of Erment and Gournah, whence they travelled to Luxor and Neggadeh, and probably still further.

Obituary notices of the late Dr. Birch are to be found in all the well-known papers and magazines, and expressions of regret at his loss are received from Egyptologists in all parts of the globe. A collection of the several Biographies, together with a Bibliography of his literary works, has been published by his son, Mr. Walter De Gray Birch, F.S.A., etc.

A most interesting series of Lectures on the Manners and Customs, Art and Literature, and Religion (with special reference to the burial of the dead), of the Ancient Egyptians, has been given to women in the Egyptian Galleries of the British Museum by Mrs. Tirard (Miss Helen Beloe).

Mr. Petrie geographically describes a "Digger's Life" in Egypt in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for March. Believers in Copts will have welcomed the testimony he gives, based on his own experience, to their worth. "If ever Egypt is to stand alone," he says, "it must be on a Coptic basis. That race—the real Egyptians—who have for twelve hundred years held their own against every persecution and in spite of a domineering fanaticism—has in it more vitality than is dreamt of in England. If no foreign influence is brought to bear against them, and real liberty be established in the country, the Copts will, by their force of character and intellect, rise to the top. They have, in spite of everything, been all through at the top of the civil service, with nothing but the foreign military caste and its dependents above them, simply by brain power." We have thought it worth while to give this extract, coming as it does from one who for some years past has lived for

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the most part not among the Europeans, but among the Egyptians in Egypt.

While on the subject of Copts, we may mention that the *Athenæum* of August 15 has a review of Butler's "Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt"; and that in the "Proceedings" of the Society of Biblical Archæology, May 4th, is a paper by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, "On a Coptic Version of an Encomium on Elijah the Tishbite, attributed to S. John Chrysostom."

Some pamphlets on the subject of the Coptic Church have been published by the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt. The endeavour of this Association is to hold out the hand of sympathy towards a Church, to which, in due time, it may be able, without destroying its nationality, to impart some more accurate knowledge of the truth, and some fresh vigour and spiritual life. To this end classes for young men have been established at Cairo, with very fair success.

Among books recently published on Egypt, we note the following:—

E. Naville, "Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie; H. de Vaujauy, Description de l'Egypte (deuxième partie), Alexandrie et la Basse-Egypte; H. Brugsch and J. Dümichen, Recueil de monuments égyptiens, 5ième et 6ième parties; A. Massy, Etudes Egyptiennes, I. Le Papyrus de Leyde; A. Massy, Glossaire du Roman de Setna; A. Massy, Le Papyrus de Nebseni (exemplaire hiéroglyphique du livre des morts conservé au British Museum); A. Massy, Choix de Textes Egyptiens traduits en Francais; W. Flinders Petrie, Tanis, Part 1; Georg Ebers, Cicerone durch das alte und neue Aegypten; C. Abel, Einleitung in ein aegyptisch-semitisch-indo-europaïsches Wurzelwörterbuch, Heft 2; H.H. Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan, from the earliest times to the year 1885 inclusive; H. Hyvernat, Actes des

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Martyrs de l'Egypte, tirés des manuscrits Coptes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane et du Musée Borgia.

Japanese.—To carry out the scheme for the Romanization of the Japanese language lately revived by the Professors of the University of Tokio, a society was formed which soon numbered a multitude of members, including many names distinguished in science and in politics. A transliteration committee, consisting of four Japanese and two Europeans, was appointed, and the compilation of a vocabulary and test-periodical were taken into consideration. The Government will, it is believed, give the movement its support. Supporters of the innovation argue that the phonetic construction of the Japanese language is so far favourable to its introduction that it admits of the use of twenty-two Roman letters, without recourse being had to any diacritical marks, except the long sign over certain vowels.

Among new books relating to the country are: Isabella Bird, "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan"; Lord Ronald Gower, "Notes of a Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama"; Percy Thorpe, "The History of Japan"; J. Morris, "Kotaka, a Japanese Tale"; Judith Gautier, "Poèmes de la Libellule, traduits du Japonais, d'après la version littérale de M. Saionzi, illustré par Yamemoto"; Steindachner, F., and L. Doederlein, "Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Fischer Japans, III."; B. H. Chamberlain, "Simplified Grammar of the Japanese Language"; P. Noack, "Lehrbuch der Japanischen Sprache."

Annales de l'Extrème Orient.—In the number for April we have the commencement of an interesting paper by P. Frédé, entitled "Les Russes sur le Chemin de l'Inde"; a short notice of the Mahdi; M. J. Raubert's views on the French protectorate of Obock, with suggestions as to the occupation of Zulah (the ancient Adulis) and Shaikh Saïd, near Cape

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Bab-el-Mandeb; and M. Lanchier's article (continued) on "Les Richesse Africaines et les moyens de les acquérir," dealing mainly with Dahomey, Porto Novo, the Topos coast, and Lagos. In the number for May M. P. Frédé finishes with "Les Russes sur le Chemin de l'Inde"; M. Pierre Christi discusses the "Commerce de Bangkok en 1883"; and M. Lanchier continues his remarks on "Les Richesses Africaines," etc., applying them to Benin, the Niger, Benoué, Bonny, and Old Calabar. There is also a short review of "Les Richesses du Tongking, les produits a y importer et l'exploitation Françaises. Guide administratif, commerciale, industriel, agricole," etc. The number for June has an interesting article by M. Mercier entitled "Les voies commerciales avant Gama," being a comprehensive survey of the chief commercial highways between the West and the extreme East prior to the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama. The Wealth of Africa is illustrated this time by "Le Rio del Rey, le Rumby, la voie Ambas et le massif du Cameroon; la rivière Bimbio et les habitans de William-town." There are also notes or communications on the coast of Guinea, the Congo, Zanzibar, Madagascar, and Sumatra. In July there is the introduction to a paper on "L'Art dramatique en Extrême Orient," by Count Meyners d'Estrey; the continuation of the articles on the "Richesses d'Afrique," in reference to the Cameroons; articles on Arab education in Tunis, and the account of a voyage to the Somali country. The four succeeding numbers are greatly taken up with the already broached subjects of dramatic art in the far East, and the riches of Africa, but there is in the September number a notice of Dr. Duka's "Life of Csoma de Körös," which M. Léon Feer pronounces "un volume très intéressant, rempli de faits, de documents . . ."; and a sketch of British Australia, with a certain amount of useful statistics. In December the subjects are the Portuguese in Morocco (a continuation); M. De Brazza's Mission, a short but suggestive

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article on the French Congo; the Commerce of Tonking, and the Exterior Commerce of Independent Burma. The last attempts to show roughly the paying results of our annexation, and arrives at the conclusion that an intelligent and honest government could obtain from the country "d'immenses richesses."

Epigraphy. — In its issue of 1st of August, 1885, the *Academy* states that a copy of the inscription which gives additional value to the cast of the Hittite Lion deposited in the Egyptian Gallery of the British Museum, would be found in the new edition of Dr. Wright's "Empire of the Hittites."

The *Revue Archéologique* for Mai—Juin contains an interesting article by Prof. G. Perrot, entitled "The Monument of Eflatûn and a Hittite Inscription," in which an account and drawing are given of the curious monument of Eflatûn near Beg Shehr, in Asia Minor, first noticed by Hamilton, as well as of a new Hittite inscription discovered by Professor Sokslouski on a road leading from Ikonium. The copy of the inscription was found too imperfect to show more than its Hittite origin.

Under the title of "L'Arabie avant Mahomet, d'après les Inscriptions," M. Philippe Berger has published a valuable lecture on the important inscriptions recently discovered in Central Arabia, and the inferences that may be drawn from them. From a summary in the *Academy* of 15th August we learn that shortly after Mr. Doughty's journey to Medaïn Saleh, and discovery there of Nabathæan tombs and inscriptions, Huber, the French traveller, found his way to the ruins of Teima, north-east of that place, and came upon "an important stêle, containing two bas-reliefs in the Assyrian style, and an inscription of twenty-four lines in Aramaic characters, which are as early, at least, as the fourth century B.C." He had proposed to repeat the ex-

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ploration in company with Prof. Euting, but was prevented by the hand of the assassin.[1] Fortunately, squeezes and copies had been already taken of the inscription, and the stone itself is now safe in the Louvre. In the dedication engraved on it to the gods of Teima, attention is called to the Egyptian character of the second name in the description of the dedicator, "the priest Tselem-Sazab, son of Petosiris." Like other inscriptions copied by Messrs. Huber and Euting in the neighbourhood, this may be cited as evidence of the former occupation of Central Arabia by Nabathæan tribes. Since the Nabathæans belonged to the Aramaic branch of the Semitic race—while inscriptions make it plain that Sabæan (or Himyaritic) influence and culture extended northward as far as their southern frontier—little room is left, as M. Berger remarks, for "the Arabia of the Koreishites and of Mohammed." He concludes that it must have originally been "a dialect extremely restricted in area, the language, in fact, of a small tribe, which, owing to local circumstances, reached, at a particular moment, an extraordinary degree of perfection." The *Academy* considers that the names of the deities mentioned on the newly-found monuments will throw much light on Semitic mythology, and quotes M. Clermont-Ganneau's indication that Tselem is a god to whom there is a reference in Amos v. 26. The various interpretations put upon the Scriptural passage somewhat perplex the investigation, and although the Revised Version follows the Old in making Moloch and Chiun proper names, Dr. Pusey holds the true reading to be, in two distinct clauses, "the tabernacle of your king (Ar. ملككم), and of Chiun your images." In addition to an article on the subject in the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, M. E. Renan has addressed the Académie des Inscriptions, on the 26th June and 3rd July, on the Aramæan stêle of Teima, which he considers second in interest to the stêle

[1] See note at page lxvi.

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of the Moabite King Mésa. The *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of the 18th July has also a notice of these Nabathæan Inscriptions, and of Mr. Doughty's "Documents Epigraphiques."

In the *Athenæum* of the 26th September mention is made of Prof. Euting's account of ninety-eight inscriptions collected during his travels in Syria and Arabia in the years 1883–4, which appeared in the last number of the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Berlin, under the title of "Epigraphische Miscellen." Amongst the collections are an old Hebrew and one old Aramaic inscription; two Phœnician, two Egypto-Aramaic on papyrus, forty Palmyrene, twenty-two Hebrew and Græco-Hebrew, and twenty-eight Greek inscriptions. Some have already been published by M. Clermont-Ganneau and by others. The Græco-Hebrew inscriptions are of importance for the history of early Christianity. In the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* for August there is also a notice of Professor Euting's paper by Dr. G. H. Müller, of Vienna, who compliments him on the admirable way in which he has prepared these inscriptions for publication.

Besides M. Renan's paper above named, the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, Tome i. No. 2, contains the following articles on epigraphy: J. and H. Derembourg, "Nouvelles études sur l'epigraphie du Yemen"; J. Oppert, "L'Inscription du Saros"; Ledrain, "Quelques inscriptions palmyréniennes."

At the séance of the *Académie des Inscriptions* of 29th May M. Oppert exhibited photographs of two fragments of trilingual inscriptions found at Rhé, the ancient Rhages, near Teheran. The inscriptions are of King Artaxerxes Mnemon. Their value is in the evidence they give that the Achæmenian kings sometimes resided in the region where the Median language was spoken, a circumstance to be inferred from the use made of that tongue in their inscriptions.

At the séance of the Académie of the 24th July it was announced that important Coptic stêles had been found at

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Erment and Assuán in Upper Egypt, the date of which could be determined by the inscriptions.

The Phœnician inscription referred to in the table of contents, vol. xxxix. part 2 of the Z.D.M.G. relates to part of an inscription on a marble fragment of an altar at Tyre. The letters, about one hundred in number, are very elegantly formed. Dr. Schroeder fixes the date at about the fourth or fifth century.

The *Academy* of 6th June states that Prof. D. H. Müller has lately published and translated four new inscriptions found at Palmyra, by Dr. Samson. One of them is attached to the figure of a man, above whom two palm branches are carved, and two others are engraved, each between the busts of a man and a woman. The last of these records the name of Rubat, the son of Beb'-agab, a name already met with in Palmyrene texts, not unlike that of the Biblical Jacob.

According to the *Academy* of the 29th August the long inscription of Nissanka Malla (12th century), discovered at Anuradhapura in Ceylon, would be published in the Journal of the Pâli Text Society.

In No. iii. of the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* for 1885 is a paper by the Derembourgs on the Phœnician Inscriptions of the Temple of Seti in Abydos; one by Professor Oppert on a Babylonian Inscription of Antiochus Setu; and one by M. Lethain on certain Semitic Inscriptions. The second is noteworthy from its illustration of the light thrown by Cuneiform on other than local history.

At the séance of the Académie des Inscriptions of the 11th September M. Bergaigne communicated a letter received from M. Aymonier reporting that he had obtained some new inscriptions, some of which were Sanskrit (one Buddhist). He was to continue his studies on the Tcham race, whose rule preceded that of the Annamites on a part of the west coast of Indo-China.

In the *Revue Critique* of 22nd June M. Clermont-Ganneau

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has a note on "Une Nouvelle Inscription relative à Baal Marcod," from the neighbourhood of Deir-el-Kal'a, near Beyrout. In the number of 6th July he writes on "Un nouveau titulus funéraire de Joppé," bearing a Greek inscription, recently discovered, and probably coming from the ancient Jewish burial-ground there, the position of which he determined some years ago.

From the *Athenæum* of the 29th August we learn that Professor Derenbourg's first fasciculus of the Himyaritic Inscriptions—forming part of the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, edited by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres—was then in the printer's hands; and, from the *Academy* of the 19th September, that the first chapter of the Aramæan Section (Fasc. iii.) was in slips, the second chapter, containing Aramæan Inscriptions, being ready for the press.

M. Sénart's pamphlet, entitled "L'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Linguistique de l'Inde," is an argument in favour of a more direct and serious employment of *documents épigraphiques* to obtain further light on the history of Indian language and Indian literature. He gives his reasons for this new resort to Epigraphy, and formulates his conclusions under four heads; but the pamphlet should be studied as a whole, and is recommended for perusal accordingly. It consists of little more than twenty pages, and the writer's name is a sufficient guarantee that it is readable.

Numismatics.—Besides the three short papers by Mr. Charles J. Rodgers, Principal of the Normal College at Amritsir, which appears among the contents of part i., there is in part ii., Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, an article relating to symbols or devices on the gold coins of the Guptas, which will interest the numismatist. It is by Mr. W. Theobald, M.N.S.L., who aims at giving a new and more correct interpretation of Gupta symbols, such as the fillet, cornucopia, and footstool. Another article by Mr. Rodgers

on the square silver coins of the Sultans of Kashmir, is of historical as well as numismatic interest. There is also in the same issue a paper by Major Raverty on the Kings of the Safavian Dynasty of Nimroz or Sigistan, referring to a previously published note by Mr. Rodgers on some Kandahar coins.

The *Academy* of June 6th, 1885, reviews Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's "Coins and Medals; their place in History and Art;" and the *Athenæum* of the 8th August the same author's "Coins of the Turks in the British Museum." In the eight volumes which embrace the whole collection, the respective coins are thus classified:

Vol. i. (1875), the initial coinage of the Muhammadans, *i.e.* for a period comprising nearly the whole numismatic history of the Khiláfat till its overthrow by Huláku on the capture of Baghdad. Vol. ii. (1876), the Amawees of Spain and succeeding dynasties of that country; with the small dynasties in North Africa, the Samánis of Samarkand, Nisháp̃ur, Bokhára, the Ghaznavis, Khwárizmis, and Buweyhis. Vol. iii. (1877), the three great Túrkman houses, Seljuk, Urtuk and Bani Zángi, with those of smaller dynasties and individual rulers. Vol. iv. (1879), the coinage of Egypt under the Fatimites, Aiyúbis, and Mamluk Sultans. Vol. v. (1880), the Moors of Africa and Spain, and Kings and Imáms of the Yemen. Vol. vi. (1881), the various Mughal dynasties. Vol. vii. (1882), Bukhára (Transoxiana) from Timúr onward. Vol. viii. (and last, 1885), the Othmanli or Turkish Sultáns to the present times, including the Amírs who ruled in Asia Minor after the fall of the Seljukis of Rúm.

Dr. Bushell's pamphlet on "Ancient Roman Coins from Shansi" is a republication from the Journal of the Peking Oriental Society. It gives an interesting account of a curious find of sixteen Roman copper coins, among which are examples of the money of twelve Emperors, ranging from Tiberius to Aurelian. A little copper coin of Henry III. of France had

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made its way into the same collection. They are said to come from Ling-shih-hsien, a small district town in the interior of Shansi, on the left bank of the Féu, an affluent of the Yellow River, and about 20 miles north of Ho-chou. Dr. Bushell can venture no guess as to how they got to the locality, if indeed they *were* dug up there; their appearance led to the inference that they had been buried. He adds that "the latest embassy from Ta-ch'in mentioned in the Chinese records arrived with 30,000 sheets of paper in A.D. 284, fourteen years after the death of Aurelian, the last Emperor represented" in the series.

For information on Mr. Poole's "Fasti Arabici," or recent works on Muhammadan and other Oriental coins, the space already taken up in the Annual Report suggests reference to the publications of the Numismatic Society.

English and Vernacular Literature of India.— Calcutta Review.—Civilians, soldiers and others whose better years have been passed in India, but who, after return home, have held little communication with residents in that vast Empire for a period of ten to twenty years, should experience a sensation of profound astonishment in perusing the numbers of the *Calcutta Review* as now issued. Not the least instructive portion of the contents of that well-maintained publication is that which affords insight into the progress of the native intellect. That natives of India should have learnt to write English as they do in the pages of the several Reviews, Proceedings of Societies, and periodicals which are received in England from the Presidencies and larger towns, is in itself surprising; but the fact may be in a great measure accounted for by the perseverance and almost thoroughness with which they engage in their earlier studies. Unlike the ordinary English student, who is called away from his books by cricket and boat-racing, tennis and other attractions or social demands, he spends his leisure

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hours in self-imposed scholastic tasks, and in many cases becomes imperceptibly a literary man, endowed with a literary style picked up from the writers of the days whose merits he has heard extolled by his English Professors or companions. In any case the progress to be recorded in this respect for the last few years is immense. And for the other sex, the names of some of the lady-writers and the subjects they have taken up—together with the success they appear to have achieved—all this is "passing strange" and, let us hope, hopeful. Nor is it the least agreeable sign of the times that the ladies write in their own vernacular.

Since our last Annual Report five more numbers of the *Calcutta Review* have been received, and are of sufficiently varied character to attract the general reader. "Something about Snakes" and other cognate matters, which is the opening paper in No. clx., is a "further contribution" to what Dr. Vincent Richards calls the "literature of snake-poisoning," which may be read with interest and advantage by other than residents in India. "Detective Experiences in Bengal," by Mr. H. Giles, is certainly, as the author himself apprehends, too sensational a title for a sober, thoughtful article on a proposed Detective Scheme for India; but after all, it is only the title. The "House of Lords" suggests the admission of distinguished Indian and Colonial Officials as members of the Upper House, India and the Colonies being now represented there by a few peers who have filled the office of Viceroy or Governor-General. Mr. Sinnett considers the "Theosophical Movement" in India to merit attention, not only in its aspect as a system of philosophical inquiry, but because its philosophical are "intimately blended with its social and philanthropic aspects." A writer who signs himself "Covenanted" has to deal with a delicate subject in discussing "the Moral Progress of Indian Administration," but acquits himself of his task with praiseworthy earnestness, and winds up his observations in a loyal

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and becoming spirit. Col. Tyrrell's review of Sir Lambert Playfair's "Scourge of Christendom" is the substance of the article headed "Turks in Algiers." In "Nádir Shah," by Lieut. Wheeler, the great Eastern Conqueror is made doubly conspicuous by the light character of the preceding paper, under the signature of Esmé. "Economic Reform in Rural India" is a continuation of Mr. Harington's previous chapters on matters deserving serious attention; and the Editor's Notes on the Quarter, a Summary of Annual Reports, and Critical Notices complete the issue for April, 1885.—No. clxi., for July, contains "The Pre-Historic Man of Caves and Lake Dwellings," by a practised writer, Mr. Rehatsek: Mr. Mackenzie Cameron's "Business Journeys through Java," with a far from inviting description of Batavia: Mr. R. N. Cust's "International Congresses of Science," in which the author gives an instructive account of the Oriental Congress at Berlin and Geographical Congress at Venice in 1881, and the Oriental Congress at Leyden, in Holland, in 1883: Mr. H. Giles's "Poisoners and their Craft": Mr. Keene's graphic "Indian Village": a "Recollection of a Battle-Field," by M.P.: Mr. Bishop's "Stray Leaves from an Asylum": Mr. Madge's "Moral Aspect of Trial by Peer:" Mr. Lee-Warner's "Two Eastern Empires—a Contrast": Esmé's "Few Words about Camping": Mr. Haslett's "Historic Notes," and verses under "Primula Vulgaris."—No. clxii. for October is opened by Mr. Keene with "the British Conquest of Hindostan." This is followed by Mr. Molesworth's paper comprising many men's ideas on a large question, called "Imperialism for India." His own view is that India should be "knit with our Colonies into one mighty federation—homogeneous in character, unselfish in aims, and united in policy." Mr. Turton Smith contributes "Control over Criminals"; Mr. Kennedy, "Punjab Ploughing"; Lieut. Wheeler, "Timur"; Mr. Cust, "The Tour of a Cook Party in Egypt and Palestine"; and Mr. Barada

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Mitra, "English Influence on Bengali Literature," in which the author unconsciously illustrates the effect of reading English books and periodicals upon the style of an intelligent Indian. Want of space only forbids the transcription of his last two pages. Mr. Arthur Harrington continues his "Economic Reform in Rural India"; and Esmé writes a lively sketch, entitled "Grit in the Wheels": Mr. Cheetham, in "The Congo Free State," repeats much of an old and well-worn story. Two papers in verse complete all but the regular monthly notices.—No. clxiii. begins well the New Year with an interesting paper by Mr. Rehatsek on "Missionaries at the Moghul Court, in Southern and in Portuguese India, during and after the Reign of Akbar." The other articles are, "Burma before the Ultimatum," by Major Edmund Browne; "Buddha as a Man," by Ram Chandra Bose; "A Dance of Death," by J. H.; the "Trial of Maha Raja Nanda Kumar," by Mr. Beveridge; and "Egypt," by Mr. Cust. In the quality rather than quantity of its contributions, the number is, perhaps exceptionally, substantial.—In No. clxiv. for April this year, is Mr. Barrow's "Mofussil Municipalities in Lower Bengal": Mr. Pringle Kennedy's "Two Empires," an opposite view, or "another side of the shield," to Mr. Lee-Warner's article already mentioned: Mr. Bate's "Sketches of European Hajjis," a title which tells its own tale: Mr. Tute's "on the Treatment of Ordinary Crime": Mr. Beveridge's continuation of the "Trial of Nanda Kumar": Mr. Gough's "Lotze's Philosophy"; and Mr. Kipling's blank verse called "The Seven Nights of Creation." As regards Mr. Beveridge's two articles, they form in themselves a volume of 230 odd pages; and are written with the object of proving Kumar's execution "a judicial murder."

The following is a resumé of most of the books noticed, with here and there a reviewer's comment:

January, 1885.—*English.*—Dr. Hunter's "Short History

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of the Indian People," sixth edition, "admirable little publication." Major-General H. K. Morgan's "Forestry in Southern India" "contains a mass of useful information." "Echoes," by two writers, "quaint, original, and altogether charming little vol. of Anglo-Indian verse" (Madras), authors believed to be "two children," Lahor. Atkinson's "Gazetteer N.W. Prov.," author congratulated on the completeness of his "tremendous publication," vol. ii., Govt. Press. "The Orient," an Anglo-Indian monthly magazine, December, 1884, "continues to improve," Bombay, 1884.

Vernacular.—"Bomgragriha," by Sita Nath Nandi, B.A.; Calcutta; written by a Brahmo, and reviewed in an anti-Brahmo spirit, European readers warned "against accepting the shocking picture of domestic life given in this book; writer's a good object, but not well carried out." "Griha Lakshmi," by Girijá Prasanna Ráya Chaudhuri; Calcutta. "Ami," by Kalimaya Ghatak; Calcutta; author describes it as a poem in prose, an expression interpreted as simply "self-conceit." Ramani-bijnán, by Durga Charan Ráya Kabiraj; Calcutta; a Hindu physician's instructions to Hindu women, deemed "a very useful publication." "Nihárikà," by the authoress of "Banalatá," and "Pushpapunja," by Srimati Soranbálá Dasi; "very creditable performances by Bengali ladies—first the more artistic, second sweet and simple." "Paláká," a weekly newspaper and review, Nos. 1 to 6; "hailed with delight" (editor, Jnánendralál Rája).

April, 1885.—*Vernacular.*—The "Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila," translated by Bannatyne, third edition; "the work displays a vast amount of labour and scholarship." "Misa-rajátri Bangáli," by Syámalál Mitra; Calcutta; account, by a Bangáli clerk in the Transport Department of India, of the war in Egypt: author complains of harsh treatment by European officers. A paper read by Babu Dwijendrath Tagor at Bowbazar (Sábitri Library); which is designated as "sharp, clever and smart writing." The author is clearly in

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favour of maintaining the nationality of his fellows, both in respect of the outer and inner man. "Jibani Sangraha," by Amritalál Basu; Calcutta; a collection of memoirs of distinguished natives.

July, 1885.—*English.*—"Sketches in Assam," by Dr. Bishop; "the level of the work not high, but quite readable." "The Orient," May, 1885, "a very good number indeed"; Bombay. "The Secret of Death," with some collected poems, by Edwin Arnold; "a free rendering, in English heroic metre, of the first three *Vallis* of the *Katha Upanishad*, interspersed with question and commentary . . . altogether the volume will distinctly add to Mr. Arnold's high reputation." "Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Körös," a biography by Theodor Duka, M.D.; "a book of more than ordinary interest"; Trübner, 1885.

Vernacular.—"Dwádas Nâri bá Arya Mahila," by Durgádás Láhiri; Calcutta; a memoir of twelve celebrated Hindu women, not favourably noticed by the critic. "Subarnabanik," by Nimái Chánd Sil"; an able work, discussing the caste-status of the Banniahs of Bengal; Calcutta, 1885. "Biswakos," compiled by Rangalái Mukhopádhyáya and Trailokyanáth Mukhopádhyáya; this is the first part of a dictionary and encyclopædia combined, has best wishes for success. "Bibaha Bibhrat," a comedietta by Amritulal Mukhopádhyáya; Calcutta; "written with considerable humour, but not a high work of art."

October, 1885.—*Vernacular.*—"Bángálir Lila," by Dhírendranáth Pál; "the author's descriptive power is of no mean order."

January, 1886.—*English.*—"Reminiscences of Sport in India," by Maj.-Gen. E. F. Burton; "a stirring record."

Vernacular.—"Chirasangini," by Purna Chandra Gupta; "a badly-written book published with a good intention"; "Bángáli Meye," or by Manmatha Náth Datta (not yet "qualified to be an author"), "to condemn the practice of

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marrying girls without their will." "Pratibhá," by Barandá Kánta Sen Gupta, "written with a social purpose, but in structure and execution immensely superior to preceding two works."

April, 1886.—*English*.—"The Dictionary of Islam," "executed with extraordinary ability." "The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought," by Count d'Alviella, translated by J. Moden, reviewing the history of the Brahmo Somaj movement. Gribble's "Outlines of Medical Jurisprudence for Indian Civil Courts"; Jolly's "Outlines of a History of Hindu Law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption; and Whitworth's "Anglo-Indian Dictionary," all get a word of commendation. The second vol. of "Haidarabad under Sir Salar Jung," by Maulavi Chiragh Ali, is less pleasantly treated; but Sir H. Maine's "Popular Government," and "The Life of William Carey," together with Col. Dowden's "Pamphlet on the Rupee," meet with approval, and under the head of "New India" are classed "Reforms and Progress in India," by an Optimist, and Mr. H. J. S. Cotton's "India in Transition."

Vernacular.—"Inlande Banga Mahíla," by a Bangáli Lady; a description of life in England; "the best book of the kind in the Bangáli language. "Náná Prabandha," by Raj Krishna Mukhopádhyáya, M.A., B.L.; Calcutta. A reprint of fifteen essays, which appear to possess much merit. "Saraswatakunja," by Chandra Shekara Mukhopádhyáya, "a good and delightful book"; but the author thinks Lord William Bentinck was wrong to abolish *Sati*.

Count F. A. v. Noër's Kaiser Akbar.—The second volume of the Kaisar Akbar of H.H. the late Count F. A. v. Noër has appeared, and has been reviewed by Georg Weber in the Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsberger). It will be remembered that a short sketch of the distinguished writer's career is contained in the Obituary Notices of this *Journal* for May,

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1882, and that the first two parts, forming the first volume of his work, were published in 1880 and 1881. These were entitled, "An Essay on Indian History in the 16th Century," whereas the present volume is issued as a posthumous collection of papers arranged by Dr. Gunter v. Buchwald. The reviewer regards the whole as a "noteworthy literary production, both in respect of its contents, which bring to light the reign and personality of a remarkable sovereign, about whom we, until now, have possessed very defective information, and on account of the illustrious author who, out of a noble thirst for knowledge, travelled three times in the East, and with great pains and by dint of zealous study at native sources, collected and put together the data for a historical monograph." Count Noër looked upon Akbar as the man for the future, and remarked that he had striven to attain, and partly attained to aims "which for the much-extolled 19th century yet lie in the dim distance." In reviewing his conduct towards the Muhammadan clergy (Ulema), he particularly noticed the way in which he carried on war against this spiritual hierarchy, "which recalls to mind the measures taken by the Bourbons against the order of the Jesuits in the 'seventies' of the 18th century." In conclusion, the reviewer refers to the work as one "in which the Muhammadan East, and Indian Middle Ages are illuminated by many a new, if faint, gleam of light. It is elegantly got up as regards style and typography, and contains two steel engravings—the portrait and the mausoleum respectively of the great reforming sovereign of the East." The first volume is dedicated to "Carmen, Countess v. Noër," the widow, who has conscientiously fulfilled the task bequeathed to her of bringing the work to completion; and on the fly-leaf of the second volume are the words, "To the memory of His Highness Prince Frederick August of Schleswig-Holstein, Count v. Noër."

Miscellaneous.—Royal Prizes for Asiatic Research.—His

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Majesty King Oscar II. of Sweden and Norway has been pleased to found two prizes for the best Essays on two Oriental subjects. They are as follows :—

A large gold medal in value about 1000 Swedish crowns, and a sum of money amounting to 1250 Swedish crowns, to the author of the best

1. History of the Semitic languages ;
2. Description of Arab Culture before the time of Muhammad.

A Committee has been formed to carry out the details. Many conditions are attached, of which competitors should inform themselves before entering for competition. Papers should be sent in before the end of the year 1888.

Russian Literature.—Nine volumes in Russian, chiefly on the derivations and affinity of words in various tongues, by Platon Lukachevitch, have been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society by the author. Of these the titles of two may be mentioned, *i.e.* :—

1. An Explanation of Assyrian Names. Kiev, 1868.
2. On the Origin of the Hebrew Language. Kiev, 1882.

Encyclopædia Britannica.—Since the appearance of vol. xvii. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (the last noticed in this Journal), three volumes have been issued. Among the principal articles in these, treating exclusively of Asiatic subjects, are the following :—

In vol. xviii. Oxus, by General Walker, R.E. ; Pahlavi, by Professor Nöldeke ; Palestine, by Professor Socin ; Palmyra, by Professor Robertson Smith ; Parsis, by Dr. Führer ; Peking, by Professor Douglas ; Persia, Ancient and Modern, by no less than five writers ; Philippine Islands, by Mr. H. A. Webster; Phœnicia, by Professors Socin and Gutschmid ; and Phrygia, by Mr. W. M. Ramsay. In vol. xx. General MacLagan's Punjáb and Mr. Ronson's Rajputana should

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be mentioned. Professor Robertson Smith lends his support to the theory that the Caphtu of Scripture is to be identified with the Island of Crete.

British and Foreign Bible Society.—The Honorary Secretary has communicated, as usual, a statement of the progress made by the British and Foreign Bible Society in translation work in the different languages of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America. With the object for which these translations are made this Society has no relation, but the annual outturn of work done supplies a startling proof of the progress of Linguistic knowledge. The very names of some of the languages specified were totally unknown, and would have remained so, but for these translations; and it may be noted that the preparation of Grammars and Dictionaries must precede translation; the work, therefore, is of solid and abiding nature.

Amharic.—Mr. Flad completed the new edition of the Bible on May 15. As the work proceeded he found that more emendations were necessary than were at first contemplated. He received valuable assistance from Mr. Argawi, who left for Abyssinia in October, 1885. About a thousand grammatical improvements were made in the Prophetical Books and a great many in the New Testament.

Amoy-Colloquial.—On the return of Dr. Maxwell to England the Rev. T. Barclay, M.A., of Formosa, was chosen to succeed him as Secretary to the New Testament Revision Committee. A good beginning has been made. Dr. Kip has revised the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and these have been printed at the mission press, and are now in the hands of the missionaries for final revision. Dr. Talmage has made steady progress with the Epistle to the Galatians, and Mr. Sadler is well advanced with the Acts of the Apostles.

Api.—The Rev. Dr. Steel, of Sydney, reports that the Society's Auxiliary is printing a version of one Gospel in the language of the island of Api in the New Hebrides.

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Arabic.—Dr. Van Dyck has completed his re-examination of his version of the Bible, and all mistakes that have been discovered are being corrected, and all defective plates are being remade or amended. The New Testament is being brought out in two new sizes, and the books, which are handy and attractive, are expected to be very popular. A new set of stereotype plates, for Portions, are being prepared to supersede the Society's old plates. These new editions are being prepared at Beyrout under the joint superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Isaac Bliss, of Constantinople, and the Rev. R. H. Weakley, of Alexandria, the Agents of the American, and the British and Foreign, Bible Societies.

Ararat-Armenian.—The Society's Bible, published at Constantinople in 1883, has been undergoing a careful examination by the Rev. A. Amirkhaniantz during the last two years. A complete set of marginal references has been prepared, taken chiefly from Dr. Scrivener's Cambridge Bible. Certain words in the text are to be transposed, a few words omitted have to be supplied, some obsolete words have to be replaced by others in general use, and faults of punctuation have to be rectified. Mr. Amirkhaniantz will also prepare chapter headings condensed from those in the English Authorized Version.

Beaver.—At the request of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Richard Young, Bishop of Athabasca, the Committee have printed an edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Mark in Roman character. The translation was made and edited by the Rev. A. C. Garrioch, of the Church Missionary Society. The version is the first book that has been printed in the language of the Beaver Indians, with the exception of a small and imperfect primer.

Canton Colloquial (for the blind).—The Committee, at the request of Mr. Samuel Dyer, the Society's Agent at Shanghai, have agreed to publish the Gospel of St. Luke in the Roman character. The version has been prepared by the Rev. F. Hartmann, of the Foundling Hospital, Hong Kong.

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Chinese (*Easy Wenli*).—At the request of the Committee of the Amoy Auxiliary Bible Society, the Committee have given permission to the Society's Agents in China to purchase and circulate copies of the version of the New Testament made by the Rev. Griffith John in a style more simple than that of the Delegates' version. The version was brought out by the National Bible Society of Scotland.

Fanti (*Ashanti*).—At the request of the Rev. W. M. Cannell, of the Cape Coast Wesleyan Mission, supported by the Rev. M. C. Osborn, the Committee have undertaken to publish an edition of 4000 copies of the Four Gospels. The version was made by a Fanti minister, named Parker, of the Wesleyan Church, whose father was a fetish priest. The translation was made from the English and compared with the Otji. It was afterwards carefully revised by a Committee of ministers, and finally passed by the Annual District Meeting of all the Wesleyan ministers. The version is intended for the Wesleyan Mission, which occupies nearly the whole of the Gold Coast for a distance of 300 miles, and inland for about 150 miles. They have 267 chapels and preaching stations, 495 agents, 5988 members, and 23,660 attending on public worship. The work is progressing slowly in the press, as the proofs have to be sent out to Cape Coast.

Fuh-chow Colloquial (Roman character).—The Gospel of St. John, prepared for the press and edited by the Rev. R. W. Stewart, of the Church Missionary Society, has been well received. A large portion of the New Testament is now ready for the press.

Gujarati.—The Translation Sub-Committee held two meetings during the year, one at Surat and the other at Ahmedabad. The meetings lasted nineteen days, during which they were engaged in revision work.

Hainan.—The version of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which the Committee authorized Mr. Jeremiassen to make for the aborigines of Hainan, who do not understand Chinese, has

been completed, and the Committee have authorized the publication of a tentative edition of 500 copies.

Hakka Colloquial.—At the request of the Rev. J. B. Ost, communicated by Mr. Samuel Dyer, the Society's Agent at Shanghai, the Committee have sanctioned the publication of the Old Testament, in portions, as the New Testament has already been published. The Book of Genesis is now passing through the press.

Harári.—A version of the Gospel of St. Matthew has been prepared, at the suggestion of Prof. Reinisch, of Vienna, by Hajlu, a Galla freedman from Harar. Hajlu was trained by the Swedish missionaries at Massowah, and he afterwards travelled with Prof. Reinisch in Africa as his servant. The Committee have agreed to purchase the version on the approval of Prof. Reinisch, to whom they already owe two new versions, the Bogos and the Falasha-Kara.

Hindi.—The New Testament Translation Committee, with the Rev. J. F. Holcomb as their secretary, have held six meetings since September, 1883, and have translated and revised the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and part of St. John. The translators have followed the text that underlies the Revised English version.

Hindustani.—The Rev. M. G. Goldsmith, of the C.M.S., has carried through the press Genesis and Exodus up to chapter xx. He is now engaged in a revision of the Gospel of St. Luke. The Gospel of St. Mark has been submitted to the revisers, and Mr. Goldsmith awaits their judgment before proceeding further.

Igbira.—The Ven. Archdeacon Johnson, C.M.S., the translator of the Nupé Gospels, reports that the whole of the New Testament has been translated, and awaits revision.

Japanese.—The Rev. P. K. Fyson, of the Church Missionary Society, reports some progress with the translation of the Old Testament. The books of Leviticus, Numbers,

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Deuteronomy, and Daniel, have been translated. He is beginning the translation of Isaiah, but he fears the Psalms may not be ready for publication this year.

Javanese.—Mr. Jansz, having completed, by the help of native scholars at Surakata, his version of St. Matthew, is now at Depok carrying the portion through the press. The publication has been much delayed by the slowness of the printer.

Kabyle.—The Gospel of St. John, translated by the Arab who assisted Père Olivier in the preparation of his Kabyle-French dictionary, has been thoroughly revised by Dr. Sauerwein, who edited the portion. The little book is received with considerable favour among the Kabyle.

Kafir (alias *Xosa*).—The Revision Committee have completed their labours on the Old Testament, and are now revising the New. The work is drawing to a close, and has been heartily approved of by the representatives of all the missionary bodies, including the Wesleyan. The Rev. A. Krapf has been appointed by the Revision Board to proceed to England to carry the version through the press.

Kalmuk (or Western Mongolian).—This language is closely related to the Buriat, in which we possess Swan and Stallybrass's translation of the whole Bible. During the work-period of the first Russian Bible Society, as early as 1815, a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew was printed in St. Petersburg by the British and Foreign Bible Society. St. John's Gospel was afterwards completed by the same translator, Dr. Schmidt, of the Sarepta (Moravian) Society. Subsequently the whole New Testament was said to have been completed, but it was never printed. The translation of the New Testament at present going forward, and of which four Gospels are now in the press, has been taken up by Professor Pozdnejeff, with the assistance of the Archimandrite Smirnoff in Astrakhan. The original number of the edition was to comprise 2000 copies, but at Professor Pozdnejeff's request

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the number was enlarged to 4000, with a subsidiary edition of 1000 copies of each of the four Gospels. This was founded on statistics supplied by the Professor, according to which the number of Kalmuks in European Russia should be, as estimated in 1869, 119,866; in Asiatic Russia, 40,000; while in China there are said to be 253,400 souls, possessed of a common language, not indeed devoid of dialectal peculiarities, but mutually intelligible, and having a common literature.

Kazán-Turki.—In 1884 an edition of 5000 copies of M. Saleman's version of St. Matthew was printed at the Kazan University Press. Saleman's translation of St. Mark, though completed, has not yet been printed. Mr. Nicolson writes: "The people for whom this translation is being made are the remains of the mighty Tartar kingdom which once had its seat at Kazan, on the Volga. They inhabit the Governments of Kazan, Orenburg, Samara, and Stavropol, and are said to number about 1,000,000 souls."

Kirghiz-Turki.—A third edition of the New Testament, consisting of 4000 copies, is now being printed at the Kazan University Press, and edited by M. Saleman, of the St. Petersburg University. The first edition, consisting of 5000 copies, was printed at Astrakhan in 1820. The version was an adaptation, by the Rev. Charles Fraser, of the Scottish Mission, of the version made by the Rev. H. Brunton, and printed at Karass. The version was revised by Professor Gottwald, and an edition of 3000 copies was printed at the Kazan University Press for this Society, under the care of M. Saleman in 1880.

The Rev. W. Nicolson, the Society's Agent at St. Petersburg, says of the people for whom the version is intended: "The Kirghese hordes—Great, Little, and Middle, as they are called—occupy various regions in Southern Siberia, Central Asia, and west of the Caspian Sea. The numbers of these hordes are variously estimated as high as 2,000,000, and as

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low as 1,450,000, the lower number being probably the more correct."

Kumuk-Turki.—The version of St. Matthew, made by Khasan Beg, has been revised by Major Tchekanof, a good linguist, acquainted with Kumuk, and again re-revised by Mr. Amirkhaniantz, who compared it diligently with the Greek. The work being found satisfactory, the Committee have undertaken to print an edition of 500 copies. The proofs are being read by Dr. Sauerwein.

The only other known book in the language is a small volume of popular tales and songs, edited by Mahmoud Effendi, a mollah of the village Khasav-Turt.

The Kumuk is spoken by about 70,000 souls, inhabiting the north-west shore of the Caspian Sea, near Petrovsk, and the north-east districts of Daghestan, watered by the Aksai and Sunja Rivers. It is also found on the Terek, a little above Kizliar. Mr. Morrison, the Society's Agent in South Russia, to whom we owe this version, and our information regarding the people, says: "The Kumuk are a peaceful people, learning to till the soil, and availing themselves of the schools which the Russian Government has placed among them."

Lifu (Oceania).—The Rev. S. M. Creagh continues to perfect the MS. and the marginal references of the Revised Version of the Bible, which will be ready for the press as soon as a new edition is called for.

Malagasi.—The Rev. W. E. Cousins reports the completion, on October 28, 1885, of the first revision of the Bible, begun December 1, 1873. The Revision Committee sat 433 days, and held 771 sittings, chiefly of three hours each. A second revision, for the purpose of harmonizing the different parts of the whole Bible, is now being carried out, and when that is completed Mr. Cousins will return to England, at the request of the Committee, to carry the Revised Version of the Bible through the press.

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Malay.—Dr. Rost, of the Indian Office, has corrected and carried through the press an edition of 5000 copies of the Four Gospels, and the Committee have resolved to publish an edition of 5000 copies of the Books of Genesis, Psalms, and Proverbs under the care of the same editor.

Malayálam.—The Revision Board has been strengthened by the addition of the Rev. Messrs. Matthissen and Walter, of the Basel Mission, and it has been resolved to invite the Right Rev. Mar Athanasius, of the Syrian Church, to co-operate in the revision.

A special united meeting of the Delegates was held at Cochin last September, and it was resolved to revise again the Revised New Testament. Criticism will be invited from all competent judges by the four bodies represented on the Revision Board, and as far as practicable the chief Delegate of each body will collect and send opinions to the Venerable Archdeacon Koshi. It is proposed to go through the Four Gospels and the Acts at the next meeting. To meet a pressing demand the Delegates have agreed to print an interim edition, in large type, of 2500 copies each of the Old and the Revised versions of the New Testament.

Maori.—The printing of the Revised Bible is making slow progress, owing chiefly to the loss of time in sending out proofs to New Zealand.

Maráthi.—The Revision Committee, with the Rev. Dr. Mackichan as convener, have completed the Book of Genesis, and are about to undertake the revision of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

Mandari.—An edition of 2000 copies of the Acts of the Apostles has been published by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. The version was made by Mr. Beyer, of the Gosner Mission in Chota-Nagpore.

Murray Island.—The Rev. J. P. Sunderland, of Sydney, reports the publication, by the Auxiliary, of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, translated by the Rev. Messrs.

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Macfarlane and Scott. Mr. Sunderland, who carried the version through the press, has sent 1000 copies of the portions to Murray Island.

Negro-English (Negro-Dutch).—At the request of the President of the Moravian Missions in Dutch Guiana the Committee have agreed to print an edition of 3000 copies of the New Testament and Psalms corrected and revised. The edition will be edited by the Rev. Andreas Bau and the Rev. E. Langerfield. The version has already been published by this Society in 1829, 1846, and 1865. There are about 25,000 souls connected with the Moravian Mission, of whom over 8000 are communicants.

New Guinea (South Cape dialect).—The Rev. J. P. Sunderland, of Sydney, reports the printing, by the Auxiliary, of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Mark, translated by one of the teachers and revised by the missionaries. Mr. Sunderland carried the version through the press.

Niue, alias *Savage Island* (Oceania).—The Rev. F. E. Lawes hopes to finish the translation of the Old Testament by the end of the year, and correspondence is in progress as to the publication of an edition.

Nupé (West Africa).—At the request of the Church Missionary Society the Committee have agreed to publish an edition, of 500 copies each, of Archdeacon Johnson's version of the Four Gospels. When the first Gospel was in type, it was decided that that Gospel should remain in the old orthography, but that the remaining Gospels should be printed in the new orthography. The version is being edited by the Rev. Dr. J. F. Schön, of the Church Missionary Society.

Pangasina (Philippine Islands).—The Committee have agreed to print an edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke. The MS. of the version was presented to the Society in 1873 by Señor Alonzo, of Seville, a native of the Philippine Islands. Chiefly through the interest taken

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in the version by Mr. T. Worthington, it has been thoroughly revised and rewritten by Señor Alonzo, who will carry the edition through the press. The portion is intended for one million of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

Persian.—The Rev. Dr. Bruce, of Julfa, is revising his version of the New Testament, with a view to the permanent fixing of the text. He has completed from the Romans to the Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and he is now finishing Ephesians. Meanwhile an interim edition is being carried through the press at Leipzig by Dr. Sauerwein.

Popo (Ewe, West Africa).—The Committee are now carrying through the press an edition of 500 each of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The translation was made by the Rev. T. J. Marshall, a native minister, and revised by the Translation Committee at Lagos. Mr. Marshall is carrying the portions through the press in accordance with the system that has been adopted for the Yoruba Scriptures.

Rarotonga (Oceania).—The Rev. W. Wyatt Gill has completed his revision of the whole Bible at Sydney, and at the request of this Society he is returning to England to carry a stereotyped edition of the revised version through the press.

Rifi (Shilha) Morocco.—Mr. William Mackintosh is continuing his translation work.

Sanguir (Malaysia).—The Rev. Mr. Kelling's version of the Psalms is now, after final revision, being carried through the press by Mr. Kyftenbeldt.

Santal (India) (in Roman character).—The Translation Committee are making satisfactory progress with the translation of the Gospels in the Roman character. An edition of 2000 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke was ordered last September.

Santal (in Bengali character).—The Committee have sanctioned the publication by the Calcutta Auxiliary of an edition

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of 1000 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke. The portion is intended for those who know the Santal language and only the Bengali character. The Rev. T. Cole, of the Church Missionary Society, editor of the Santal Translation and Revision Committee, will transliterate and edit the portion.

Sinhalese.—The Committee have agreed, in response to a resolution of the Kandy Auxiliary, supported by the Colombo Auxiliary, to undertake a revision of the Bible.

The present Bible, an interim edition, was completed many years ago by the Rev. D. G. Gogerly. The New Testament was revised and accepted by the Society about sixteen years ago. It is now considered desirable to revise the New Testament slightly, and the Old Testament thoroughly. The Rev. S. Coles, of the Church Missionary Society, has undertaken the chief labour of the revision, but he will be assisted by a Committee in Ceylon, appointed by the Auxiliaries of Colombo and Kandy, who will finally revise the work.

Swahili.—The Committee have agreed to print an edition of 500 copies of the Book of Exodus, revised by the Venerable Archdeacon Hodgson. A tentative edition was printed by the Universities' Mission Press at Zanzibar. The editor the new issue will be the Rev. F. A. Wallis, of the Universities' Mission, now in England.

Swahili (E. Africa, in Arabic character).—An edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. John, intended for those who know the Swahili language and only the Arabic character, is now passing through the press. The version has been translated by Miss Allen, who is superintending its production.

Telugu.—During the year the Rev. Dr. Hay has revised from the beginning of Exodus to the end of Ruth. Isaiah is now in the course of revision, and it is hoped that it will be completed in time for insertion in the brevier edition at present

in the press. The Books of Psalms and Proverbs, favourably known in their revised form, will receive a final revision for the same edition.

Interleaved copies of the revised Pentateuch are now in the hands of the Delegates and other scholars, and a similar edition of the books from Joshua to Ruth is soon to be out, and of Isaiah later on. As Dr. Hay proceeds, a limited edition of the remaining books of the Old Testament, with wide margins, will be struck off, so that the Delegates may be provided with fresh matter to work upon.

Both the Parent Society and the Madras Committee are agreed that Dr. Hay should be left free to proceed with his preliminary revision without distraction from Delegates' meetings, as it is much to be desired that the work begun by Dr. Hay may be completed by him.

The Revision Committee has been strengthened by the addition of the Rev. J. R. Bacon, of the L.M.S., Cuddapah; the Rev. T. Heelis, of the Nursapur Mission; and Messrs. D. Antam, B.A., Shunmukharam, and C. Venkatachellam. The three latter Christian Hindu scholars have for a long time voluntarily rendered important aid to Dr. Hay.

Transcaucasian Turki.—The version of the Old Testament made by the Rev. A. Amirkhaniantz has been revised by the American missionaries the Rev. J. N. Wright, of Tabriz, and the Rev. B. Labaree, of Urmíah, and all dialectical and orthographical differences between the language as spoken in Northern Persia and other Turki-speaking districts have been satisfactorily adjusted.

The Committee have sanctioned an octavo edition of the whole Bible, consisting of 2500 Old Testaments; 5000 New Testaments, one-half to be bound up with the Old Testaments, and one-half to be issued separately; 2000 Psalms; 1000 Genesis; 2000 Isaiah; and 1000 each of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. The edition will be printed at Leipzig. The first proofs will be sent to Mr. Amirkhaniantz, the second

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proofs will be read by Dr. Sauerwein, and the third and final proofs will be read by Mr. Amirkhaniantz.

Tukudh (North America).—The Ven. Archdeacon McDonald, having completed his New Testament, is now engaged on a version of the Old Testament. The Indians who speak the language are scattered over 100,000 square miles of a desolate region on the confines of the Arctic Circle. They have all been brought under Christian influence and baptized. Other tribes speak a cognate language, and the version will circulate among them.

Tulu (S. India).—The Rev. M. Hartmann has nearly finished his revision of the Four Gospels. A tentative edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew will be issued with a view to obtain suggestions from the Tulu people on points of idiom. The revision of the books from Romans to Revelation was entrusted to Messrs. Ott and Riter, but as they have left the country it has not been ascertained what progress they have made with the work.

Turkish (Osmanli).—The revision of the Bible, in which the Committee united with the American Bible Society, has been brought to a close. The work was carried out by the Rev. Dr. Riggs, and the Rev. Messrs. Herrick and Dwight, aided by Pastor Avedis. The Rev. R. H. Weakley was also consulted. The Revised Version is now in the press and will soon be published.

Urdu (in Arabic character).—The Committee have agreed to print an edition of the large marginal Reference Bible. It will be printed in paragraph form, with a few alternative readings from the English Revisers' Greek Text, and with marginal references selected from Dr. Scrivener's Cambridge Bible. The Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht will edit the edition.

Uriya.—The Committee have agreed to bear the expense of an edition of 2500 copies of the Old Testament, which the Rev. Dr. Buckley, of the Baptist Mission at Cuttack, has revised and is now carrying through the press.

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Uzbek-Turki.—At the request of the Rev. W. Nicolson, the Society's Agent at St. Petersburg, M. Ostrumoff, a Russian inspector of schools, has undertaken a version of the New Testament. Four Gospels have been completed, and an edition will shortly be published, the proof-sheets passing through the hands of Dr. Radloff and the Rev. A. Amirkhaniantz, of Tiflis. M. Ostrumoff is acquainted with the different Turki dialects of Central Asia, and believes that the Uzbek, which is used by the more settled and civilized portion of the inhabitants, is certain to become the dominant language of Central Asia.

Yahgan (Patagonia).—The version of St. John, made by the Rev. Thomas Bridges, has been published. The final proofs were read by Mr. Henry Morris, a member of Committee.

Languages of Africa.—During the last year the following books have been published:—Swahíli Exercises, by Bishop Steere, 1886, S.P.C.K. Swahíli Church History, by Rev. J. C. Robertson, 1886, S.P.C.K. Polyglotta Orientale Africana, by J. Last, 1885, S.P.C.K. Grammar of Kagúru Language, East Africa, by J. Last, 1885, S.P.C.K. Grammar of Kamba Language, East Africa, by J. Last, 1885, S.P.C.K. Bishári Sprache, by Prof. Almqvist, of Upsála, II. Band, East Africa, 1885. Grammar of Umbundu Language, West Africa, by Rev. W. Stover, Boston, U.S., 1885. Vocabulary of Umbundu Language, West Africa, by Rev. W. H. Sanders, Boston, U.S., 1885. Dictionary of the Kongo Language, West Africa, by Rev. H. Bentley, 1886. Vocabulary of the Teke Language, West Africa, by Dr. A. Sims, Gilbert and Rivington, 1886. Paradigms of Nganga Language, West Africa, by Dr. Laws, Edinburgh, 1885.

Languages of Oceania.—Languages of Melanesia, by Dr.

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Codrington, Oxford University Press, 1885. Vocabulary of Fiji Language, by Professor Kern, of Leyden, Holland, 1886, Grammar of Fiji (French), Paris, 1884.

Anniversary Meeting, May 17.—(Proceedings resumed). A portion of the Annual Report of the Council having been read, the following gentlemen were duly elected as the Council and officers of the ensuing year.

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The following Books have been presented to the Library :—

From Mr. Arnold. The Song Celestial.

—— *Mr. Alfred Haggard.* A new departure in Foreign Policy, London, 1886.

—— *Mr. Murray.* Handbook for Bengal N.W. Provinces and Burmah. London, 1882.

—— *Mr. G. W. Rusden.* History of Australia. 3 vols. London, 1883.

—— *Professor Sayce.* Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People. 1885.

—— *Messrs. Trübner* (*Mr. Edwards*). Grammatik des Arabischen Vulgar dialectes von Egyptian. 8vo. Leipzig, 1880.

The above in memory of the late Secretary, Mr. Vaux.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council.—The History of Kashgharia, by Dr. H. W. Bellew.—Russia's Commercial Mission in Central Asia, by Chris. von Sarauw.—Notes on the Central Asiatic Question, by M. Romanovski.—Muraviev's Journey to Khiva, through the Turcoman Country.—Record of Services, C. C. Prinsep.—Forchhammer's Burmese Law (Jardine Prize).—Cunningham's Arch. Survey of India, vol. xxi. Bundelkhand and Rewa, vol. xxii., Carlleyle (Gorakhpur, Saran and Ghazipur).—Punjaub Customary Law.—Ludhiana District, T. Gordon Walker.—Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia, Hak. Soc.—Notes of a Journey from Kazvín to Hamadan across the Karaghan Country, by John David Rees, Madras, 1885.—Sacred Books of the East, vols. xxiv. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.; Pahlavi Texts, part iii., West; Satapatha Brâhmana, part ii. books iii. and iv., Eggeling The Lî Kî, 2 vols., Legge.—The Erythræan Sea, Voyage of Nearkhos, 1879; Ancient India as described by Megasthenês and Arrian, 1877; Ancient India as described by Ktîsias the Knidian, 1882, by J. W. McCrindle, M.A.

—— *the Government of Bengal.*—Report of Administration of Bengal, 1885.—Tide Tables for Indian Ports, 1886.—Professional Papers of Indian Engineering.—Meteorological Observations, by H. F. Blanford. — Meteorological Memoirs.—Records Gov. of India (Ajmere, Marwara Districts).

—— *the Government of Madras.*—Report on the Administration of Madras, 1885. Catalogue of Books printed in Madras Presidency, G. Oppert.—Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., vol. ii.

—— *the Government of Bombay.*—Report on the Administration of, 1885.—Selections from Records of Bombay Government.

—— *the Senate of the Calcutta University.*—Tagore Law Lectures, 1885.—The Law Relating to the Joint Hindu Family, by Krishna Kamal Bhattachariyya.—Mahommedan Law, by Syed Ameer Ali, M.A.

—— *the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*—Centenary Review, 1784–1883.—Bibliotheca Indica.

—— *the French Government* (Minister of Public Instruction).—Dictionnaire Turc.-Francaise, vol. i. Livraison 4, by Barbier de Meynard, 1885.—*Des Michels*, Kim Vân Kiêu Tan Truyîn, Poèmes de l'Annam, Tome ii. 1ère partie. 1885.—Chrestomathie Persane, Tome Second, Ch. Schefer, 1885.—Catalogue Méthodique et Raisonné Antiquités Assyriennes, 3 fascicules.

—— *the Government of the Netherlands.*—Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woordenboek, Deel i. Aflevering iii. and iv. 1885-6, by Dr. G. Schlegel.—Kitâb-al-

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Buldân (Hamadhânî), 1 vol. Leyden, 1885, edidit M. J. de Goeje.—Al-Hamdânî's Géographie der Arabischen Halbinsel, edidit von D. H. Müller, 1884.

From Baumgarten, Antoine, Le Prophète Habakuk.

—— *Bell, Mark, S.*, Afghanistan as a Theatre of Operations and as a Defence to India.

—— *Bendall, Cecil*, A Journey of Literary and Archæological Research in Nepal and Northern India during the winter of 1884–5, Camb. 1886.

—— *Brandreth, E. L.*, three numbers of the Pâli Text Society, edited by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, M. Léon Feer and V. Fausböll.

—— *Cordier, Henri M.*, Le conflit entre la France et la Chine, 1883.—Essai d'une Bibliographie, etc., 1883.—Consulat de France a Hué, 1884.

—— *Cust, R. N.*, Grammar and Vocabulary of the Umbundu Language.

—— *Faulds, Dr. Henry*, The Chrysanthemum, vols. i. and ii. 1881–2.—Nine years in Nipon.

—— *Ferguson, Donald*, a MS. Dictionary and Grammar in Pâli.

—— *Fonseca, José Nicolau da*, Sketch of the City of Goa.

—— *Geiger, Dr. Wilhelm*, Civilization of the Eastern Irânians, by D. P. Sanjânâ.

—— *Grierson, G. A.*, Bihar Peasant Life, Calcutta, 1885.

—— *Goldsmid, Sir Frederic*, The Navigation and Voyages of Lewis Wertomannus, 1503, Aungervoyle Society.

—— *Groot, Dr. J. J. de*, Het Konigswezen van Borneo. The Hague, 1885.

—— *Musée Guimet*, Le Yi-King. Paris, 1885.

—— *Kitts, Eustace J.*, Compendium of the Castes and Tribes found in India, 1885.

—— *McCrindle, J. W.*, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy.

—— *Mellersh, Admiral*, a Siamese Screen and Chinese and Siamese MSS.

—— *Pincott, Frederic*, Oriental Penmanship.

—— *Sinclair, F. W.*, Vertebrate Zoology of Sind, by James A. Murray, 1884.

—— *the Statistical Society.*—Index to the Catalogue of the Library.

—— *Capt. R. C. Temple.*—Knowles' Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs.—Legends of the Panjab, vol. ii.—Keith Falconer's Kalilah and Dimnah, with English trans., 1885.—Adventures of Raja Rasalu, Calc. 1884.—Folk Tales of Bengal by the Rev. Lal Behâri Day, Macmillan, 1883.—The Vihar Sagar, translated by Lala Sreeram, Calcutta, 1885.—The Claims of Ishmael, by J. D. Bate, 1884.—Kalilah and Dimnah, trans. from the Arabic, edited by W. Wright, 1884.—Mani-Málá or a Treatise on Gems, by Raja S. M. Tagore, Mus.Doc. 2 vols.—Rhodes in Ancient Times, by Cecil Torr, Cambridge, 1885.—Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes, by Arthur Steele, London, 1868.—Calcoen, a Dutch narrative of the second voyage of Vasco da Gama to Calicut. Printed at Antwerp 1504, translated by J. Ph. Berjeau. London, 1874.

—— *Whitney, Professor*, Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language, Leipzig, 1885.

—— *Wise, Dr. Thomas A.*, History of Paganism in Caledonia, 4to. London, 1884.

—— *Yule, Col. Henry*, A Glossary of Indian Colloquial Terms, by Col. Yule and A. H. Burnell.—A portrait of Sir Arthur Phayre.

The following exchange Publications—

The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
—— Madras Literary Society.
—— Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
—— Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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The German Oriental Society.
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The Journal is sent to

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The Society receives

The Athenæum. The Academy. Allen's Indian Mail. London and China Telegraph. Reports of the British Association. Voice of India and Indian Magazine. Seismological Society of Japan. China Review. Excursions Chinoises. Walford's Antiquarian Magazine. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.

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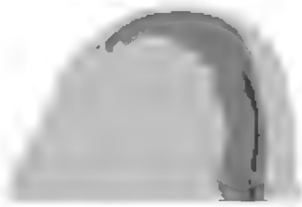

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